

Victoria College bookplate  
handwritten list of pamphlets in volume handwritten list of pamphlets in volume  
Front Cover

Report of the Conference of Delegates from Agricultural Societies Throughout New Zealand.  
Held in the Museum, Wellington.

Under the Auspices of the Wellington Agricultural and pastoral Association,  
Commencing Tuesday, May 29th, and ending Friday, June 1st, 1894.

Chairman: Mr. W. H. Beetham.

*President Wellington Agricultural and Pastoral Association.*

Secretary: M. Murphy, F.L.S.

vignette Wellington, N.Z. *Printed at the Office of the New Zealand Times Company, Lambton Quay.*  
1894.

## List of Associations and their Delegates.

*(Alphabetically arranged)*

Mr. J. D. Ritchie, Secretary for Agriculture, represented the Department of Agriculture.

## Table of Contents

The following are the papers referred to in the body of this report:—

- "Prevention of Sheep-stealing," by Mr G. W. RUSSELL, M.H.R.
- "Prevention of Sheep-stealing and Ear-marking," by Mr REGINALD FOSTER.
- "The Dairy Industry," by Mr HENRY REYNOLDS.
- "Noxious Weeds," by The Secretary.
- "Diseases of Sheep," by Mr H. F. Gray.
- "Manures and the Manure Act," by Mr G. GRAY, F.C.S., Lecturer on Chemistry, Lincoln Agricultural College.
- "The Most Profitable Cattle and Sheep for Freezing," by Mr John Grigg.

## The Agricultural Conference.

### First Day.

Tuesday, May 29th.

The Conference of delegates from the various Agricultural Associations in New Zealand was opened on Tuesday the 29th, at 10 o'clock in the lecture room at the Museum. Mr H. Overton, as chairman of the last Conference, presided, and the following delegates were also present:—Auckland, M. M. Kirkbride and Edwin Hall; Ashburton, Donald Williamson (president); Canterbury, A. E. G. Rhodes (president), H. Overton, J. Grigg and W. Henderson; Courtenay, G. Bedford; Clutha, D. Bryce (president); Dunedin, W. Patrick (president), P. Pattullo and Mr Jno. Roberts; Egmont, W. Wilson (president); Ellesmere, J. Barnett; Franklin, Mr Barriball; Gore, J. D. Hunter (president); Geraldine, M. C. Orbell; Hastings, Hawke's Bay, Cartwright Brown (president) and John Anderson; Hokianga, Mr Seon; Invercargill, John McKercher and Andrew Dunlop; Kaipara (North), G. Cliff; Masterton, J. Stuckey and W. Lowes; Manawatu and West Coast, Palmerston North, J. R. Forster-Pratt (president), A. E. Russell, G. Wheeler and J. G. Wilson, M.H.R.; Marlborough (Blenheim), J. C. Chaytor; Matura, R. Dewar; North Canterbury (Rangiora), T. Pashby; North Otago (Oamaru), John Reid, D. Borrie and A. Murdoch; Nelson, G. Talbot and H. R. May; Palmerston South, W. Souter (president); Poverty Bay, J. Macfarlane and A. T. Dewing; Tapanui Farmers' Club, John Roberts; Timaru, D. McLaren, A. M. Clark and C. N. Orbell; Tokomariro, D. McDonald; Waikato Farmers' Club, Richard Reynolds and Henry Reynolds; Waikato A. and P. Association, John Fisher; Wairarapa and East Coast (Carterton), W. C. Buchanan, M.H.R., A. Mathews, W. B. Allen and E. W. Dorset; Wanganui, E. A. Campbell and J. B. Murray; Wellington, W. H. Beetham (president), C. Pharazyn and F. Bradey; Western District (Riverton), A. R. Hare; Westland, J. Bernard Ward; Whangarei, Mr Hawken. Mr J. D. Ritchie, Secretary for Agriculture, represented the Department of Agriculture:

## **Letter from the Minister of Lands.**

The Secretary read a letter from the Minister of Lands (Hon J. McKenzie) regretting that he would be unlikely to attend the sittings of the Conference. The deliberations and resolutions of the Conference, when they came to him, would, he said, be carefully considered in framing any legislation that he might have to introduce on the very large and important subjects which the Conference intended to discuss. He requested the Secretary to apologise to the members of the Conference for his absence, and to assure them that it gave him very great pleasure that so much interest was taken by the agricultural and pastoral associations in matters of so much import to themselves and the Colony as a whole. He hoped the labours of the Conference would be productive of much good.

Letters of apology at being unable to be present were also read from Messrs A. M. Clark (Temuka), James S. Holmes (Oamaru), Thomas Mackenzie, M.H.R. (Clutha), and E. J. Riddiford.

## **The Chairman's Address.**

The Chairman then delivered the following address:—Gentlemen,—It must be a source of gratification to all present to see such a capital gathering here to-day, for we not only represent every agricultural and pastoral society in the Colony, but in many cases have three and four delegates from each association, and I am sure the fact of seeing so many here cannot but make us more hopeful of our future prospects; for is it not strong evidence that we mean in the future to take a more active part in all public matters affecting the agricultural and pastoral interests of our country. The life and duties of the agriculturist are so different in many ways to that of any other business, for upon the land there is such a scope for application and energy, as well as a large field for experiment. Scarcely a day passes without one feeling that some further knowledge has been gained, and the opinion strengthened that after all our experience how much there is yet to be learned as to the best and proper treatment of the land and stock.

## **The Duties of the Farmer.**

In these times of such keen competition, it is not sufficient for a farmer to be able to raise stock and grow produce, but he must also be possessed of good business habits and thrift if he really means to succeed, and while I would be one of the last advocates for a farmer to be always gadding about neglecting his work on the farm, I do emphatically say that he should avail himself of every opportunity of securing the latest and most practical information on all subjects affecting his interests, and as far as possible make a point of seeing what his neighbours are doing, for it is well known that every successful farmer is only too pleased to see his neighbour and point out any little secrets of success or difficulties which may have been overcome by the introduction of some new machinery, or perhaps by a certain tillage of the soil, and in this way much useful knowledge may be gained, for a farmer has nothing to lose by speaking of his successes or difficulties, but everything to gain, for it is hardly possible to converse on these without getting some fresh ideas.

## **The Advantages of an Agricultural Conference.**

Now, seeing that many of us who are gathered here to-day have few opportunities of doing as I have suggested, and in fact scarcely see each other more than perhaps at some of our large shows, where we are all either hard at work, or busily engaged taking fullest advantage of seeing the exhibits, then I would ask is it possible that a few days could now be better spent than in carefully discussing the subjects placed upon our order-paper? As I had the honour of presiding over the last Conference, held in Christchurch two years since, it has fallen to my lot, with the assistance of Messrs Grigg and Rhodes and our secretary, Mr Murphy, to arrange the business for this Conference now being held under the auspices of the Wellington Agricultural and Pastoral Association, and I sincerely hope that our order paper, though not containing all the subjects submitted to us will meet with your general approval; and before asking you to proceed with the election of your chairman, which will be the next business, I will encroach a little upon your patience whilst touching upon some items affecting the past two years.

## **A Tribute to the Dead.**

With sorrow I have need to refer to the very sudden deaths of two young men who sat at our last Conference as delegates from Rangiora and Timaru, and I am confident that I shall only be expressing the feelings of all who had the pleasure of knowing the late Edward Chapman and Ernest Timaru Rhodes, that they

were among the kindest-hearted of men ever ready to assist those in need—men of high principle, full of energy and enterprise, and in every respect two of our most promising men, and of such as any country might justly feel proud. Our Wellington Agricultural and Pastoral Association have also suffered a most severe loss by the death of the late Mr Levin, who possessed, in every respect, all the good qualities of our younger friends, with the addition of larger experience; and of these three men it may be truly said their places are, indeed, hard to fill.

## **Last Year's Resolutions.**

Some of the resolutions passed at our last Conference have not, I am sorry to say, been acted upon, but, as some of these have again been placed upon our business-sheet, I need not allude to them, but there are two or three which need some little explanation, especially the one referring to the publishing of the names of all judges for our shows, which our Canterbury committee found impossible to carry out, for we had cases where gentlemen accepted the invitation to act and then found out at the last minute before the entries closed that, for various reasons, they would be unable to comply with their promise. Then it was simply a case of falling back upon our reserves, not knowing for certain whether they would act until, perhaps, a day or two before the show took place, and this, I have no doubt, was the experience of all associations. The information our secretary was asked to collect in reference to the production of farinal was to the effect that potatoes could not be grown in this Colony at such a price as would warrant any recommendation being made to start this industry. Though nothing has been done in the way of introducing into our primary schools reading books more descriptive of stock and agriculture, it is satisfactory to state that the Agricultural College, Lincoln, has been formally inspected by the Inspector-General of Education, and is now open to students who are successful in gaining scholarships of sufficient value at our public schools, and I am pleased to state that already there is a scholarship student there.

## **New Zealand Sheep in Australia**

Probably one of the greatest and long-looked-for events which has happened since our last Conference was the declaration made by our Government that New Zealand was free of scab, and as our Australian neighbours were most anxious to secure our long woolled rams, very little time was lost by the New South Wales Government in throwing open their ports to our sheep, with the result that their July sales of 1893 were largely supplemented by New Zealand bred sheep, and it is satisfactory to know that the latter not only sold at fairly remunerative rates but have given satisfaction there.

## **The Frozen Meat Trade.**

Account sales lately received by some of the Australian shippers of frozen crossbred lambs I have noticed are recorded as giving a net return of 13s 2d per head, plainly showing that from Australia we may expect very keen competition in the frozen meat trade, and more especially so seeing that they have, practically speaking, an almost unlimited and never-failing supply of large-framed, well-bred merino ewes to fall back upon for the purposes of breeding their crossbreds. It is therefore most important that we New Zealanders, seeing that no country in the world has better advantages for doing so, should once and for all make up our minds to only export meat of the first quality. However, at this point we must be careful, because we cannot afford to make too great a sacrifice of our clip, for it must be well kept in mind that wool is one of our products which brings in the most money in proportion to what it takes from the land and its cost of production. The fictitious prices ruling for freezing sheep last year, caused doubtless by the very wet season and the spirited competition, had, it is feared, a tendency to lower the high standard of our New Zealand frozen meat, and as some of these shipments had unfortunately to meet a heavy supply of Home-killed meat, this caused not only very low quotations but heavy loss to the shippers. From cards carefully compiled by Mr Peter Cunningham, of Christchurch, I find that New Zealand has exported during the two years of 92-93 162, 173, 937lbs mutton, equal to 2,494,972 sheep at an average weight of 65lbs per head and 773,416 lambs which averaged 38½lbs per head. The returns of sheep for the year of 1892 showed an increase of 809,617, and it is estimated that the returns of 1893 when complete will show about the same increase. These figures show plainly that we need neither fear any exhaustion of our supply nor need of deterioration in quality.

## **Dairy Produce.**

Our butter industry, which has made tremendous strides during the past two years, and has in the meantime lifted many struggling settlers, especially in the North Island, out of difficulty, is, unfortunately, now a little

under a cloud, which we may fairly have reason to hope will be partially at any rate lifted at this Conference, seeing that it is one of our most important subjects for discussion, and on which we are promised a paper by one of the earliest and most successful shippers, as well as probably the best authority we have in the handling of New Zealand dairy produce in the London market. I refer to our friend Mr Henry Reynolds. The invention of a perfectly satisfactory milking-machine will have a good deal to do with the future success of the dairy industry, and I think we have reason to hope this will be shortly accomplished. Up to the present time this industry has given a great impetus to the cattle trade, and the fact that the country generally through this industry is able to keep cattle at a profit, instead of having to stock wholly with sheep, is an advantage to both pastures and sheep which can hardly be over-estimated.

## **The Pork Industry.**

Another industry started in Canterbury by a most enterprising firm, who anticipate opening factories all over the Colony so soon as a sufficient supply of pigs warrants them in doing so, is the "mild curing of bacon" for export purposes, and we are assured that the demand will be equal to any number the Colony cares to produce at 3d per lb, which price at first sight appears low but when the fact is taken into consideration that really grain-fed pigs are not required for this purpose, and that the pigs will be readily taken at any season of the year, makes the price one at which I feel confident pork may be profitably raised here.

## **Grain-Growing.**

Grain-growing from the present outlook is most discouraging, and there appears little reason to think that it will ever be grown here in the future so much as it has in the past, and I think if we can only look a little ahead and see that by quietly dropping into the way of growing less grain for the market and more for consumption upon the land by our stock, we shall not only keep our farms in good heart, but will be enabled to hold our own against all-comers, by making the bulk of our produce of first quality, and walk on its own legs to the factory, remembering the old adage that for such there is always room at the top.

## **The Hope for the Future.**

The depression which we are now passing through is undoubtedly largely aggravated by the reckless system in which we have lived too freely upon borrowed money, and can, I think, even now be easily tided over by the determination of one and all, not only to live within their income, but to live lives of industry and thrift—for with the application of the latter, New Zealand possesses advantages which compare most favourably with any other country under the sun. In conclusion, I wish to draw the attention of the members of this Conference to our indebtedness to the Minister of Lands, who so readily fell in with our request, and has granted free passes to one delegate from each society, and two from some of the larger associations—only imposing one condition, that nothing political should be introduced, and in order to keep faith with the Government, we, as a Revising Committee, have only submitted subjects which we thought strictly in accordance with that condition. Thanking you, gentlemen, for your attention, I will now ask you to proceed with the election of your chairman. (Applause.)

## **Election of Chairman.**

Mr A. E. G. Rhodes moved that Mr W. H. Beetham be elected chairman of the Conference, and in doing so said he thought the Revising Committee ought to be vested with more power to cut out subjects than they had last year.

Mr Buchanan seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to, and Mr Beetham took his seat as Chairman of the Conference.

The Chairman said he could not allow the present occasion to pass without congratulating the Colony on having sent representatives from all parts of New Zealand to discuss important subjects relating to agricultural and pastoral interests, and those representatives were men who he was sure would do their best to find a practical solution to the questions referred to them. (Applause.) He wished to thank his predecessor in the chair for his kindly reference to the late President of the Wellington Association, Mr W. H. Levin. He was a man who they could ill afford to lose, a good counsellor and a kind friend, and he was sure the whole of New Zealand had cause to regret his death.

## **The Establishment of a Flock Book for Sheep.**

Mr J. G. Wilson moved that this subject be discharged from the order paper. He would remind the Conference that they in the North Island took steps to form a Flock Book, but they found the rules did not meet with the satisfaction of the Southern breeders. However, the agricultural and pastoral associations took the matter up, and at a meeting in the South it was proposed to bring it before the Conference. A meeting was held on Monday of the Northern and Southern breeders, and he was glad to say all the difficulties were smoothed over, and they were able to draw up rules which had practically established a Flock Book for New Zealand. They had sent a copy of the rules to each delegate present, and they would be glad of any suggestions as to amending them.

Mr F. Bradey seconded the motion, and the order was discharged.

## **Sheep and Cattle-Stealing.**

The next subject was "To consider means for putting a stop to sheep and cattle-stealing. Compelling auctioneers to register all brands."

The Revising Committee's remarks on the subject were as follow:—"As it is generally supposed that sheep and cattle-stealing is still prevalent throughout the Colony, and that no feasible method has yet been found to put a stop to the practice, the attention of the Conference is again drawn to the matter. The subject will be introduced by a short paper prepared by Mr Russell, M.H.R., and Mr R. Foster, though the Revising Committee do not in any way bind themselves to support their suggestions."

Mr C. Pharazyn said the question was a very large one, but he was inclined to think from his own observation that the amount of stealing going on was considerably exaggerated. A good many people lost their stock by death and in other ways, and they immediately attributed their losses to theft. The general idea had been to establish vigilance committees to prevent stealing, but he questioned whether that would be desirable in a community which was supposed to have a Government to protect life and property. Besides, vigilance committees were only resorted to in extreme cases where they had not an efficient police force. To his mind that was not the direction in which the most good could be done. There was a necessity for smarter detectives in the country districts, men to whom settlers could apply with some confidence that proper steps would be taken to recover stolen animals. There was a suggestion that auctioneers should be required to register all brands. That did not appear to him to be a suggestion that would work at all well: auctioneers would say it was simply impossible, and unless it could be done efficiently it was no use attempting it. He moved—"That with a view to putting a stop to the practice of sheep and cattle-stealing, this Conference do its utmost to recommend some feasible scheme for the suppression of the same."

The motion was seconded by Mr J. Barnett.

Mr Buchanan remarked that session after session the question of sheep-stealing had cropped up, and various attempts had been made to minimise or if possible to prevent it. In his opinion the complaints chiefly came from the South Island, and they must look to that quarter for the chief information on the subject. What lay at the root of any system of registration was the identification of the sheep, and that had not been touched upon in the first of the papers just read. As to the second paper, a system of ear-marking was proposed, but he was of opinion that under that system in a good many cases there would be no ear left to mark. The only thing of a practical character left for them to do was to recommend the Government to pay particular attention to this subject, and to appoint men whose duty would be practically to act as detectives in the various districts.

Mr Pattullo thought the Government should appoint men to attend sales and take notice of the sheep sold, and if there were any suspicious circumstances, to report them. They also wanted a better system of earmarking.

Mr M. C. Orbell moved, "That, in view of the large revenue derived from the taxation of stock, the Government be requested to appoint a competent person in such centres as may be considered necessary for the purpose of detecting any sheep or cattle-stealing."

Mr Barnett thought it was very important that flock-owners should have a knowledge of their neighbours' brands, and that a book of brands should be printed and sold at a moderate cost.

Mr Pharazyn's resolution was then put and carried.

Mr Seon seconded Mr Orbell's resolution.

Mr F. Bradey thought the appointment of an inspector in every district would fall very heavily upon the ratepayer.

Mr Chaytor said the only practicable scheme was to begin with the appointment of one efficient inspector to be under the orders of the Stock Department. Local work might be done by the sheep-owners subscribing the necessary funds to set a competent detective to work.

Mr Cliff thought the offence of sheep-stealing would very soon be put an end to if every agricultural society was to offer a large reward for the conviction of offenders.

Mr Stuckey said it was generally acknowledged they paid a very heavy sheep rate, which was not all spent

in stock inspection and such like, and he thought a reward for the conviction of sheep-stealers might be offered out of the surplus. He thought clause 53 of the Stock Act would help them, as it prohibited people driving sheep without a permit.

Mr J. G. Wilson suggested as an addition to the resolution, "That a pamphlet be published by the registrar of each sheep district of all brands and earmarks on his register, such pamphlet to be procurable at a small cost at the various post offices in the Colony."

Mr Orbell agreed to this being embodied in his motion.

Mr McLaren thought if juries were more ready to convict persons charged with sheep-stealing that would do more to put down the practice than anything else.

Mr Grigg quoted two cases of sheep stealing where there had been miscarriages of justice, and said he thought it would be a good thing if in all such trials the venue of the Court could be changed to some district in which the offenders would be tried by people having knowledge of the subject.

Mr Buchanan pointed out to Mr Stuckey that clause 53 of the Stock Act was not operative unless the residents of a district petitioned for it to be put into force.

Mr C. Pharazyn remarked that they had plenty of laws to deal with the matter, and it was simply a question of how best to carry them out. He proposed as an amendment, "That in the opinion of the Conference, the prevalence of sheep and cattle-stealing in various parts of the Colony is so serious that the special attention of the Minister for Justice be called to the urgent necessity for taking immediate steps to detect and punish the offenders; also that a suggestion be made to the Stock Department to offer rewards for the conviction of sheep and cattle-stealers out of the funds raised by the special tax on sheep."

The amendment was seconded by Mr Cliff.

Ultimately the amendment and Mr Orbell's resolution were taken as one and adopted, and Mr Wilson's addition to Mr Orbell's resolution was carried as a separate motion.

Mr Hare proposed that a system of sale notes bearing brands, as recommended by Mr Russell, be adopted.

Mr Dunlop seconded the motion, which was lost on the voices.

Mr Hare also moved an addition to clause 52 of the Stock Act, by which anyone travelling sheep would be required to show from whom they came.

The amendment, however, was not seconded, and consequently lapsed.

## Public Abattoirs.

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were:—"In view of the reputed prevalence of tuberculosis and other diseases supposed to be communicable to human beings, public abattoirs should at once be provided for all large centres of population. This is a question of the greatest importance, and therefore no private slaughtering licenses should be granted in the vicinity of such centres."

Mr Patrick, in introducing the subject, said some such reform in their present arrangements was urgently needed. Tuberculosis in cattle, a disease unfortunately well known in this Colony, was not only hereditary, but might be transmitted from one beast to another. The present system of inspection at the yards was utterly useless as a means of dealing with a disease of that kind. What was necessary was the safeguard of a thorough and expert inspection of carcasses when the vital organs were exposed. The authorities should take power to insist on the inspection by veterinary surgeons of dairy cows, especially those that supply large towns with milk, as it was well known the malady was more prevalent amongst dairy cows than other cattle. He moved, That it is desirable that public abattoirs should be established for all the principal towns in New Zealand, and that no licenses be granted to private slaughterhouses in such places; also, that dairies should be subject to inspection."

The motion was seconded by Mr Rhodes.

Mr Wilson thought this was a municipal question, and that it was unfair to refuse private licenses where public abattoirs existed.

Mr Buchanan strongly supported the resolution, as it would help to keep down disease throughout the Colony.

Mr Wilson remarked that supposing Petone were made a principal centre, the Gear Company's slaughter-yard would be shut up, and they would have to kill their stock at the public abattoir.

The Chairman understood that any properly-conducted establishment could be licensed as a public abattoir. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Wilson: There can be only one in each centre.

The Chairman: There is no inference of that sort in the resolution.

Mr Chaytor thought the establishment of public abattoirs would only do a limited amount of good. The remedy must be found when the animals were alive, and not when they were in the slaughterhouses.

Mr Grigg thought that if public opinion were once aroused municipalities would do something in the matter, and, if not, then the Government might step in and do something themselves.

Mr Dunlop thought the Government should see they had inspectors qualified to detect diseases in animals.

Mr Stuckey moved as an amendment that that portion of the resolution referring to no private licenses being granted be omitted.

The amendment was seconded by Mr W. Henderson, and was carried, and the resolution as altered was agreed to.

## The Dairy Act.

The Revising Committee's remarks on the questions coming before the Conference with regard to dairying were as follow:—"The great success which has attended the export of butter from Victoria, largely owing to the provision of refrigerating cars, cool storage and the general supervision of grading and branding, as carefully carried out there, is sufficient to show the necessity of adopting similar methods here, if New Zealand is to take the place her natural advantages entitle her to as a producer of dairy produce."

Mr Henry Reynolds moved, "That steps be taken by this Conference to agree upon the best method for the exportation of butter with the view to assist the Government in the amendments now being made in the Dairy Industry Act."

The motion was seconded by Mr Overton.

Mr H. Reynolds then read a paper on "New Zealand Dairying."

Mr Reynolds' motion was agreed to.

The Conference at 1 p.m. adjourned for lunch at Bellamy's and resumed at 2 p.m.

Mr J. G. Wilson, M.H.R., asked Mr Reynolds if the Conference was to understand that he had suggested in his paper that a grader should be appointed here and another at Home?

Mr Reynolds replied that the butter should be graded here. Many people, he went on to explain, imagined that it spoiled butter to freeze it, but this was a mistake. Since they had been sending Home frozen butter they had not lost a pound, which was not the case when sending it in a cool chamber. He saw a great deal of New Zealand butter at the London Docks last year, and it was only fit for pastry. It was stuff such as this that destroyed the reputation of New Zealand butter.

Mr J. G. Wilson suggested that if a grader were appointed, yet, if after his examination the butter was left in the Harbour Board sheds, it could not arrive in the Home market in a good condition.

Mr Reynolds replied that there was a great deal of damage done to butter by the treatment it received at the wharves, and this was one of the reasons why it was of a fishy nature when it arrived in London.

Mr G. May said that damage was done to the butter in its transit in the small coastal steamers. He thought these vessels should have some provision made for taking it to the central ports.

Mr F. Bradey considered they should commence at the beginning, and have a thorough inspection of the cows and the stockyards.

Mr Overton asked Mr Reynolds if he could tell the Conference why Victorian butter realised better prices than New Zealand?

Mr Reynolds replied that it was in a great measure owing to the fact that their cows were fed largely on native pastures, and that the Government regulations made it compulsory that the milk should pass through a cooler immediately after coming from the cow. Mr Reynolds went on to say that some of the Victorian butter was equal to the Danish, and better than the New Zealand. The whole secret of good butter was that the cream should be kept below 60 degrees. If this were not done, it would be impossible for the butter to arrive in good condition in England. The Victorians have paid great attention to the temperature maintained on the voyage.

Mr W. C. Buchanan, M.H.R., said it was contended that the New Zealand climate was too good to make butter, as the people depended too much on it.

Mr Grigg moved, "That a committee of this Conference be appointed to consider the question of the preparation of dairy produce for export, with a view to obtain the assistance of the Government by way of amending the Dairy Industries Act, the Committee to consist of Messrs W. Henderson, Pattullo, Barnett, Allen, Buchanan, H. and R. Reynolds, May, H. Overton, J. D. Ritchie, and the mover."

The resolution was seconded by Mr Buchanan. M.H.R., who suggested that the words "with power to add to their number, and to report to the Conference as soon as possible," be added.

Mr Wilson, M.H.R., referred to the good that was effected by peripatetic dairies.

Mr Grigg intimated that the Committee would make their enquiries as wide as possible.

Mr C. Pharazyn thought they were inclined to depend too much on the Government for everything.

Mr Reynolds considered that the Government could do many things which it would not be possible for private individuals to do.

The motion as amended was then put to the meeting, and carried on the voices.

## Taxing Stallions.

Mr Pattullo, in a brief speech, moved that a tax be imposed on stallions, with a view to improving the breed of horses in the Colony.

This was seconded by Mr Macfarlane.

Mr Pharazyn spoke against the motion.

Mr Buchanan said that this was a matter which could very well be left to private enterprise. In the Mother Country this had been done, and the result was that she supplied the world with the finest breed of horses.

Mr Dunlop opposed the resolution, but thought that all such horses should be examined by a veterinary surgeon.

Mr Pashby ridiculed the idea of taxing stallions, and said it was as reasonable to propose a tax on bulls. He would move an amendment to the effect that it was not desirable to tax stallions.

Mr Murdoch, in seconding the amendment, said that this was a matter which should be left to the intelligence of the people.

The Chairman ruled that this was not an amendment, and the original resolution on being put to the meeting was lost.

A motion by Mr Hare to the effect that the owner of any entire horse for service, for which fees are charged, be compelled to submit his horse for examination to a Government veterinary surgeon: that the Government veterinary surgeon attend all walking shows held by agricultural and pastoral associations to examine horses, and that a fee of £2 be charged for all examinations and certificates, was also negatived.

## Railway Charges on Stock.

Mr R. Reynolds moved, "That it was the opinion of this meeting that if some reduction were to be made in the charges for the carriage of live stock the railways would be more extensively used, and further, that owing to the extremely low prices of farm produce this Conference would point out the necessity for grain and other farm produce, as well as lime and other manures, to be carried at the lowest possible rates, and that every facility should be given the producers so as to encourage the use of the railways more generally than at present."

Mr Borrie, in seconding the resolution, said that farmers felt sore upon being called upon to pay large sums for the maintenance of the roads, which were used for the carrying of produce, whilst the railways were not used.

Mr Pattullo pointed out how beneficial it would be to the agricultural community if lime were more generally used, but that on account of the high charges ruling on the railways, its use was restricted. He thought the Government should be asked to carry lime and other manures at a nominal rate.

Mr Williamson contended that the cost of carrying sheep on railways was excessive. At the sheep sales at Culverden and Marlborough, in the South Island, about 100,000 sheep were sold. If there was a reduction in the freight, these would be carried on the railways instead of being driven by road.

Mr M. C. Orbell considered it was the duty of the Conference to bring the question of railway charges before the Commissioners. The produce got from the land was now 30 to 40 per cent, lower than it was some years ago. When the railways were made the money was borrowed at 4½ per cent, the country was then satisfied if they gave a return of 2 or per cent, on the capital. Now when money can be got at 3½ per cent, a return of 2 or 2½ per cent, ought to be sufficient. He did not think that lowering the freights on the railways would increase the taxation, provided the reduction was made judiciously.

Mr McLaren said that 16,000 bales of wool were sent out of his district last season, not one of which was sent by railway.

Mr C. N. Orbell stated that from the property he represented 1600 bales of wool were sent by road running alongside the railway.

Mr Dewar contended that they should be careful in this matter, for if they went in for in-judicious reduction, they would only be benefiting the people in the towns, and those in the country would have to pay the piper.

Mr Pharazyn, as a director of the Manawatu railway, had some practical experience in the matter of freights. He did not think there was much room for reduction. With reference to charges for short distances, it was impossible for the railways to compete with carts, as in the latter case there was only one handling. The question of the charges for carrying artificial manures came before his board, when it was found that they were carried at a loss. If there was a loss on the Government lines it must be borne by somebody. There were some

questions of detail which might be gone into, and brought under the notice of the Commissioners.

Mr Buchanan believed it would be well if they confined themselves to concrete facts. Since the time the Railway Commissioners were appointed, reductions had been made in mostly on every article carried on the railways. He believed there was room for reduction in the carriage of store sheep and cattle, but he was assured that the limit in lime was reached.

Mr Grigg contended that more economy could be practised in the distribution of trucks for the carrying of sheep and cattle. He thought it would be well for the Commissioners to experiment for a time, and if it did not pay they could return to the old charges. Another matter which should be remembered was that sheep that were driven for long distances shrank from 3lb to 4lb in weight, which was an indirect disadvantage to the country.

Mr McDonald said, in reference to the carrying of lime, it was well known that in some districts they could not grow wheat without lime, therefore it would be wise to encourage its use by carrying it at a low rate.

After some remarks from other members, the resolution was carried.

Mr Buchanan then moved, "That a deputation consisting of Messrs Pattullo, Wilson, Reynolds, Grigg, Borrie, C. N. Orbell and the mover wait on the Commissioners of Railways, and give practical effect to the foregoing resolutions."

The resolution was seconded by Mr Bradey, and agreed to.

## **Sheep Trucks and Insulated Vans.**

On the motion of Mr Buchanan, it was resolved to refer the questions dealing with the necessity for more conveniently arranged trucks for the transit of sheep, and also for insulated vans, to the committees previously set up for dealing with similar subjects.

## **Free Railway Passes for Judges at Shows.**

Mr Bradey moved, "That the Railway Commissioners be approached with a view to obtaining free passes over the lines for judges attending shows."

Mr Dunlop seconded the motion, and pointed out that if the concession were granted small associations would be able to obtain the services of good outside men.

Mr Buchanan considered that if such concessions were granted to agricultural and pastoral associations, the Government would find it difficult to draw the line.

Mr Pharazyn moved that the words "agricultural and pastoral" be put before shows.

The resolution in its amended form was then agreed to, and it was decided to refer the matter to the committee.

## **Noxious Weeds.**

Mr Wilson moved, "That the Government be asked to prepare a Bill to deal with the noxious weeds question, and this Conference offers such suggestions as it seems desirable for the drafting of the Bill."

Mr Pashby seconded the resolution.

Mr Murphy, secretary of the Conference, then read an interesting paper on noxious weeds.

Mr Fisher said it would be a good thing to take the Bill dealing with this matter which was introduced last session.

Mr Ritchie explained how the error crept into the Bill, a copy of which was sent out to the various agricultural and pastoral associations last year.

Mr Dunlop said he had not heard any mention of a plant which grew in his district called the rag-weed. It was said by the Government veterinary surgeon not to be poisonous, but he knew for a fact that it was injurious to horses.

Mr Roberts did not wish the remarks of the last speaker to go unchallenged, as he (Mr Patrick) had a paddock in which the weed grew, and no harm came to the animals that fed on it. To his mind the only way of dealing with the Californian thistle was to prevent it seeding.

Mr Pharazyn said there was an idea that legislation would cure everything. With regard to the penalties proposed by the Legislature against those allowing the Scotch thistle to grow on their property, he found that, on making an examination of his property one fine morning, that he was liable to a fine of £100,000, but as he knew this could not be enforced, he felt very easy over the matter.

Mr Murphy explained that the rag-weed was a species of groundsel, and was of a very astringent nature. He pointed out the dangers arising from allowing gorse and broom to grow in river-beds, and thus divert the course of the streams.

Mr Grigg said this was one of the most important matters they had to deal with. Another matter which

required their attention was the sale of grass and clover that contained the seeds of noxious weeds. Merchants in selling seeds to farmers protected themselves by putting a clause in their invoices to the effect that they would not be responsible for the presence of noxious seeds in their goods. This is a question which the Government should provide for in passing a Noxious Weeds Bill.

Mr Buchanan said there was great difficulty in dealing with this matter. Some river-beds are covered with gorse Sweet; briar was also troublesome, but goats were said to destroy it by browsing on it. Even willows sometimes prove harmful when they grew out in the course of the rivers. A vote of £200,000 was passed in America for the eradication of the Russian thistle, which had only made its appearance within a few years. No Canterbury clover seed would be bought now in the North Island, as it was supposed to be infected with the Californian thistle. They were only beating the air if committees were only appointed to consider the matter.

Mr Kirkbride pointed out that the responsibility of clearing the Crown and other lands was thrown on the shoulders of the local bodies by the Bill which was introduced last year.

Mr Barnett said the proper way of dealing with the Californian thistle was to prevent it flowering.

After remarks by Messrs Chaytor and Ritchie, the resolution was put to the meeting and carried.

A suggestion by Mr McLaren that before the Bill becomes law it be submitted to the various agricultural and pastoral societies and local bodies in the colonies was agreed to.

Mr Henderson moved, "That a committee be appointed to assist to draw up a Noxious Weeds Bill, consisting of the following:—Messrs Fisher, Kirkbride, Dunlop, Grigg, Overton, Roberts, Murphy, Henderson, McLaren, Chaytor and Seon."

This was agreed to.

Mr Buchanan suggested that the Secretary write to the Railway Commissioners and enquire when it would be convenient to arrange for an interview with the committee set up to consider railway charges.

The Conference then adjourned until 10 a.m. next day.

## Second Day.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 30TH.

The Agricultural Conference resumed at 10 a.m., the chair being occupied by Mr W. H. Beetham.

The Chairman said they were not getting on as fast with the business as they might, and he hoped the speakers would keep to the point, so as to make the discussions as brief as possible.

## Flock Book.

Mr Overton referred to the meeting which took place between the breeders in the North and South Islands, regarding the establishment of a Flock Book for the whole of the Colony, and said the proceedings were marked by the greatest unanimity, and moved, "That the question of the Flock Book be re-opened," and stated that his reason for doing so was because the subject had been discharged from the order paper the previous morning, before many of the delegates had had an opportunity of understanding the rules and conditions which had been drawn up, and, with the Chairman's permission, would like Mr Wilson to explain the exact position, in order that the business might receive the full approval of the Conference.

Mr Wilson said that he would second the resolution, as such a course as proposed by Mr Overton would give an opportunity for further discussion. Mr Wilson said that in moving that the question be discharged from the order paper the previous day, he considered that such a course would have furnished an opportunity for any further explanation or enquiry; and now he would only be too pleased to explain the exact position to the Conference. Some time ago when it was determined by breeders in the Wellington province to establish a Flock Book for New Zealand, invitations were sent to the breeders in the South to be represented, but there was no great response to this request. It was considered a favourable time during the sitting of the present Conference to move in this matter again, especially when there were present many breeders from the South Island. He was pleased to say that at the sitting which took place on Monday the Southern gentlemen showed themselves as anxious to establish the Flock Book as they were in the North. Copies of the rules drawn up, with some slight alterations, would be ready in a few days, when they could be procured by the members of the Conference.

Mr Rhodes moved, "That this Conference, being satisfied of the great benefit to be derived from having a Flock Book established for New Zealand, hears with satisfaction that a New Zealand Sheep-breeders' Association has been established at a meeting held in Wellington on Monday of the New Zealand Sheep-breeders' Association and South Island flock-owners, for the purpose of publishing a Flock Book, and that this Association has been promised such support that ensures its being adopted by the breeders of sheep all over the islands, and that the proposed rules of the New Zealand Flock Book be approved." He said that the individual registration of sheep would be very objectionable, whilst at the same time it would be a great mistake

to have two Flock Books in New Zealand.

Mr Cartwright Brown seconded the resolution, which was carried.

## The Retiring Chairman.

Mr Wilson wished to refer to a matter which had been overlooked during the previous day's sitting, and that was a vote of thanks to the retiring chairman, which he had much pleasure in proposing. He had not had the pleasure of meeting Mr Overton previously, but he had heard a good deal about him and the very great interest taken by him in agricultural matters. Mr Overton had made a reputation for himself by his work in connection with the Lincoln College. Mr Overton was a most unassuming gentleman, but they were all aware of the great amount of work done by him in furthering the interests of agriculture in the Colony.

Mr Roberts had great pleasure in seconding the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr Overton briefly thanked the Conference for the vote of thanks, and felt much pleasure if he had been in any way instrumental in bringing about this Conference.

## Grub and Rust in Grass and Corn.

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were as follow:—"It is hoped that the discussion of the question of grub in corn crops and grass, and also rust in grass will elicit some information in the direction of checking the evils."

Mr W. Wilson considered it would be preferable to deal with the two questions separately. The one was an insect pest, and rust was a parasitical fungus.

This suggestion was agreed to.

Mr W. Wilson moved, "That the Government be requested to take steps to ascertain what enemies the grub had, and to get the opinion of experts on the question."

Mr Barnett said that the grub was a great source of trouble in his district. It attacked the wheat and grass. He considered that heavy rolling was productive of good results.

Mr Pattullo said that salt was very effective in dealing with this pest.

Mr Roberts said that ground heavily trodden by cattle in winter time was partially freed from grubs.

Mr Hunter said that some persons employed a solution of ammonia for destroying the pest. Sulphate of copper was likewise used with good effect.

Mr Matthews regretted to say that the imported birds did very little in destroying the grubs, but it was different with the native birds, which were great enemies of such pests. Grubs had increased considerably since the disappearance of the native birds from many districts.

Mr Talbot bore testimony to the work of the starlings in the Nelson district.

Mr H. Overton admitted that the trampling of the land by cattle would materially assist in clearing it of the grub, but the land would suffer very much from such a course of treatment. The cultivation of the land at this season of the year had a good deal to do with the destruction of this pest. I am now skinning my land for turnips for next year's crop, and the native birds are following the ploughs in large numbers, destroying the grubs in thousands. Light porous soils that were continually stirred up were specially favourable to grubs.

Mr Borrie said the only cure he found for this pest was the work of the starlings, and in wet winters, when the land became thoroughly saturated, the grub came to the surface and died.

Mr Campbell asked if any members knew of treatment that could be successfully used on hilly country.

Mr Grigg said this was a very important matter, as it was necessary to bring out the experience of the farmers in the different places. It was a question of great importance to many of them to know what to do in eradicating this pest in the hilly districts. He considered they should ask the Government to appoint an entomologist to study the question of insect pests. He was pleased to know that a parasite had been introduced to deal with the Hessian fly, and that it was already doing much good. With regard to feeding cattle on the land in winter time, it would very probably destroy the grub, but the land would suffer very much from such treatment. He had tried an application of lime to the land, harrowing it in immediately after slaking. This he found very beneficial. One and a half tons of lime was applied, with the result that there was an increase of 12 bushels of wheat to the acre as compared with the unlimed land, and further, that the beneficial effects of the lime has been apparent for three years, the turnip crop now in the land being much greater than in the land not so treated. Another means of assisting in the eradication of this pest was the burning of stacks of straw in dark, calm nights, when the cock-chaffer-beetles were about. The beetles of the grub would be attracted to the fire and destroyed.

Mr Williamson pointed out that a system of irrigation was found to be very beneficial in destroying grubs.

Mr Stuckey said that it would be a very good plan to introduce birds and reptiles—such as frogs and

toads—to counteract the pest.

Mr Pattullo considered that a good deal depended on the nature of the land as to the remedies to be applied.

Mr Kirkbride was glad to see that Mr Grigg had brought forward the question of the Government appointing an entomologist. Farmers had not much experience in such matters, and what they required was education, not legislation.

Mr Murphy remarked that the orange and lemon groves in California were being destroyed some years ago by an insect pest, when a German resident came over from there to New Zealand and took away a number of ladybirds to cope with the insects.

Mr Grigg moved, "That the Government be earnestly requested to obtain the services of a first-class entomologist, who shall give his whole time to an examination of insect pests, with a view to their destruction."

The motion was carried.

## Rust.

Mr J. Macfarlane, in speaking to the question of rust in wheat and grass, said that the Victorian Government had offered a large reward to anyone who would discover a rust resisting wheat, but no one had as yet claimed it. He moved, "That the question of rust in pastures be submitted to the Conference with a view of eliciting information about it."

Mr E. Hall, in seconding the motion, said that the attempts to introduce a rust resisting wheat were only partially successful.

Mr McLaren contended that the question of rust in wheat was a matter due entirely to the weather. In an ordinary dry season there was not much rust, whilst it was otherwise when the weather was damp.

Mr Chaytor said he had never any rust until last spring. It attacked a paddock of grass, which did not seem any the worse for it.

Mr Grigg thought there was very little they could do to increase our knowledge as to the cause of rust. Rust was due purely and simply to atmospheric influences. On some soils, it is true, the effect of the atmosphere is much greater than on others. Rust may not be seen for twenty years, and then it may become very prevalent again. Last year it was so. It was the first time he had seen it on ryegrass.

Messrs Fisher, Hall, Barnett and Macfarlane also spoke on this question.

## The Quarantining of Stock.

The Revising Committee's remarks on the above subject were as follow:—"Some importers of stock think the date of quarantine should commence at the time of embarkation, and in deference to their wishes, the Conference will be asked to give an expression of opinion on the subject."

Mr D. Williamson moved in connection with the foregoing recommendation, "That in the opinion of this Conference the term of quarantine, 90 days, should date from the time of embarkation instead of from the date of landing in New Zealand." He said in support of the resolution that the small farmers owed a debt of gratitude to the early importers of stock; for, had not there been men of enterprise in the Colony at that time, where could these settlers have found suitable stock for their lands?

Mr Ritchie pointed out that the quarantine regulations required that there should be at least 60 days from time of landing and read from the regulations the length of time required to be passed at the station by various animals.

Mr Overton seconded the motion *pro for ma*.

Mr Ritchie pointed out that the object the department was to have the stock under their eyes for a certain time.

Mr Roberts illustrated the necessity of keeping stock for a period in quarantine by an incident which was related to him when attending the Stock Conference last year. Some bulls were imported into Tasmania, and after remaining in quarantine the usual time the inspector asked the Government to allow him to keep them some time longer, as he believed that they were infested with the gad fly. This proved to be the case, and showed how necessary was the precaution. He considered that cattle should be kept a sufficient time at the Quarantine Station, so that the officers might be certain that they were all right.

Mr Grigg said that this subject was before the last Conference in Christchurch. He was not much in favour of people importing stock from England, as he believed they had as good stock of almost every description in the Colony as in any part of the British Empire. When times were good some years ago money was spent freely in importing the best stock from Home, so that it was a mistaken idea for people to suppose that they must go outside the Colony for good stock. He considered it also a mistake for people to be continually changing their sires. Some of the leading prize-takers in England had not changed their sheep for sixty years.

Mr Buchanan pointed out the great amount of money that was spent in the United Kingdom for the purpose of stamping out disease. The flocks of the Colony are clean, and they should not relax their efforts.

Mr Kirkbride did not think they should reduce the time at the Quarantine Station. He read of glanders being introduced by circus horses into Australia from America, and they all knew what a difficult thing it was to eradicate that disease. He considered it would be well for the Stock Department to make itself acquainted with the diseases which prevailed among stock in Australia.

The motion was then put and lost.

Mr Buchanan moved, "That in the opinion of this Conference the charges upon stock subject to quarantine should be reduced."

This was seconded by Mr Stuckey and carried.

## **Disseminating Information for Farmers.**

The Revising Committee reported on this subject—"It is desirable that a better system for collecting and disseminating information on agricultural, pastoral and other industries connected with the soil should be adopted, on the line of the Agricultural Bureau of South Australia."

In connection with this subject Mr Bradey moved, "That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable to collect and obtain all the information possible in connection with the management and treatment of land, sheep and stock in general within the Colony. That the various agricultural and pastoral associations in the North and South Islands be asked to assist in the above object. That all such information so obtained be submitted to Mr Ritchie, of the Stock Department, with a view to have all that is considered useful advice to settlers published in pamphlet form."

The resolution was seconded by Mr Seon, and carried.

## **Manures and the Manure Act.**

Mr Murphy at this stage read a paper contributed by Mr G. Gray, F.C.S., Lecturer on Chemistry at Lincoln College, "On Manures and the Manure Act."

Mr Grigg moved, "That this Conference recognises the great importance of providing some means of circulating information relating to agricultural and pastoral subject, and will heartily support any publication in a magazine form, being subject to the supervision of the agricultural and pastoral associations. That it be a recommendation to the different agricultural and pastoral associations to consider the advisability of carrying out experiments as to the most suitable manures for their districts, and of carrying out all other experiments in the interests of the farming community." He had no doubt that if the various societies connected with the Conference would assist, the magazine would be a financial success.

Mr McLaren said it was well they should not be running to the Government for everything they required.

Mr Pattullo suggested that the Conference should recommend the various agricultural and pastoral associations to carry out a series of experiments.

Mr Buchanan supported Mr Grigg's resolution, and referred to the benefit which he obtained from reading the *Country Journal*, at the same time complimenting Mr Murphy on the manner in which it was brought out.

Mr J. G. Wilson did not think that the smaller societies would be able to carry out the experiments as suggested.

Mr Grigg's resolution was then put to the meeting and agreed to.

## **Qualifications of Stock Inspectors.**

Mr Stuckey moved, and Mr Cartwright Brown seconded, that the stock inspectors be qualified to act as veterinary surgeons.

After a short discussion the resolution was lost.

The Conference then adjourned for luncheon, and resumed at 2 p.m.

## **Dehorning Calves.**

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were as follow:—"Persons interested in the breeding of cattle should be encouraged to adopt the improved methods of dehorning calves intended in the future for the shambles, for the advantage of trucking and general handling of dehorned cattle is obvious to all. These useless appendages (the horns) can be so easily destroyed while in the germ state. The general adoption of this suggestion would soon remove what now appears to be a cruel though perhaps necessary practice, viz., the removal of horns from grown cattle."

Mr Buchanan moved, "That every available means be used to encourage the dehorning of calves, and that the Department be asked to publish a leaflet illustrating the simplest and most effective methods of procedure." He felt satisfied, he said, that great benefit would be derived by the settlers from this practice. He had been in the habit of dehorning his own cattle for several years past, and he had been astonished at the difference it made in handling them, both in the yard and out of it. The resolution alluded to calves, the object being, of course, to show the advantage of dehorning calves rather than grown cattle; there was much less pain and much less disturbance to the animal, and in every way the advantage of dehorning was very great. People who had very little knowledge of stock were apt to declaim against the practice because of its cruelty. There could be no question that the operation was a somewhat painful one, but he had often noticed cattle which had been dehorned commence grazing at once, so that the pain was not of long continuance, and of many hundreds he had thus treated he had never lost a single animal, and he had dehorned them at all ages. The Courts in Scotland had decided that the practice was quite legal, and in passing through the United States on three separate occasions, he noticed the practice had been adopted to a very large extent.

The motion was seconded by Mr W. Henderson, who said that in Banks Peninsula the practice had become very common.

Mr Overton said he did not think the question was brought forward with a view of advocating dehorning cattle, but to point out that this apparent cruelty could be avoided by the very simple method of destroying the germ of the horn.

The resolution was then put and carried.

## **Suitable Sheep and Cattle for Freezing.**

The following are the remarks of the Revising Committee on this subject:—"The suitability of this Colony for producing frozen meat of the highest quality for the London market, and in view of the keen competition likely to arise from Australia and elsewhere, makes it very necessary that all information available as to the breeds of cattle and sheep best calculated to provide a suitable article for export should be disseminated, for, with our high-priced land, it will not pay to produce a second-rate animal of any kind."

Mr J. Grigg opened the subject by reading a paper on "The Most Profitable Cattle and Sheep for Freezing Purposes."

Mr Grigg went on to say that he did not imagine that any resolution could be passed by the Conference that would decide the question, but they wanted if possible to arrange for such an exhaustive enquiry and for the application of experimental tests as would give them some guidance in the matter. He moved, "That information regarding the best breeds of cattle and sheep for freezing, all points considered, be collected and disseminated throughout the Colony, such information to be obtained if possible by careful experimental tests."

The motion was seconded by Mr Buchanan.

Mr C. Brown said it was most difficult to find the best breed, even by experience. Some time ago he saw Southdown wethers, good Lincoln wethers and Lincoln ewes that were sold at the same time at exactly the same price. Another man sent Home a lot of old ewes, in good condition, and topped the market—(laughter)—got 6d per lb for them.

Mr J. Grigg: That is really a fact, but it turned out that one man got the other man's wethers.

Mr Brown: Not in this case. Then, again, they were supposed to try and produce sheep between 55lb and 65lb weight, as being the most suitable for the London market. They offered the sheep to a freezing company, and the man they sent passed by the 55lb sheep, but would take the 70lb and 80lb ones. Why was that?

Mr Buchanan said that was very easily answered. The extra number of pounds in the larger sheep more than made up for the difference of price per lb which it would fetch, besides which the heavier animal contained a great deal more fat, wool, and—a not unimportant feature—a heavy pelt. As to the extraordinary results mentioned by Mr Brown, perhaps the animals were all sold in one lot, and badly sold.

Mr Brown: They were not all sold in the same market at the same time.

Mr Buchanan said that anyone watching the cablegrams from Home must have seen there was a sudden drop of 1d per lb, so that the difference mentioned was very easily explained. With regard to Devon cattle, mentioned by Mr Grigg, he remarked that, seeing the position the dairy industry was destined to occupy in New Zealand, he questioned whether they would be wise in putting many of their dollars into that class of cattle. As to sheep, Mr Grigg should not have re-commended Shropshires, but Southdowns, which he did not think Mr Grigg would say brought less per lb in the English market than the Shropshires. From a report of the London market taken from the *Times* he found that 10st Downs (of course in the wool, offal given in) brought 5s 2d, while 12st Lincolns brought 4s 8d, so that they need not wonder when they could not get a greater difference than ¼d per lb between halfbred Down frozen and the ordinary crossbred Lincoln, or Leicester, or Romney Marsh sheep. If they crossed their ordinary wool-producing flocks, then they would get upon a very different

footing altogether. They in the North Island had unfortunately no supply of merino ewes to fall back upon to renew, as it were, to some extent the position of their flocks, so that they had to look upon the question from rather a different point of view. He thought also it was obvious that if they were to proceed further than the first cross they would certainly lose considerably in weight and wool. He admitted they would gain something in price as regarded Lincolns, but he was afraid that would not make up for the loss in weight and wool. In conclusion, he would point out that a very large proportion of the income of settlers was derived from wool—something like £4,000,000 per annum, and the income derived from mutton was only about £1,250,000, to which had to be added the large quantity of mutton sold in the country. While agreeing with Mr Grigg that as far as practicable they should secure the valuable meat qualities of the Down sheep, they should be careful not to throw away the wool, which had been hitherto one of the mainstays of New Zealand. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Henry Reynolds said the taste at Home now was for black-faced sheep, averaging about 60lb, with the lean and fat nicely mixed. Last summer he was in Shropshire and saw the various flocks of Shropshire sheep. There was far greater demand now for that class of sheep than for Lincolns, showing that people in England had had to turn their attention more to mutton than to wool.

Mr Roberts said he thought the difference between the fleeces of a Down cross and a cross from a Leicester sheep was somewhere between 2lb and 2½lb per fleece.

Mr Grigg: Not so much as that.

Mr Roberts said they knew very well the difference between Canterbury prime mutton and ordinary mutton in the Colony was about ¼d in the lb. Even assuming there was ¼d per lb difference on the better quality mutton he maintained it was quite made up by breeding the heavier sheep and getting a heavier fleece. They had to consider very carefully whether the farmer was justified in breeding for freezing only. He doubted it very much. They must not lose sight of wool, and if they went blindly for producing freezers only they would be losing money. (Applause.) It was impossible to grow beef, as Queensland could produce it so much cheaper. They in New Zealand would do far better if they confined themselves to growing mutton instead, and in the long run that would become their most profitable export. They must find from experience what breeds suited their own land best, and he thought it was impossible to carry out such a resolution as had been proposed, although it was worth while making the attempt.

Mr Overton thought if they were going to keep cattle in New Zealand they could only do so with a view of producing milkers, and for that reason they must fall back upon the Shorthorn. As to the best breed of sheep, he thought a fine wool Lincoln was the best sheep to cross with the merino, to be followed up by the Shropshire or the half-bred, for producing the best freezing lambs. They knew a first cross sheep out of a merino ewe, by either a Leicester, Lincoln, or black-faced tup, would vary very much in weight of fleece, and the Lincoln cross would probably have an advantage of 4lb per fleece, but he did not contend that very much more could be got per acre from that cross than from the black-faced cross; still, if the matter was carefully gone into, he firmly believed that for all-round purposes the long-woolled sheep would have the advantage. They must not tamper with their wool, they must keep that in sight, and he was afraid if they went in for these light-wool sheep, they might not notice it for a few years, but in eight or ten years they would find a tremendous sacrifice had been made. (Applause.)

Mr McLaren also considered it necessary for each man to find out for himself what class of sheep was best suited to his own land, and he agreed they must not lose sight of the wool.

Mr W. Henderson said that from 2½ to 3 years old there was no better beast for freezing purposes than the Shorthorns, and he thought it was a pity they should be lost sight of. As to lambs, he thought the Leicesters in the early part of the season were by far the best, because they were brighter in colour and heavier than the Downs, but later in the season, when they had had time to mature, the Downs were better.

Mr Stuckey pointed out that they had not considered the question of how much money they got per acre from their land. That was a difficult question to settle, because none of them, he thought, had really worked it out. The first things to consider in breeding sheep were the land and the climate, which had a great deal to do with the stock, both sheep and cattle. As to Mr Grigg's remarks *re* Devon cattle, his experience was that Here-fords were much better than Devons—(laughter and applause)—but climate and soil had very much to do in the breeding, and no doubt in their own particularly suitable localities one would beat the other. As to milk, there again the land and the climate exercised a great influence, and on the rather hilly land in the North Island and on second-class land he was quite sure the Hereford would beat the Shorthorn all to pieces. (Laughter.) With respect to the use of rams, he had had some experience with Shropshire rams and Lincoln ewes. When the freezing first started he got a few Southdown rams, and although he was very pleased with them, he had heard so much about Shropshires he thought he would give them a trial. He got three from Auckland, and they were very good. He tried them for two years in succession, and instead of fattening from 50 to 70 per cent., as with the Southdowns, he only fattened about 5 per cent. The following year he sold not more than 50 per cent, of the hoggets, whereas everyone of the crossed Southdown hoggets went away as fat sheep. It was his experience

that possibly a small sheep did not sell for so much money as a larger one, but it went away much sooner than the other kind.

Mr C. Pharazyn said he knew the advocates of using Down sheep were very fully convinced they would get as much, or nearly as much, per acre, as by keeping to the Lincolns, or other long-woolled breeds, but they had not yet sufficient data to settle the question. They were here in a new country; a great many of them recognised they knew something about sheep farming now, although they did not a few years ago, but he never could understand how they were prepared to set their experience against the experience of the Old Country, where they had been sheep farming for hundreds of years, in each district at Home they found different breeds of sheep to suit those districts. That was what they had to do in New Zealand. Then, again, wool must be their maintay, and if they got away from that they would be on dangerous ground. The future of wool was pretty well assured, but with [unclear: reard] to frozen meat the tendency was downwards. He should always say, "Keep to our [unclear: ool] whatever we do." The result of his observation in New Zealand was that some people were unconsciously sacrificing their flocks. They were allowing them to get into a mongrel condition, and they did not know where they would be in a short time. A lot of good flocks were being spoilt in that way, and he should strongly advise breeders to be very careful in that respect.

Mr Pashby thought Shorthorn cattle would be better than Devons. They were getting to use very small breeds, and if they were not good for milking he did not know what would be the use of them. He was afraid they were getting into the same state with regard to their sheep, and that they might go too far in that direction. In choosing sheep they must know the locality they were going to put them in.

Mr Williamson said in his locality Hampshire Downs were looked upon as a very useful breed. A farmer there put half Shropshire and half Hampshire rams with his ewes, which were half merino and half Leicester, and he was breeding entirely for fat lambs. The first to sell were the Hampshires, the Shropshires followed, and he sold every one of his lambs, so that apparently Hampshires were quite equal to the Shropshires or Southdowns. As to cattle. Shorthorns or Polled Angus were preferable to the small breeds they had at the present time. Mr Williamson said that he was rather surprised that Mr Grigg had not mentioned the Holsteins, as he believed them to be a very useful breed of cattle.

Mr Borrie said that last year when it came to getting away fat lambs he sold about three Leicester cross for one Shropshire Down.

Mr Wheeler said a great deal had been said in favour of black-faced sheep in the hilly country. In the North Island these had not been altogether a success, and the breed that many people found suited them very well in such localities was the Romney. They gave a very fair amount of wool, of good value, and they could turn off their wethers at 18 months.

Mr Matthews said Mr Grigg spoke very strongly of the early-maturing qualities of the black-faced sheep. He himself had exhibited sheep at 13 months in the Romney classes that had had nothing but grass; they weighed up to 90lb, and he could make every wether in his flock hit the mark at 15 months. He did not think, therefore, it could be claimed that the other breeds matured much earlier than that.

Mr Murdoch pointed out the advantages of the Border-Leicester over other breeds. However, he only recommended the Leicester sheep for crossing with merino ewes because of the low mortality among the lambs. In a great many cases, in putting the Lincoln ram to merino ewes, especially if the ewes were at all weak, they ran a great danger of losing not only half the lambs, but the ewes too. In that respect the Border Leicester was far and away ahead of the Lincoln, and he also considered that the Leicester cross lamb was equal to any other cross for freezing purposes.

The Chairman said he thought over a very large area of New Zealand the Downs would be a very profitable sheep, certainly the best for the freezing market, and from his own experience he did not believe there would be any loss in wool. They would get an equal amount of wool from an equal area of land. If they could carry at least four Downs where they would carry three Lincolns or long-wools, they would get about an equal amount of wool of higher pi ice and quality.

Mr Wilson said that when he visited Mr E. McLean some years ago that gentleman told him the Southdowns grew more wool to the acre than any others he had had.

Mr Grigg, in reply, maintained that for freezing purposes the Devon cattle would produce greater money value, but he would not recommend them for dairying for one moment. For that he believed there was nothing equal to the Holstein, because they were the largest milkers, and their early maturity was surprising. One great omission in the arguments brought forward in that discussion was as to the amount of feed that different animals required to produce a certain amount of wool and mutton. He maintained that the smaller sheep did not consume the same amount of food relatively for the simple reason that it matured so much earlier, and therefore relieved the pastures so much sooner. It was one great objection to the heavy woolled sheep, that they could not get them out of the way. As to the Shropshire Downs, they had gone all over England, Scotland and Ireland, and the verdict of the English farmers was one they should take into consideration when they considered the

question of the best breed of sheep they should put on to their land. He was not at all surprised at what Mr Williamson had said about the Hampshire Downs. It was a huge sheep, and if they gave him a sufficient amount of food it was well known in England he would produce a greater amount of mutton than any other sheep. The reason why Mr Williamson's lambs went first was simply because they were taken as soon as they were the required weight: but the question was what food did they eat. They could keep two Southdowns for one Hampshire. The Romney Marsh was not a sheep to be despised, and there were some districts in New Zealand, where, in my opinion, they could keep nothing else.

The resolution proposed by Mr Grigg was then put to the meeting and carried.

## Noxious Weeds Bill.

The Committee to which the Noxious Weeds Bill was relegated brought up various amendments to the measure, which were explained by Mr Ritchie. They were approved of, and, on the motion of Mr McLaren, seconded by Mr Borrie, were recommended to the consideration of the Government.

## The Sheep Tax and the Rabbit Nuisance.

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were:—"It was thought at our last Conference that the expenditure of moneys collected by the sheep tax was unnecessarily high, that it was unfairly spent, and that in future, if collected, it should be devoted generally to the benefit of sheepfarmers."

Mr M. C. Orbell proposed, "That in the event of the present sheep tax being continued, the money so received be devoted only to the benefit of the sheepfarmers." It was, he said, most unfair that the tax on sheep should be devoted to the rabbit nuisance. Their sheep inspectors had little or nothing to do except to see the sheep were dipped, and it was very hard that farmers who were living in districts where there were no rabbits should be taxed for those who were living in infested districts. This was beginning to be a burning question down South, and he maintained that the farmers would be perfectly justified in objecting to pay the tax under such circumstances as he had just mentioned.

Mr Barriball seconded the motion.

The Chairman read the following remarks written by Mr Ritchie on the subject:—"The tax goes towards the cost of the repayment, the inspection of stock and rabbit suppression. It is impossible to separate the cost, as officers act in a double capacity."

Mr C. Brown said in Hawke's Bay they had a sheep tax and a rabbit tax, and sheep inspectors and rabbit inspectors. The Rabbit Board was purely a private concern, and had some hundreds of pounds in the bank. The money they paid for the sheep tax, which was not spent in the province, would more than pay for all the expenses of the rabbit nuisance, but they had paid it cheerfully. In the Auckland province they had five or six inspectors; the tax collected there was about one-quarter of what the sheep inspectors cost, and they had no rabbit tax, so that, although the cost of the Sheep Department was as much as was derived from the tax, it was very unequally distributed.

Mr Hare thought it was very unfair that rabbits should be connected with sheep at all. They required experts to inspect their sheep, and men who would be competent to say whether they should be destroyed or not. If they asked for expert knowledge they were told it would be too expensive, but a tax of £20,000 ought to be able to provide expert men. The present men in the Department were very necessary; but in every district they required one scientific veterinary surgeon, who before stock was condemned could really say what was the matter with them, and also stop the introduction of infected stock. The rabbit inspector required none of that scientific knowledge whatever; he only required a fox terrier to be a fullblown stock inspector. It was a kind of back door into the Stock Department; a man got a billet to find rabbits, and to fine farmers for having rabbits on their land, and in time he was put on to inspect stock coming into the saleyards. He thought that first of all a man should be a stock inspector, and then if they gave him extra duty as rabbit inspector the expenses would be lessened. Many of the men they had as inspectors were very able and quite competent to discover rabbits, but that was all they were fitted for (Laughter.) If the Department divided [unclear: thi] £20,000 fairly they could afford to have really scientific men to inspect the stock.

Mr Grigg said a large proportion of the land infested with rabbits was in the possession of the Government, and it seemed very unreasonable that a large proportion of the tax should be spent on that land. There was very little necessity for an inspector of stock, except during the dipping season, and after that their work was done for the remainder of the year.

Mr Stuckey said he could not agree that people who lived in rabbit districts only should pay for the inspection of rabbits. He considered the rabbits were a national calamity, but he could not help thinking the Government should kill their own rabbits.

Mr Buchanan said the sheep tax brought in about £20,000, and the cost of inspection of rabbits, sheep, &c., was something like £30,000. That showed a good deal of the expense was not paid out of the sheep tax, and from the question having been before the House of Representatives a good many times he was sure it would be very difficult indeed to divide the expenditure.

Mr Wheeler said he came from a district where there were no rabbits, and yet they paid their share of the burden. He did not think the sheep tax was oppressive, and he was quite willing it should be expended as at present.

Mr Borrie was rather surprised at the attitude taken up by Mr Buchanan, and would almost think he was a special pleader for the Government. The society he represented unanimously condemned the amount of the tax, and unprejudiced persons must see that it was a class tax. They knew one-half of the amount derived from the tax was so much profit to the Government, and he did not see why sheep-owners pure and simple should be taxed to benefit others.

Mr McLaren said the rabbits in his district were advancing at a rapid rate, and instead of opposing the sheep tax they ought to try and suggest some scheme by which they could assist the Government to stop the flow of rabbits into South Canterbury. If they went on increasing at the present rate they would be overrun with them. It was a question for the whole of New Zealand to take up, and it behoved them to do all they could to assist the Government.

Mr Souter thought they ought to be very thankful there were inspectors to keep the rabbits down. There was very efficient inspection, and if they interfered with the Department they would do themselves an injury, and those who at present had no rabbits would very soon be overrun with them.

Mr Rhodes said he was very sorry Mr Orbell had moved this resolution, because his (Mr Orbell's) district would suffer more than any other in New Zealand if the Government relaxed their inspection of rabbits. Everyone present would like to see the tax dropped if the Government could afford to lose the revenue, but he should regret if anything said in that room would induce the Government to drop any taxation if it meant them spending less money on the rabbits.

Mr Murdoch said there was no reason why the sheep-breeders should be especially taxed for keeping down rabbits or any other purpose more than any other colonists. They wanted a fair distribution of taxation.

Mr May said that rabbits were a national calamity, and it was a very good thing to devote the money to their extermination.

Mr M. C. Orbell, in reply, said he should be sorry for anyone to think he opposed the expenditure of public money on rabbits, but his idea was the tax was not equally distributed. There were other ways in which the money might be raised, and he would not object to it if it was raised in an equal manner.

On the motion being put to the meeting it was lost by 22 to 17.

## **The Small Birds Nuisance.**

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were as follow:—"The damage caused to the Colony by the rapidly increasing numbers of small birds renders it imperative that some drastic and systematic method should be adopted for their suppression, and although a certain power is now in the hands of the county councils to undertake this work, it is hoped this Conference will thoroughly go into the matter with the object of promoting immediate and united action."

Mr Pashby moved, "That in view of the want of systematic action in the poisoning of small birds, clauses be introduced into the Small Birds Act compelling united action."

Mr Borrie seconded the motion.

Mr Bedford said the best way to suppress the small birds would be to proclaim certain days during the winter when poisoned grain should be laid, with a penalty for any omissions in that respect. Then the Government would have to appoint inspectors to see that the poisoned grain was laid on Crown lands.

Mr W. Wilson suggested the formation of Sparrow Clubs, the members of which would forward to the secretary a certain number of sparrows, according to the acreage of their holdings, or pay an equivalent fine.

The secretary read some notes written by the secretary of the Selwyn County Council, pointing out—(1) that a uniform system should be adopted in the several road boards, boroughs and counties; (2) that inasmuch as the towns and cities constitute some of the chief breeding places, the boroughs should be compelled to assist in abating the nuisance; (3) that the poisoning of birds by local bodies should be made compulsory by government bringing clause 7 of the Birds Nuisance Act, of 1891, into active operation wherever the work is not effectually done by the local bodies; (4) that a uniform rate of reward for the collection of eggs and heads be adopted by the several local bodies, and that the uniform reward be recommended at 2½d per dozen.

The resolution was carried.

## Assimilation of Rules.

Reporting on this subject the Revising Committee said—"It as been suggested as desirable that some provision, on the lines of Metropolitan Jockey Clubs, should be made for dealing with any exhibitor who may wilfully infringe the rules of any agricultural society."

Mr Wilson moved, "That the fundamental rules of the agricultural associations throughout the Colony should be made uniform."

Mr Forster-Pratt seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr Wilson then moved, "That the Agricultural and Pastoral Associations of Napier, Palmerston, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill, with power to consult other associations, form a committee for the purpose of drawing up rules to be presented to the next Conference."

Mr Grigg seconded the motion, which was carried.

## Housing and Clothing Sheep.

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were:—"The Conference will be asked to decide what constitutes housing and clothing of sheep, and although it was unanimously decided at the last Conference that this practice should be discontinued at all shows in the future, the granting of permission to cover sheep during transit to exhibitions is thought by many to be an unsatisfactory privilege."

Mr Stuckey moved, "That the words housed and clothed shall mean sheep that have access to any shed or building for feeding or any other purpose and sheep which are at any time or under any circumstances whatever clothed with cloths."

Mr Matthews seconded the motion, and after a short debate the discussion was adjourned.

At 6 p.m. the Conference adjourned until 10 o'clock next morning.

## Third Day.

THURSDAY, MAY 31ST.

The Agricultural Conference resumed at ten o'clock. Mr W. H. Beetham occupied the chair.

## The Amended Rules.

Mr McDonald moved, "That to further the resolution carried yesterday, *re* the assimilation of the rules of the New Zealand agricultural societies, copies of the rules amended by the Revising Committee be sent to the various associations before the next Conference." The mover said that it was not satisfactory that the delegates should be called upon to discuss rules which they had never seen.

The resolution was seconded by Mr Kirkbride and agreed to.

Mr Rhodes moved that another member be added to the number from the South Island, which was also agreed to.

## Clothing and Housing of Sheep.

The discussion on the housing and clothing of sheep was then resumed.

Mr Stuckey said that the resolution was not intended to ask the opinion of the Conference as to whether or not sheep should be housed or clothed. What was wanted to be known was a definition of clothing and housing.

Mr Cartwright Brown remarked that the Conference did not want to hinder people from doing whatever seemed pleasing to them. If the breeder liked, he could put his sheep in a glass house.

Mr Bradey considered it was unnecessary to direct breeders what to do with their sheep.

Mr D. McLaren thought the simplest plan was to remove all restrictions. When he was a young man they used to clothe their sheep in Scotland, and no objection was taken to it. He contended that every man should be allowed to please himself.

Mr Dunlop was of opinion that whatever conclusions the Conference came to at this sitting with reference to this matter, the subject would be brought up at the next.

Mr Wheeler said the resolution was necessary in order to define what was the limit of housing and clothing sheep. Some people erected open sheds for shelter, which the sheep soon found out, and availed themselves of.

Mr Murdoch, as an exhibitor, would wish to say a few words on the subject. He saw no reason why a sheep-breeder should be dealt with in an exceptional manner to an exhibitor of other kinds of stock.

The Chairman pointed out that the motion before the meeting was to define what was housing and clothing.

The Secretary here read the resolution passed at the last Conference with reference to housing sheep.

Mr Murdoch, resuming the discussion, said he would oppose the motion. With referent to sheep being allowed to be clothed whi'st travelling to shows, he considered the regulation very indefinite, as he knew of some sheep that it had taken weeks to bring to a show. He saw no reason why the sheep-breeders should be subjected to restrictions any more than the breeders of cattle or horses. These latter were allowed to do as they liked with their property, use every means to have [unclear: the] in perfect condition for exhibition, and therefore he contended the sheep-breeder should be permitted to please himself.

Mr Rhodes wished to know if they were going to upset the rules passed at the [unclear: la] Conference.

Mr McDonald moved and Mr [unclear: Dunlo]; seconded, "That the rules with reference; [unclear: t]he housing and clothing of sheep be relegate to a committee appointed by this Conference to draw up rules on the subject."

Both the original motion and amendment were negatived after considerable discussion and on the resolution of Mr Lowes the subject was expunged from the order paper.

## Thanks.

On the motion of Mr Bradey a vote thanks was accorded the president and members of the Wellington Liedertafel for having invited the delegates to their concert on Tuesday of day evening.

## Mortality among Sheep.

The Revising Committee's report was as [unclear: for]lows:—"The great mortality in young [unclear: sheep] especially in the North Island, [unclear: aggravated] possibly by excessive rains of the last [unclear: two] seasons, is a subject requiring the latest information as to the best treatment of young sheep."

Mr Gray, delegate for North Canterbury, moved, "That it is desirable that the Conference discuss the question of mortality amongst sheep, including diseases necessitating drenching and curative treatment."

He then read an interesting paper on some diseases in sheep, and some preventatives.

The Chairman said that the paper was an instructive one.

Mr Overton said he had lost a good many ewes, and his remedy was now to provide the ewes with green food about three weeks before lambing. As to the blood-poisoning, his experience was not similar to Mr Gray's, for he had found that by tailing the lambs before they were a week old no deaths occurred, and *he had* long since come to the conclusion that the deaths which did occur were caused in many cases by the lambs being too large and fat. He took care that the lambs were not more than a week. He was fully in accord with Mr Gray as to the treatment which should be given to sheep. He had much pleasure in seconding the motion.

Mr Matthews agreed with the matter in the paper, and with what Mr Overton had said. Many sheep were lost by being left on poor pastures, and careful feeding was a preventive against lungworm. When he started sheep-farming, he, like a great many other beginners, lost many sheep on account of not knowing how to treat them. After a time, however, he introduced cattle more largely. By not keeping so many sheep he had reduced the death-rate to a minimum. He got a flock of sheep that were in low condition into his possession some years ago, and by judicious treatment he succeeded in bringing them through without any loss. With regard to the condition of ewes, he found that by keeping his sheep in good condition he had better lambs. A good deal of the mortality among lambs was brought about by keeping ewes on stale pastures.

Mr Cartwright Brown said the Hawke's Bay Association had procured about 200 sheep to be operated on by the proprietors of drenches. They divided them into lots of 20, and had each lot dosed with a drench belonging to each proprietor. Up to the present only a few of the affected sheep that were treated died, but one lot which was not drenched had already lost nearly half its number.

Mr Kirkbride said the Auckland Association consulted Professor Thomas on the question of lungworm, and that gentleman expressed his doubts as to the value of drenching. He was in favour of change of pasture, which was the only remedy proposed. Professor Thomas would not say that those remedies were of no use, but he considered them of very little use.

Mr Buchanan hoped the Government would employ the best scientific expert that the world could supply. He pointed out the good results that has ensued from the labours of M. Pasteur in treating the diseases of silkworms. The Government of the United States had spent thousands of pounds in establishing scientific schools for the purpose of teaching subjects necessary to be known by the farmer. He would much prefer to see sheep affected with scab than with footrot. The best way to prevent the disease is to get at the history of the organism. At his in-stance the Government procured several copies of the book published by the scientific department of the United States, and from that he learned they were unable to follow the various stages of the lungworm. If we could get at this matter, the whole subject would be clear He thanked Mr Gray for giving his

paper to the Conference. He proposed, "That in the opinion of this Conference the Government should take steps to secure the services of a scientific expert, in order to assist settlers in the prevention and cure of disease in stock."

The motion was carried.

Mr Grigg thought that it was doubtful if the losses in pregnant ewes could be classed as a disease. He had always attributed such deaths to debility, and the fact that most deaths were in ewes bearing two lambs tended to show that debility was the cause. With reference to lungworm, that, although untraceable beyond a certain point, might probably be found to be caused by some parasite concealed in the grass. As to blood poisoning from tailing lambs in dirty yards, he had no doubt of such an effect, and he knew an instance of the loss of more than 100 lambs at one time from that cause. His practice in tailing lambs was to put up a hurdle yard at a gateway between two paddocks; by this means, also, lambs were easily mothered. Mr Gray had pointed out the best preventive for lungworm, and that was to keep the lambs in good condition. With regard to footrot he considered Mr Gray had pointed out the proper course to pursue.

Mr Barnett gave his experience with reference to dirty yards. Some pigs were castrated and allowed to run around a yard where milk was thrown out, with the result that he lost nearly all of them.

Mr Murdoch said he had some experience of lungworm among his sheep about two years ago, and had tried many remedies, but they were all ineffectual. Last year it made its appearance again, but at the same time he received a leaflet from the Agricultural Department advising to put sheep infested with the disease on bare pastures. This he did, with excellent results. He thought it was his duty to bring this matter before the Conference

Mr Henderson related how dirty sheep-shears had caused blood poisoning.

Mr Bedford said that the branches of *pinus insignis* scattered about the paddocks for sheep to nibble at were productive of good results.

Mr Barriball said that drenching with extract of bluegum had been found very useful in his district.

Mr Gray was very glad that his paper had provoked such an interesting discussion. He did not think that suggestions that were applicable to one part of the Colony would suit another. He replied at some length to the objections which had been raised to some of his remarks.

kind and properly applied. There is often a considerable difference between the agricultural and the commercial value of a manure. The former can only be ascertained by observing the increased yield of crop due to the manure. This increase, multiplied by the market price of the product, and divided by the quantity of manure applied will give the agricultural value. An example will make this clear. Supposing an acre of wheat is manured at the rate of 2 cwt per acre, the price of the manure being 5s. per cwt, and taking the increased yield as 8 bushels per acre, which at 2s. 6d. per bushel will be £1, then the agricultural value of the manure will be  $8 \times 2s. 6d. \div 2 = 10s.$  per cwt., showing a profit of 50 per cent, on the commercial value of the manure. The farmer himself only can ascertain the agricultural value of a manure, and often a simple field experiment, showing the difference between the produce of a manured and an unmanured plot, will teach a lesson that can be learned in no other way.

## Breeding of the Most Profitable Cattle and Sheep for Freezing Purposes.

IN introducing this subject for the consideration of this Conference, I propose to treat it under three distinct headings:—

1. What class of mutton and beef brings the highest price in the English market, and is such meat the most profitable that can be produced by the New Zealand farmer? In considering this question it may be convenient first to state certain facts that do not admit of a difference of opinion, and afterwards take those points on which there may be a difference.

It is beyond dispute that comparatively small breeds both of cattle and sheep make the highest price per pound, and therefore we may conclude that it must be the small breeds that will best fulfil this condition.

2. What are the Breeds as regards cattle? I submit that there can be but little doubt that the Devons best supply our want. Granting that carcasses weighing from 600 to 750lbs do sell at the highest price per pound, and that when over 800 lbs. there is a progressive relative depreciation, with the increased weight. There is also another strong reason in favour of the Devons, they are more easily kept in high condition until they are fit for killing than any other breed. In this country where stall-feeding cannot be adopted the main qualities of the Hereford and Shorthorn for which they are preferred in England disappear by comparison. The above remarks, if admitted as correct, clearly points to the Devon, also as a most valuable breed for crossing with other breeds.

In determining which are the best sheep to breed in New Zealand, we may well go for some assistance to the farmers of Great Britain, and we shall find that the comparatively smaller breeds are leading, especially the Shropshire Downs and the South Downs.

With reference to the Shropshire, a recent writer uses these words, "Tenant-farmers in England have not been slow to discern the rent-paying attributes of the breed;" and "It is an undisputed fact that in the show yard as well as in the sale ring they have, both in numbers and prices, distanced all others." And he goes on to say, "My opinion is that when the true merits of the Shropshire are better known here by pinging their first calves at about two and a half years old they were equal to four-year-old cows. For crossing purposes they were also admirable, as he had proved at shows at Christchurch and Melbourne. For butter-making they were also good, although for that purpose he preferred a strain of the Jersey. With regard to crossing, he had seen it stated that the Ayrshire was produced by a cross on the Devon and Jersey. In some situations he doubted whether there was a much better animal, but where larger animals could be kept he thought the Ayrshire was not so profitable, besides which, in consequence of their small teats, only four can be milked in the same time required to milk five Holsteins.

Mr Barnett said he had tried the Ayrshires with a cross of Shorthorn, and had found them really good milkers. After crossing once he had gone back to the Shorthorn, and now had a splendid strain of milking cattle which were also very saleable for meat.

Mr W. Henderson said the Shorthorn held the record of the world, and his advice was to get a good milch cow and keep on breeding from her.

Mr Murdoch thought the best way to get reliable information was from dairy factory managers, who were not interested in any particular breeds, and who were in a better position to give information as to which was the best breed than even the breeders themselves. They would also be in a position to speak of the quality as well as the quantity of milk to be got from the various breeds.

Mr Buchanan said he was not in a position to give expert evidence as to the best breed of dairy cattle, but the late Mr Fleming, of Port Levy, who was one of the pioneers of the dairy industry, had a pure Shorthorn cow for many years, which had a bull calf, subsequently sold to the Rev Mr Raven. He (Mr Buchanan) could without difficulty spot the progeny of that bull throughout the district, as they were so remarkable for their early maturity and beef-producing qualities, which bore out what had been said as to the good qualities of the Shorthorn.

Mr Overton said there were not in the Ellesmere district such good cows as they had in the old days of Shorthorns. He, like others, had gone into half-breeds, and, very much regretted to say, had, in a way, assisted in the terrible deterioration of the cattle of Canterbury, which were not equal to the former for the dairy or beef; and he would strongly advise those who had a good milking strain of Shorthorns to stick to them, and, if they were careful in the selection of a bull, would never regret it. Shorthorns were very hard to beat, although he had not a word to say against the Holstein, for he had no experience of them.

Mr Pattullo said in his district a favourite breed was a cross between the Shorthorns and Ayrshires.

Mr Pashby said his experience was that it was best to get a bull from a good milker and breed from that bull. It was more important to do that than to get a heifer from a milking family.

Mr W. Wilson said his idea of the best kind of cow was a halfbred Shorthorn and Jersey for butter, which was also a good butcher's animal, and for cheese he should suggest a Holstein and Shorthorn, or Ayrshire and Shorthorn.

Mr Gray said they should study the indications of milking qualities in cattle, as was carefully done in Jersey, not only with regard to giving a large quantity of milk, but also to the capacity for holding that milk. If they did that he believed it would result in great benefit.

Mr Kirkbride said the Auckland province was eminent for its dairy cows, and any cow which showed a cross of Jersey breeding was worth there from £1 to £2 more than any other breed.

Mr H. Reynolds said he had found that cows with a dash of the Jersey gave an extra 2 per cent, of cream. He also pointed out that the cow which gave the most butter far was the most valuable animal.

The resolution was then put and carried.

## **Conveyance of Poison.**

The Revising Committee's remarks were as follow:—"From accidents which have already occurred during the transit of poison the attention of the Conference is against drawn to the necessity for a more careful system of carrying the same."

Mr Buchanan said he had been asked to move, "That in view of recent accidents the Railway Commissioners be asked to have more care taken in the transit of poisons." He remarked that poisons brought out from Home were often so badly packed that they could mix with other articles, and he thought they should

ask the Government to place restrictions on the import of poisons, which should begin at Home. Fatal consequences had arisen from carelessness in this respect, and he thought they would quite agree with the necessity for doing something in the matter. He would not move the resolution that had been placed in his hands, but as follows:—"That the Government be asked to introduce and pass an Act which shall deal with [unclear: thi] question."

The motion was seconded by Mr Mai thews.

Mr Lowes thought the question short have been left to Chambers of Commerce.

Mr Grigg did not agree with that, and thought farmers were primarily interested in the matter.

Mr Bradey said he had seen on the wharf in Wellington, arsenic and sugar and currant all mixed together.

The resolution was then put and carried.

## Rabbit Fencing.

Mr Stuckey moved, "That this Conference suggest to the Government that a clause be inserted in the Fencing Act of 1893, makin[unclear: g] wire-netted fence of dimensions a legal fence and compelling adjoining owners to partake part in the cost of construction and maintenance, and that no larger mesh than 1? in be recognised." He thought anyone of experience in this matter would agree as to the necessity for this resolution. He had netted a plac[unclear: e] about 3500 acres, and now one man coul[unclear: d] keep the fence in repair, and there were virtually no rabbits on the land. Most of the settlers in his district were in favour of such a clause being inserted in the Act, because at present a man who tried to keep the rabbits down was at the mercy of a careless neighbour. He thought also the railway carriage of wire-netting was too high, as compared with the carriage of other commodities.

Mr Rhodes seconded the motion, saying that the small settlers in Canterbury were now of opinion that wire-netting fencing was a necessity. It should also be made known that such fences should be allowed as improvements at the termination of the lease.

Mr Buchanan opposed the resolution, as he thought they would inflict injury on settlers in New Zealand by passing it. Where the roads were few and far between such a resolution could be given effect to without injuring anybody, but what would be the ultimate result of it where the country was intersected by roads? All the roads would have to be rabbit-netted on both sides, which in many cases would only be erected with difficulty; frequently a settler would try to force a neighbour to put up such a fence when he had no necessity for doing so, and as farmers had but little money to spare they should be left to choose their own way of expending it within certain limits. If the staff of rabbit inspectors was any use, then there was no necessity for the resolution, and if not then let them be got rid of. If an Act could be passed which would be confined to certain localities, there would be some good in it, but an Act of general application he did not think would be productive of any good.

Mr Hare also objected to the passing of any Act compelling neighbours to fence one with another. In his neighbourhood the rabbit inspectors had done splendid work, and the country was perfectly clear. The settlers had borne the stringent measures pluckily and well, and some had even been ruined by them, and the farmers who had spent all their profits by killing the rabbits would feel it very much if they had to re-fence all their land.

Mr Fisher thought such a clause as proposed would be very hard, but he was of opinion an Act could be passed which could be brought into force in districts by the request of the settlers in those districts and not otherwise.

Mr Gray objected to the general application of the clause, but saw no objection to inserting a clause compelling mutual fencing in proclaimed districts. They knew some of the fences erected by rabbit boards had been partially effective, and he thought the time was coming when a farmer should have power to recover from his neighbour part of the cost of fencing.

Mr Grigg supported the motion, which he thought was based on common-sense and fair play. If Mr Gray's suggestion was carried out, there could be no objection to it whatever. It was evident the small occupier would be protected as much as the large occupier, and the most effective way of getting rid of rabbits was to fence first and then kill them inside the fenced area. If it was necessary that adjoining settlers should pay for boundary fences, it was certainly as necessary they should do so in the case of erecting rabbit-fencing.

Mr Borrie said he had been told that rabbit-fencing was not much more expensive than a good sheep-fence.

Mr Pattullo said the difference was that the rabbit fence cost £72 10s per mile and a sheep-fence £50 or £55 per mile.

Mr McLaren said it was only fair they should be enabled to ask their neighbours to join in helping them to keep pests off their land.

Mr McDonald asked if sheep-fences would have to be removed to make way for rabbit-fences. If so, many small farmers would be ruined.

Mr Williamson said a man who was infested with rabbits had quite enough to do in fighting them without having to erect a fence to keep them from his neighbour who had not got them.

Mr C. Orbell said the Government runs were in many cases the breeding-places of rabbits, and they must see what was to be done with those lands.

Mr Chaytor said this clause would be in favour of the small settler, and he thought any fence erected ought to be passed by the local sheep inspector.

Mr Roberts supported the resolution, which he thought would be of great assistance to many settlers in his district, where as many as five and six rabbits to the acre had been killed. He knew of men in his district who had to fight against an influx of rabbits from adjoining lands, on which no steps were taken to keep down the pest. He might say that during the coming session, Mr Fraser, the newly-elected member for Wakatipu, would move in this matter in the House, if Government did not take up the question. North Island people did not really know what a rabbit pest was. The configuration of the country in the North Island was not so adapted to the spread of rabbits as the flat land in the South Island. He felt sure that the rabbit difficulty could be successfully handled by a system of wire-netting.

Mr M. C. Orbell was convinced that the time would soon come when every small settler would have to wire-net his property.

Mr J. Macfarlane thought the difficulty in the North Island was that the land was more rotten and that the fences would not be much benefit, especially if they were compelled to keep to road lines and boundaries. He should vote against the resolution, as he thought it would bear hardly on some small settlers.

Mr Pashby said he would support the resolution if the mover would insert "in rabbit-infested districts" after the last words.

The Chairman said the mover agreed to that. The resolution, he continued, was rather sweeping, but he was sure the interests of the smaller settlers would be carefully looked after. He spoke in terms of high praise of the rabbit inspectors, but, notwithstanding that, he said he would rather have a few miles of rabbit-netting than the whole lot of them. (Applause.)

Mr J. Anderson thought the small settlers would be the ones to benefit by this proposed clause being added to the Act.

On being put to the Conference, the resolution was carried on the voices.

## Promotion of Irrigation Works.

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were:—"It is a source of regret that our Government has not seen its way clear to make any progress in the way suggested at our last Conference in the improvement of the work of irrigation, and it is now thought that our county councils with the assistance of the Government might do something to encourage the promotion of irrigation works, not losing sight of the importance of working on a comprehensive plan."

Mr Grigg moved, "That the Government be asked to appoint a competent engineer who may be consulted and requested to report on any districts requiring water for irrigation, regard being had in all cases to the present or future requirements of the adjoining districts." More would be thought of this question, he said, before long than now. The settlers were very slow to avail themselves of the advantages of irrigation in the Ashburton district, but in one portion a company was proceeding to irrigate, and if that was successful he was sure the county would be inflamed with a desire to follow suit. The works should in every case be undertaken only after consultation with a competent engineer, and he thought therefore they were quite justified in asking Government to appoint such a person, seeing that so great a benefit would be gained by the introduction of water to large areas of land in all parts of the Colony.

Mr Williamson seconded the motion, thinking that the increase of produce would be more than one-half if irrigation was properly carried out all over New Zealand. Nothing would advance the interests of the Colony so much as irrigation, and nothing would pay the Government better than to expend money in that direction.

Mr Wilson agreed with what had been said as to the benefits of irrigation, but reminded the Conference that the mere irrigation of land was not sufficient. Irrigation only would quickly exhaust the land in many cases, and they must supply manures also and see carefully to the drainage. In Hawke's Bay he thought they could grow anything with proper irrigation, and he hoped the Conference would derive some benefit from passing the resolution.

Mr Buchanan spoke from personal experience of the wonderful results obtained by proper irrigation in various parts of America, and he thought that irrigation would play a most important part in the future of Canterbury.

Mr Hall said he had seen a good deal of irrigation in Australia, and was convinced that irrigation was not yet out of the experimental stage, and was still very expensive.

Mr Barnett said the question was, what was to be done with the water placed on high and poor land, when it came to pass over heavy, good land?

Mr Grigg said the application of irrigation to gardens, as in Australia, as referred to by Mr Hall, was not in his mind when speaking to the motion. As to its damaging the low land after passing over high land there was very little danger of that in a large part of Canterbury, and in other parts the rivers were so close together that there would be no difficulty in passing the water into them. Let them help at first where there was no obstacle to begin with, and then the other districts could be dealt with in due course. As to the deterioration of land by the growth of crops, he said there was a great delusion on that subject. If the land could bear [unclear: gors] seed for so many years without [unclear: deteriorisation] did not that upset the idea that land could be so quickly exhausted? He had himself irrigated some of his [unclear: wors] land, and he found one man was able to irrigate hundreds of acres, and lambs put on the irrigated grass did as well as on rap[unclear: e] course they must be put on thin, and not so soon after the water had been taken off, as it required the sun to restore the saccharin matter to the grass. There was no reason to fear exhaustion of land in consequence of irrigation, for the growth of grain crop[unclear: s] irrigated land in New Zealand, he maintained was impracticable, but in grass land [unclear: the] must be a continuous addition to the fertility of the soil if fed off by stock. The exhaustion of the soil by weeds is what the agricultural have most to fear.

Mr Murphy spoke of the great benefit that had been obtained in Ireland by mean of irrigation, by which the rental value of land had been in some cases increased from 8s to £2 an acre.

The resolution was then put and carried.

## Sale of Live Stock by Weight.

Mr R. Reynolds moved, "That inasmuch as all the vegetable products of the farm are sold by weight it is suggested that fat cattle, fat sheep and fat pigs should be sold in the same manner, and that all auctioneer selling at their own yards and every registered saleyard company be compelled to provide the necessary means for weighing animals at their yards, if requested to do so by a majority of stockholders selling in saleyards." He pointed out that the [unclear: practi] was largely in vogue in America, and was satisfactorily reported upon.

Mr Buchanan was in favour of the practice but did not think it should be made compulsory. However, the gain would be [unclear: enmous] if they effected the resolution proposed. He seconded the motion.

Mr Grigg said he would vote for the [unclear: moti] if the compulsory clause was left out, but [unclear: t] thought there was not so much in the proposal as some seemed to think. The question of judgment and the question of the price per pound were very nearly the same, and it would only benefit those people who knew nothing about the weight of an animal, and who [unclear: ma] arrangements for selling their stock with a consulting a competent authority.

Mr Henderson thought scales would be [unclear: ve] useful in selling outside the yard, but [unclear: insi] the experts knew practically the exact weight and no more money would be got for a [unclear: be] even if it was accurately weighed, than under present circumstances.

Mr Pattullo said the buyers and sellers would simply have a little more guidance than at present.

Mr C. Brown remarked that the system would prove useful if the buyer said his steer was 8 cwt and the butcher contended it was only 6 cwt. (Laughter.)

Mr Fisher said the matter had been brought before the Conference simply to have it ventilated.

Mr Kirkbride favoured the principle contained in the resolution, but he did not like the compulsory clause.

Mr May said he had always found it most satisfactory to buy by weight.

Mr Reynolds said he had no objection to strike out the compulsory portion of the resolution.

The resolution as amended by substituting the word "requested" for "compelled" was agreed to unanimously.

## Deputation to Railway Commissioners.

Mr Grigg detailed the result of the interview held between a deputation from the Conference and the Railway Commissioners on matters affecting the farming community. He said the deputation had been received in a very kind and business-like manner, and the Commissioners had gone thoroughly into all the matters brought before them. He moved, "That inasmuch as the Committee appointed by this Conference to wait upon the Railway Commissioners with a view to a reduction in freights upon produce finds that such reduction must largely depend upon the funds available for additional rolling stock, this Conference therefore urgently requests the Government to grant the necessary funds as soon as possible."

The motion was seconded by Mr M. C. Orbell, and carried.

## Foot-Rot in Sheep.

The Revising Committee reported as follows:—"The exclusion of all sheep suffering from any contagious disease from public sale-yards would in many ways be advantageous, but it is one of those things which, even though desirable, would be most difficult to accomplish."

Mr Bedford moved, "That this Conference affirms the desirability of excluding from public yards all sheep suffering from foot-rot."

Mr Chaytor seconded the motion, thinking it was very desirable they should take steps to prevent the spread of foot-rot, which they had heard was of an contagious nature. He did not believe it was spontaneous, and his experience had always been that the disease was caused by contagion. They ought to have some regulation to prevent it spreading, and it was quite worth while in districts where it did not exist to take measures to prevent its introduction.

Mr Matthews thought foot-rot was very much dependent on the condition of the season and the condition of the land at the time. Cold, wet land with very little grass was much better than dry land with much grass. He believed the disease originated in too much feed, from the ground not being perfectly consolidated, and from the warmth of the season.

Mr Henderson said he thought it would be very cruel to pass the resolution, as he believed that this year nine out of ten flocks were infected with foot-rot owing to the wet season and the quantity of grass.

Mr Buchanan spoke against the theory of the spontaneity of foot-rot proper, which he said was further proved by the fact that Professor Brown had discovered the actual microbe of the disease. He hoped the vote against the resolution would be unanimous simply because of its impracticability.

Mr Gray remarked that the theories of spontaneity and contagion were not at variance, and gave instances of the disease being apparently spontaneous and of others originating by means of contagion. As to the proposal before the meeting, he thought it was rather too great an interference with the liberty of the subject, and would bear hardly in some cases.

Mr Grigg said he hoped this resolution would not be passed, as it was too strict in its nature, and they might be forging fetters for themselves by passing it.

After some further discussion the motion was put to the Conference, and lost on the voices.

At 5.30 p.m. the Conference adjourned until 10 a.m. next day.

## Fourth Day.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1ST.

The Agricultural Conference sat at 10 o'clock. Mr W. H. Beetham occupied the chair.

The Chairman said he had received letters from Mr H. Crawford, Miramar, and Mr Meredith Smith, Stratford, dealing with subjects that had been disposed of by the Conference. He wished to know if it was the wish of the Conference that the letters should be read. It was decided not to read the letters.

## The Business of the Conference.

Mr Roberts then moved a resolution to define the number of delegates that each society should send to the next Conference, and to provide for the appointment of special visitors. After discussion, some amendments, the chief of which was the limitation of the number of invitees, were made to the resolution, which then read as follows:—"That each agricultural and pastoral association in New Zealand be entitled to send not more than two delegates to the next Conference; that the Arranging Committee be empowered to invite gentlemen who have special knowledge of subjects bearing on the business of this Conference to attend the same and take part in the proceedings; that the number of invitations be limited to ten." He said the opinions of such men would be extremely valuable to the Conference. He did not think that if such a resolution were carried it would actually increase the number they had got. Many of the small associations would not send more than one delegate.

Mr Buchanan said he would like to make a suggestion to Mr Roberts to the effect that some arrangements be made that the proceedings of the next Conference be reported fully and brought out in pamphlet form or in the *Country Journal*. They were much indebted to the Wellington papers for reporting their proceedings at such length, but it was evident that in such reports many matters must be curtailed. It would be well to have a complete shorthand report of the Conference which could be submitted afterwards to some expert—say Mr Murphy. He did not think the question of expense need stand in the way of such an important matter being carried out.

Mr Grigg, in seconding the resolution, supported Mr Buchanan's suggestions, as such a report would be found very useful for the guidance of the various agricultural and pastoral associations of New Zealand.

Mr Overton said that before the report was published in pamphlet form it should be edited.

Mr Barnett considered if the suggestions were carried out the Conference would become too large, and so much more time would be required for the proceedings that a number of members could not afford to spend the necessary time at the Conference.

Mr Forster-Pratt was prepared to support Mr Roberts' resolution.

Mr Gray said that if the number of representatives included more than one-half of those engaged in farming these gentlemen might swamp the agricultural delegates.

Mr Anderson thought the number of delegates should be two for the larger and one for the smaller societies.

Mr Pashby would vote against the motion.

Mr Kirkbride was of opinion that they should not object to a number of invitees being present and giving their opinions, but they should not be allowed to vote.

Mr Roberts did not think it would be proper treatment to allow those delegates to be present and then prevent them from voting.

Mr Buchanan pointed out how valuable the opinions of gentlemen connected with shipping would be to the Conference. The information imparted by Mr Reynolds was of very great value to the Conference.

Mr Grigg said that the admission of invitees to the Conference was not a question of figures at all; it was a question of principle. He considered that the presence of those gentlemen would be a disturbing element at the Conference. He would withdraw from seconding the motion if they were to vote.

Mr Buchanan then seconded the motion.

Mr W. Wilson moved an amendment that such invitees should not have the power of voting at the Conference.

Mr Overton said if they were to get useful information from these gentlemen it would be only right to allow them to vote.

Mr Lowes opposed the motion. If it were intended to have only one delegate from the small societies it would be manifestly unfair, and the question would arise what were small and what were large societies.

Mr McDonald thought it might be quite safe to leave the matter in the hands of the Otago Association.

The amendment on being put to the meeting was negatived.

Mr Roberts said that he had no doubt the Otago Association would take note of the suggestions made, and have the proceedings of the next Conference embodied in book or pamphlet. He was sorry that Mr Grigg had made an objection to members of the Chambers of Commerce being invited.

Mr Grigg asked to be allowed to explain. If they had half a dozen men present interested in shipping, there would be dust thrown in the eyes of the members.

Mr Roberts replied that he was not one of those conspirators.

Mr Grigg: Not conspirators, but natural enemies.

Mr Roberts said he had not spoken of shipping since he attended the meeting. If the question of selecting those gentlemen to be invited were left in the hands of the Otago Society they would be careful to ask only members of agricultural societies, men who were interested in furthering the interests of agriculture in their districts.

The motion was then put and carried.

## **Fresh Markets for Agricultural Produce.**

The Revising Committee's remarks on this subject were:—"However desirable it may be to open fresh markets for wool and frozen meat, the Committee are of opinion that it would be extremely difficult to do. The question is one perhaps worthy of the consideration of the Conference."

Mr Dunlop moved, "That continuous efforts should be made to extend the markets for our agricultural products, especially wool and frozen meat and dairy produce, and that reports be published thereon as frequently as possible."

Mr Murdoch seconded the motion.

Mr Hall said they would find a very good market in Western Australia, where prices ruled higher than in any of the other colonies. When he was in that colony, some time ago, they were importing potatoes from other countries. He saw New Zealand horses fed there with New Zealand oats, and they had also New Zealand butter. Anyone who knew anything of the climate and soil, and the small amount of rain that fell there, must know that it was necessary that the people of Western Australia must continue to get many products from other countries.

The resolution was agreed to.

## **Keeping Stock on the Quarantine Station.**

The Committee referred to this subject as follows:—"The present system of the Quarantine Island caretaker being allowed to keep stock of his own is considered by many importers in every way most objectionable."

Mr Ritchie explained that the Agricultural Department had taken over the management of Quail Island from the Customs Department, and that in future no stock would be allowed there.

The explanation was deemed satisfactory, and the matter was allowed to drop.

## Government Inspection of Public Dips.

Mr Barnett moved, "That it is desirable that all public dips should be subject to Government inspection for the purpose of ensuring that proper dipping material be used." He said that sheep which were exposed for sale were often ordered by the inspectors to be dipped before being removed. The seller did not trouble himself much about the matter, but the purchaser often found that the sheep were not properly dipped. A person who took his sheep to a public dip often found, too, that the liquid was not strong enough to kill the insects. He considered there should be a standard for such dips.

The motion was seconded by Mr Allen.

Mr Lowes said his experience of sheep inspectors was that they were very careful in seeing that sheep were dipped properly.

Mr Bradey knew of one small flock that was not dipped for three years.

The motion was carried.

## Illustrated Agricultural Reading-Books for State Schools.

The Revising Committee remarked:—"That Government be asked to encourage the introduction of reading-books such as are used in the State schools of other countries, devoted to descriptions of stock, crops and implements and plants, illustrated with the best types of the above."

Mr Overton moved, "That the Government be encouraged to introduce into our public schools reading-books more descriptive of agriculture." He pointed out that they did not want that all the masters should engage in teaching agriculture. What was asked was that books descriptive of agriculture, stock and plants should be introduced into the schools, and as far as possible be used as reading-books. He read a letter from the Education Department, in which it was stated that Professor Thomas, of Auckland, was engaged by the department to prepare a book on botany and agriculture for use in the primary schools of the Colony. The idea is to use the book in the country districts where agriculture is the prevailing pursuit, and another book on geology to be used in the mining districts. The study of one of these books is to be the elementary science required in the schools in which the book is used.

Mr Hare, in seconding the motion, said that farmers had not taken sufficient interest in education up to the present. There were splendid opportunities for taking University degrees, but there were none for taking degrees in veterinary science.

Mr Chaytor said it was very desirable that children who were to make their living by agriculture should have some idea of matters which interested them.

Mr Kirkbride had much pleasure in supporting Mr Overton's motion. He considered it a step in the right direction.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr Hare moved, and Mr Borrie seconded, "That this Conference wishes to impress on the Minister of Agriculture the necessity of facilities being given for the study of veterinary science in New Zealand by scholarships, and to enable the winners to study at Lincoln College and in Britain, and that as an incentive to study, some vacancies, as they occur, be open to competitive examination for the appointment of stock inspectors."

The mover and seconder spoke briefly in favour of the motion, which was carried.

## Wheel Tax.

Mr Ward moved, "That this Conference recognising the injustice which the vehicle tax, in force in the Counties of Westland, Grey, Inangahua and Buller, imposes upon farmers, recommend to the Government the advisability of its taking the necessary steps to have the tax removed from vehicles the property of *bona fide* farmers and used solely for the conveyance of produce to market and in the ordinary work of the farm." Mr Ward said the farmers of Westland were subjected to a tax on the vehicles used for carrying produce to market, and in the general work of the farm. The tax is imposed by the West-land County Council, who had been requested to reduce it, but without avail. The farmers have no representative on the council, the mining population and the business people being in the majority. He was requested to bring this resolution forward, so

as to get an expression of opinion from gentlemen engaged in agriculture on the injustice of this tax.

Mr W. Wilson said this was a matter which affected the local bodies.

Mr Grigg said the fanners of Westland were entitled to the sympathy of the Conference.

Mr Buchanan explained the circumstances which led to power being given to local bodies to make such by-laws when the Bill was before the House of Representatives.

The motion was agreed to.

## **Cultivation of Beet-Root.**

Mr Bradey moved, "That, with a view to encouraging the cultivation of beet for sugar manufacture, there be an extension of the Act of 1881, offering a bonus for a further period of fifteen years."

The motion was seconded by Mr Murdoch.

Mr Grigg said the whole thing was folly. They grew beet in France and Prussia for sugar-making merely that the English labourer might have cheap sugar. He disagreed altogether with the system of giving bonuses.

Mr Gray did not think that the production of sugar from beet would ever be a success in this Colony. He believed the system of granting bonuses was a mistaken one.

Mr Stuckey did not think, at the present price of labour in the Colony, there would be any chance of successfully engaging in growing beet for sugar-making.

Mr Buchanan did not think that some parts of New Zealand would grow beet that would contain sufficient saccharine to make them suitable for sugar-making.

Mr Brown said the industry was tried in Hawke's Bay some years ago, and it was a failure.

The motion was negatived.

## **Duty on Agricultural Implements.**

Mr Kirkbride moved, "That in the opinion of this Conference all machinery, tools, and fencing wire and appliances used in the cultivation of the land should be admitted free of Customs duty." Mr Kirkbride said that as the prosperity of the country virtually depends on the farming industry, the farmer should receive every encouragement at the hands of the State. The speaker then went on to quote statistics showing the value of the agricultural exports of the Colony. As representatives of the cultivators of the soil, the Conference should do all in its power to remove any restrictions which might hamper or increase the expenses of the farmer.

Mr Hall seconded the resolution, and pointed out that it was obvious that agriculture was to be the mainstay of the Colony, and that manufacturers would have very little chance of competing with those of the old countries. Our agricultural products were sold in the open markets of the world, and it was therefore necessary that they should be produced as cheaply as possible.

After some remarks from Messrs Buchanan and Kirkbride, the resolution was carried.

## **Autumn Shows.**

Mr Barnett proposed, "That the Conference draw the attention of the metropolitan agricultural and pastoral associations to the desirability of holding an autumn show of dairy and agricultural produce."

The recommendations of the Revising Committee were:—"The Conference should consider the desirability of holding an annual autumn show, to be peripatetic, to include stock, agricultural produce, fruit, &c., commencing at Christchurch, Easter, 1895."

The mover said this was a wide subject to deal with. He considered it would be an advantage to bring the agriculturists of both islands closer together.

Mr Hunter seconded the motion.

Mr Pattullo suggested that shows be held in both islands. He considered such a show would be productive of much good.

Mr Hunter said there would be some difficulty in arranging the date for such a show, as the time in one place, say Christchurch, might be too early for a place further south.

Mr Grigg did not think it would be possible to get the Christchurch people to take any interest in an autumn show.

Mr Henderson said they had attempted to get up such shows in his district, and they were failures.

Mr Buchanan would vote against the motion.

An amendment, proposing that the question be left to the consideration of the committee appointed to assimilate the rules of shows throughout the Colony, was lost on the voices, and on the original motion being put it was negatived.

Mr Barnett called attention to the fact that miles of gorse fences in his district were dying off, and hoped

the Agricultural Department might suggest a reason.

## **Clothing and Housing Sheep.**

The Chairman said it seemed that through an oversight of his the question of clothing sheep was left in an unsatisfactory position, and he would like to bring the matter forward again.

Mr Murdoch said he wished to bring this question of clothing and housing sheep again before the Conference, and asked permission.

It was pointed out that as the question had been expunged from the order paper, the matter had been finally disposed of, consequently permission to re-open the question was not granted.

## **Exchange of Judges.**

Mr Fisher proposed, "That with a view to promote an exchange of judges between the different associations, this Conference requests the various agricultural and pastoral associations throughout the Colony to compile a roll of the names of the residents in the district capable and willing to undertake the duty of judge at shows held by agricultural and pastoral societies outside their district, and that copies of the rolls should be forwarded to the metropolitan agricultural and pastoral associations."

Mr Cliff seconded the motion, which, after some remarks from Messrs Grigg, Hall, Buchanan, Henderson and Borrie, was negatived.

## **The Secretary.**

Mr Pattullo moved, and Mr Kirkbride seconded, "That Mr Murphy be asked to act as permanent secretary to the Agricultural Conference while sitting, and that a suitable remuneration be voted for his services by the Committee for the next Conference; such remuneration to be allocated amongst the different societies." The mover referred in flattering terms to the manner in which Mr Murphy carried out his duties, and said that the Conference was especially fortunate in having such a gentleman as secretary.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

## **A Potato Moth.**

The secretary exhibited some potatoes, en-closed in a box with a glass top, which were badly infected with the grub of the *Lita Solenalla*, a species of moth which has caused considerable damage to potatoes in New South Wales and Tasmania. The exhibit was brought from Canterbury. It appears the moth attacks the exposed potatoes in the drills, and that a means of prevention is to keep the tubers properly covered with earth.

Mr Gray said he had seen a moth which had attacked potatoes many years ago.

## **Hooker's "Flora."**

The Secretary reported that he had a communication from the Inspector-General of Schools, to the effect that the matter of the issue of a new volume of Hooker's "Flora," bringing it up to date, would be considered by the Cabinet at an early date. It would be a disgrace to the Colony were the work longer delayed.

## **Government Assistance.**

Mr Gray moved, "That it is desirable that future conferences should be independent of Government aid towards travelling expenses of its members." Mr Gray, in moving the resolution, said that the agricultural associations had always abstained from the discussion of politics, therefore he thought the conditions imposed by the Government in granting the delegates their travelling expenses was humiliating, if not insulting, to the Conference. The societies had an undoubted right to discuss politics, and they had never abused that right, but the emergency might arise when it was absolutely necessary that politics should be discussed, and they must have a freehand. It was not unnatural, perhaps, that the Government, in granting the travelling expenses, should make the conditions they had done, but he thought it better that the associations should pay the travelling expenses of their own delegates, which did not amount to a large sum, and could be paid without unduly straining the resources of the respective associations.

Mr Kirkbride seconded the motion. He said the present arrangement was an exceedingly inconvenient one. It had been found that many important subjects had to be struck off the list for discussion, because they trench on politics, or were likely to lead to politics. The agricultural interests were so often interwoven with

politics that it was sometimes impossible to deal with the one subject separately from the other.

Mr Pharazyn agreed with the principles of the motion, and thought it would be better that the Conference should be independent, but he regretted that the word "insult" had been used by the mover in speaking to the motion.

Mr Grigg agreed with the motion. He did not see any reason why the Conference should refrain from discussing political matters any more than the Chambers of Commerce.

Mr Overton said that he had been forestalled in his intention of seconding the resolution. He thought the Conference should be independent of the Government, though, in justice to that Government, he must say that they had been applied to for the grant, and consequently they were perhaps justified in making the stipulation that politics should not be discussed.

Mr Anderson said he would be the last one to discuss political matters in the Conference, but at the same time, he thought they should have liberty to do so if they wished. He preferred to pay his own expenses.

Mr Buchanan said they might be mistaken as to the intention of the Government in excluding political discussions from the Conference.

Mr Chaytor agreed with the motion.

Mr Gray, in replying, said the word "insult" might appear a strong expression. He did not charge the Government with intentional insult; nevertheless, the fact remained that an insult was conveyed to the Conference by the condition imposed. He felt that the position in which the Conference was placed was, at any rate, humiliating; and, speaking for himself, he strongly objected to be shackled by a slip of paper representing £ s. d.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

## **Thanks.**

Mr Cartwright Brown proposed that a vote of thanks be accorded to the Chairman, to the Wellington Agricultural and Pastoral Association for their kindness to the delegates, and to Mr Murphy, the secretary.

The votes were passed with acclamation.

The Chairman referred to the temperate manner in which the discussions were carried on. He hoped that the Conference would be followed by many others which he expected to see increase in usefulness, and help in drawing settlers together. He then reviewed the many questions which had been discussed by the Conference, none of which was of more importance than the dairying industry, the discussion on which was of sufficient importance for calling the Conference. The colonising influence of the dairy industry was very large, greater than that of any other pastoral pursuit. A small holder could find employment for all his family by engaging in the dairy industry, which would not be the case if he devoted himself to sheep-farming. They were much indebted to Mr Reynolds for the information he had given them. Among other matters they discussed was the question of dealing with noxious weeds, and if they were to succeed in eradicating those they must not be like the sluggard who allowed the thistles to grow high.

On the motion of Mr Hare, seconded by Mr Overton, a vote of thanks was passed to the Minister of Lands.

Votes of thanks were also given to Mr J. D. Ritchie, Secretary of Agriculture, for his assistance; to Mr H. Overton, president of the last Conference; to the Canterbury Association for their services; to the Museum authorities, and to the press, after which the Conference closed.

Wellington,:

Printed at the New Zealand Times Office.

MDCCCXCIV.

## **The Following are the Papers Referred to in the Body of the Report,**

**Given in the Order in Which they were Read.**

### **Sheep Stealing.**

# A Preventive Measure.

By G. W. Russell, M.H.R.

The first question to be settled is—Does sheep stealing exist to such an extent as to require exceptional legislation? I think it does. The repeated reference to this crime in the daily papers supports the contention, whilst the opinion of the police is that the crime is more general than is supposed. The sheep freezing and boiling down industries have provided ready, numerous, and easily accessible markets. Hence present conditions offer a premium to the sheep stealer, who is able to mix up small lots of stolen sheep with large drafts, and in a few days they are lost to view, all means of tracing them being destroyed. It is out of the question to expect the freezing companies to keep a register of the brands, sexes, &c., of sheep slaughtered. It is doubtful if ten per cent, of the butchers who slaughter keep such a book as is required by section 26 of the "Slaughterhouses Act, 1877." All that can be hoped for is to devise some means by which the sheep stealer may be so entangled that he will fear to place his feet within the meshes of the law. My proposal rests on the principle that prevention is better than cure.

Briefly, I think the only practicable method of preventing sheep stealing is *to make every transaction in sheep a matter of registration at a central office*. It would work in this way. On a purchase or exchange of sheep being effected, a triplicate form would require to be filled up. One copy would be kept by the seller, one would be taken by the buyer, and it would be *the buyer's* duty to see that the third copy was, within twenty-four hours of the transaction being completed, sent by post to the Registrar of Sheep of the district. The form should be short and simple. [See Form A annexed]. It should set out only the following particulars:—(1) Class of sheep sold. (2) The number. (3) Name and address of seller. (4) Name and address of buyer. (5) Date and place of sale. It should also be signed by both parties. The sale forms should be about the size of a bank cheque, obtainable only from the Registrar of Sheep, and properly numbered, and delivered free of charge on application to every registered sheepowner. No sale or purchase of sheep should be legal unless supported by such a form, and a heavy penalty should be attached to any evasion of the law. The forms addressed to Registrars of Sheep should be carried free of charge per post, the same as claims to vote. The numbering and recording of forms sent out would act as a preventive of forgery of the sale forms. Now let us see what the effect of this system would be. In the first place, the signature of the seller would be an acknowledgment from which he could not escape. If, for example, a thief residing at Waimate had stolen fifty fat crossbred two-tooth ewes from a farmer in that locality, whenever and wherever he disposed of them he must acknowledge the sale. Let us suppose that in offering them to a butcher twenty-five miles away, he demurs to filling up the legal form. The butcher's suspicions would be at once aroused, as he would know that only a man who had some reason for secrecy would seek to hide the fact that he was selling the sheep. He would probably demand of the seller the production of his purchase note. Again, if the butcher purchased the sheep at a considerable discount without filling up the legal form as a guarantee of his position, he would himself run the risk of having to stand his trial for being in possession of sheep without proper warrant, in addition to the possible penalty for not filling up the registration paper. In the second place, the registration would provide a rapid and easy means of tracing the transactions in sheep of suspected persons. Let me again suppose that a man of doubtful reputation, and owning perhaps one or two hundred sheep, is found in the course of the year to be selling a considerable number. An examination of the register would show whether or not he had purchased sheep to the number of his sales, also the class of sheep and the names of the sellers. If any doubt existed, a short cut to detection would be found by simply inspecting several of the lots of sheep he had sold (always provided they had not been slaughtered). Great assistance could be rendered in this matter by sheepowners who had lost sheep sending details of brands, sexes, earmarks, &c., to the police. The onus of the form being posted to the Registrar of Sheep is cast upon the *buyer*, as he is interested, for his own protection, in the registration being effected. The seller (if dishonest) would be interested in the registration being stopped. The *bonà fide* buyer has no interest in withholding the fact of his purchase. What has been written so far applies *to private* sale. The same method would be applied to public sales, the auctioneers filling up the forms on behalf of both parties, and their signatures being binding. [See Forms B and C annexed]. Probably the auctioneers, as a class, will be most opposed to my proposal, on the ground that it will involve unremunerative work upon them. The amount of work involved would, however, be very small. They would be provided with duplicate forms to hand buyer and seller [Form C], and a special form for the Registrar of Sheep [Form D], on which the whole of their transactions at each sale could be shown. In all cases the signatures of the auctioneers would be binding upon the parties who instructed or bought from them. Besides, I may remind the auctioneers that as they make money out of the transactions in sheep, it is not unreasonable that they should be expected to take a little trouble in the interest of their clients who are sheepowners. It is hardly necessary to point out that they would only be required to fill up forms in the case of

sales effected through their agency. Would the system suggested be expensive, so far as the State is concerned? I do not think so. There would of course be required a few extra clerks, as the books would need to be kept closely up to the daily registrations; but the expenditure of a few hundreds by the State would be a mere bagatelle in comparison with the magnitude of the interests involved. It is of immense importance that sheep stealing should be stamped out. There is also the fact to be borne in mind that the additional protection secured by my proposals would do much to reconcile sheepowners to the special tax now levied upon their flocks. No doubt many of the details of these suggestions will be open to criticism, but the general idea is commended to experts, as a possible means of entangling the feet of sheep stealers to an extent which would frighten some at least of them out of their present remunerative occupation. Of course, to recur to my opening remark, the first question to be settled is this—Is sheep stealing rife to an extent which calls for special legislation? If the answer is in the affirmative, preventive measures must be sought for. It may also be necessary, for a few years, to raise the minimum penalty for the crime of sheep stealing.

## Form A,

Sale or Sheep.—Sellor's Copy. [Printed in.]—5071. Memo, of Sheep sold this day. [State breed, and if possible sex and age.] Class of Sheep ... Merino Wethers. Number ... 763. Name of Seller ... James Brown. Address ... Dunsandel. Name of Buyer ... William Jones. Address ... Rakaia. Dunsandel, May 1, 1894. Signature of Seller (Sd.) Jas. Brown. " of Buyer (Sd.) W. Jones. Sale of Sheep.—Buyer's Copy. [Printed in.]—5071. Memo, of Sheep sold this day. [State breed, and if possible sex and age.] Class of Sheep ... Merino Wethers. Number ... 763. Name of Seller ... James Brown. Address ... Dunsandel. Name of Buyer ... William Jones. Address ... Rakaia. Dunsandel, May 1, 1894. Signature of Seller (Sd.) Jas. Brown " of Buyer (Sd.) W. Jones. Sale of Sheep.—Registrar's Copy. [Printed in.]—5071. This copy to be posted at once to the Registrar of Sheep of the District in which the sale is made. 5071. Memo, of Sheep sold this day. [State breed, and if possible sex and age.] Class of Sheep ... Merino Wethers. Number ... 763. Name of Seller ... James Brown. Address ... Dunsandel. Name of Buyer ... William Jones. Address ... Rakaia. Dunsandel, May 1, 1894. Signature of Seller ... Jas. Brown. " of Buyer (Sd.) W. Jones.

## Form B.

Sale of Sheep.—Auctioneer's Form for Transmission to Registrar of Sheep. Memo, of Sales of Sheep made this day at Addington. Seller. Buyer. Class of Sheep. Number. Name. Address. Name. Address. Merino Ewes ... 346 J. Brown ... Rakaia ... J. Jones ... Halswell. x-Bred Lambs ... 50 F. Robinson ... Marshland ... W. Mason ... Christchurch. 4-Tooth Leicester Ewes ... 130 S. Williams ... Yaldhurst ... W. Johnson ... Flaxton. x-Bred Ewes ... 900 W. Burkett ... Ashburton ... D. Donnelly ... Little River. I hereby certify that the above is a complete and true record of all sales of Sheep made by me this day, and that forms of sale in each case have been duly handed to buyers and sellers. Addington, May 1, 1894. (Signed) Edward Williamson.

## Form C.

Sale of Sheep.—Auctioneer's Form.  
—A475.

### Buyer's Form.

- Memo, of Sale of Sheep this day, at Addington, by us as agents.
- Seller—S. Williams.
- Address—Yaldhurst.
- Buyer—W. Johnston.
- Address—Flaxton.
- Class of Sheep—4-Tooth Leicester Ewes.
- Number—130.

(Signed) Jones, Robinson & Co.,  
Auctioneers.

Upper Riccarton, Christchurch.

Sale of Sheep.—Auctioneer's Form.  
—A475.

## Seller's Form.

- Memo, of Sale of Sheep this day, at Addington, by us as agents.
- Seller—S. Williams.
- Address—Yaldhurst.
- Buyer—W. Johnstsn.
- Address—Flaxton.
- Class of Sheep—4-Tooth Leicester Ewes.
- Number—130.

(Signed) Jones, Robinson & Co.,  
Auctioneers.

## Sheep Stealing.

A Letter addressed to the Chairman of the Agricultural Conference:—

Seeing that the question of earmarking sheep is one of your subjects for discussion, and as I do not intend to compete for the very inadequate reward offered by the Stock Department for the best system of earmarking, I beg to submit, for your consideration, my scheme, which, I am confident, will prove to be both workable and satisfactory.

It must be recognised that the present system has become abso-lutely valueless, owing to the number of times that earmarks are registered—in some instances from 60 to 80 times in Canterbury—and to the altering of earmarks, which the present law allows.

My proposals are as follows:—

The registered earmark of ownership to be put in one ear only—say the near ear for ewes, and the off ear for male sheep, such original earmarks never to be altered or added to under a heavy penalty—thus leaving the other ear free for bought, age, or stud marks.

The owner of a registered earmark to have the right to put his mark on the free ear of bought sheep.

Age marks should be fixed by law, and need not exceed three, which should be used by all who age mark their sheep. Thus:—

Diagram showing where to add age marks to sheeps ears

These would interfere but little with the bought earmarks, because very few mark for age.

Stud marks I would provide for by metal clips and tattoos. Fire-brands I consider cruel, disfiguring, and useless, because, unless carefully operated, they become indistinct, or, if the skin be broken, horn grows; beside which very few distinct firebrands can be devised.

In adapting my scheme to New Zealand I would divide each branding district into sections, containing not exceeding 300 owners; and in the case of sections, where the number of sheepowners is likely to increase, perhaps 100 or 200; but in any instance the section should be so defined that there would not be more than 400 owners for many years to come. In the majority of cases well-defined river boundaries could be fixed upon.

No earmark should be registered in any section more than once. By this system no earmark would be registered in any district, say Canterbury, more than eight or ten times. Therefore an owner, who is losing sheep, could easily ascertain whether these few owners of his earmark bred or had sold similar sheep to those he had lost; and the tracing of them and detection of the sheep-stealer would be much simplified.

In providing earmarks, I propose that of 400 earmarks a schedule be adopted, and form part of the Act.

My system of earmarking is illustrated by the accompanying chart, which, I admit, is capable of improvement, but for which I claim simplicity and uniformity.

It is true that some of these earmarks are somewhat complicated, but not more so than some at present in use. The complicated marks, too, would be the last to be registered.

It will be noticed that every earmark whose number ends with 1 has one front bit, and those numbers ending with 2 have two front bits, and so on.

I have carefully studied the question of earmarking for several years past, and I confidently recommend my proposals for your consideration. I would add, that charts of the earmarks scheduled should be printed and posted at every saleyard, and kept by all auctioneers and stock salesmen.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

REGINALD FOSTER,  
Late Chief Inspector of Stock, &c.

## New Zealand Dairying,

By Mr. Henry Reynolds.

In response to a kind invitation from your Conference, received immediately upon my arrival from England, I have much pleasure in giving you my views concerning our Dairying Industry.

I consider this subject one of the most vital importance, not only to dairy farmers or those interested in agriculture in any of its branches, but to every individual in the colony. If the question of the successful and profitable manufacture and sale of dairy produce be not solved in a satisfactory manner, it will mean serious results which will be reflected through the whole community. If we do not export butter and cheese in what way shall we be able to bring a corresponding amount of cash into the country? Fat cattle would become almost unsaleable, and even now the supply of frozen mutton is more than equal to demand. Were it not for the Messrs. Nelson's and a few others who are making a firm stand to regulate prices, sheepowners would not find frozen mutton a paying business.

One of the chief objects of my present visit is to induce all concerned to take similar action to prevent their produce being sacrificed.

The time is past when we were proud to be able to sell our butter in England at any price, and we all recognise the fact that if any article be sold under cost there must of necessity soon be an end of the manufacture of same.

As I was one of the first to start in New Zealand factories for the production of butter only, a short sketch of my connection with this business may not be out of place. In 1887 the outlook for agriculture seemed very black. There was absolutely nothing in demand. Every-one seemed to grow more of everything than they required, and sheep and cattle were almost given away. Though any quantity of butter could be bought for 2d. or 3d. per lb., yet people complained of the difficulty of procuring a really first-class article which would keep. As this seemed to be the only thing which might possibly be sold, I determined to start a creamery, and I did so at my farm at Pakekura in Waikato. Mr. Gemmill—perhaps the best butter-maker who has ever been in the colony—was in charge, but everything went against us, even the weather which was exceptionally hot that it was usually quite impossible to make the butter, and even when it could be made we could not sell it; and for months, though all expenses were going on, nearly the whole output of the creamery was left on hand. The suppliers seeing the state of the case voluntarily came forward and offered to cancel the agreement I had entered into with regard to buying their milk. But I declined, though grateful for the consideration, as I felt that if an export trade could be worked up it must be right if one could hold out long enough. Not knowing anything about English requirements or packing, the first shipments being sent in tins were a decided financial failure and a heavy loss. However, though most of my friends considered me insane, there were still one or two who had faith in the possibilities of the industry; these put capital into the business, and we developed into a Limited Liability Company. During all this time we continued to ship to England, but the report was always that, on account of distance and time occupied in transit, New Zealand butter could never be anything more than a second or third class article. My firm then decided that I must go and personally investigate the matter and see what could be done.

When upon landing at Plymouth, two boxes of butter which had been carried in the freezing room were found to be as perfect as when freshly made—the difficulty of transit was solved. There only remained the conservatism and prejudice of the British merchant and tradesman to fight. It is not the consumer who is so afraid of anything new, but the tradesman who is afraid of having it left on his hands. It was with the greatest difficulty that buyers could be induced to even look at New Zealand butter. A perishable article like butter coming from New Zealand, a land that many only associated with cannibals and the Maori war, was only looked upon with derision. But if a customer could only be induced to buy it once, he almost invariably returned for more, saying that there never had been such butter in the market.

This was the state of things four years ago. To-day, a single large shipment from New Zealand or Australia will, by its arrival or delay, raise or lower the whole tone of the market throughout Great Britain; and dealers find that to please their customers they are bound to keep colonial butter. By all competent unbiassed judges the best colonial butter is pronounced equal to best Danish, and some of our brands better than Danish, as ours is grass butter, and theirs during winter is of course stall fed. Why can we not get in such a case as good prices as

they? Very often our butter is 10/- to 15/- per cwt. lower. The reason is the Danish producers regulate prices from Denmark, and the whole of their output is controlled by one committee. We New Zealanders must do something on the same lines. We are too far away to regulate prices weekly, but manufacturers here know the cost of production, also cost of storing in England and other expenses. Let them form an association to fix a minimum price, and authorising their agents to store should such prices not be realised. The London Docks, and Proprietors of Hay's Wharf, are making special arrangements for the storing of butter, the cost of which will not be more than 1/- per cwt. per month. By making proper use of this refrigeration produce would not be forced upon a low-toned or over-stocked market, and prices would be more evenly regulated throughout the season. Farmers should be induced to have their cows in early, as butter arriving after Christmas is almost certain to find lower markets. Prices are usually better during November and December than at any other time of year.

If the Government wish to keep up the credit of the colony they should have stringent laws as to the careful and correct grading and branding of produce. Upon arrival in England it should again be examined and reported upon by a competent man, who will keep the Government posted up with the latest information upon everything connected with the subject. To ensure dairy produce arriving in London in good condition, it is absolutely necessary that the coastal steamers which deliver the goods at the port from which the Home-bound steamers sail be fitted with cold chambers. If cold storage were provided at the ports and on the coastal steamers, we could freeze our butter in the factory in Waikato, and send it straight to the direct steamer without change or delay.

As the steamers will not take in freezing-room butter which has not been in a cold room for at least three days previously, we have now to send to Wellington to have this done, and during the trip down the coast through the hot summer weather even the best article is often rendered fishy, and saleable only as second or third-rate stuff.

Before leaving London, a deputation consisting of Messrs. Trengrouse & Co., Coey & Co., and myself, waited upon the Shaw, Savill and Albion Company, and New Zealand Shipping Company, to discuss temperatures, &c., and it was agreed to advise shippers of butter to send everything in one chamber, to be kept at a temperature of from 20 to 30° Fahrenheit. The result of numerous experiments has been that goods carried at the lower temperatures turn out best. The mildew, of which so many complaints have been made, has been caused by too high a temperature, the cold air condensing causing moisture, consequently mildew. If shippers would be willing to send their goods at the temperature named, *i.e.*, 20° to 30°, it would be of advantage to the Shipping Companies, as they would not have to provide two different chambers, or to cause so much disappointment by not having space to take goods. If the temperature for butter be the same as for mutton, there should be no difficulty in always obtaining space, and with these increased facilities for shipment there might be a chance of possible reductions in freight.

The London Chamber of Commerce were good enough to elect me as a member representing New Zealand produce, and during an interview with the secretary he said they would co-operate with colonies in giving all possible assistance in furthering the interests of anything connected with our commerce. They intend going fully into the question of butter adulteration and mixtures, and will make a strong stand to have the lines prohibitive, as the small fines at present in force are quite ineffectual. They are doing a good deal with regard to the bacon trade, and are insisting on those who sell Foreign and American brands not selling them as well-known English makes.

CHEESE.—New Zealand cheese is carefully looked for by those who understand it. A great deal is of about the same quality as average American, but some is excellent. Here also we must look to our own interests, as one small incident out of many will show. An English dealer bought New Zealand cheese at 54/-; repacked it and returned it to the colony at 78/- as best Cheddar. Though I am not at liberty to mention names, I received this information from the dealer himself. Some of our cheese is rather dry and crumbly for British tastes, and often not sufficiently mild in flavour. The London tradesman likes a cheese from which he can cut very small slices without waste.

From four years' personal experience and information gathered from all available sources, I am convinced that we must send produce to London and distribute from there. Different qualities are required in the different parts of the country, as butter and cheese suitable for the North and Midlands would not do for the South. A considerable quantity also of both first-class and inferior butter is sent to the continent to work in with mixtures and returned to England. Nearly every large firm in England has a London representative who buys for his principal according to instructions and requirements.

Liverpool is one of the strongholds of the Danish trade, and it will be some time before the colonial article makes much headway there or in similar towns. Were a few large shipments to be landed there, the result would be a sale at any price to clear, and the bulk would be bought by London dealers and sold again at a profit. We colonists are not in a position to be able to afford to pay three or four middlemen. If there is any profit we must try and let it return to New Zealand. When first I went to England, with the avowed intention of dealing directly

with the retailers, I was told that such an end was quite impossible; now it would be difficult to name a merchant or importer who would refuse an order from a respectable retailer.

We are experimenting with Bacteria or Lactic Acid, brought from Denmark, with the object of making one uniform quality of good butter possible throughout the colony, but it is too early as yet to speak of the result.

The need for concerted action in the matter of the sale of our produce may be judged from one or two out of many such instances. A buyer told me he had bought a large line of good butter at 92/-, and was very happy over it, as he had been paying 114/- for butter of similar quality, and expected to pay same for this line had he been asked. Another bought 250 boxes at the docks at 92/-, and sold immediately after at 108/-; also, another large line bought by same dealer at 100/- and sold at 110/-. Some of the dealers say that many agents have no idea of the value of their goods. Though I need not take up your time by enumerating cases, you will, I am sure, agree that these profits should have been received by the manufacturer, not the London dealer.

No country is so well adapted for the production of dairy produce as New Zealand, and most creamery owners are quite up to date with appliances and skill. With the assistance I have pointed out from the Government with regard to cool storage and stringent export laws, there should in future be no difficulty in turning out most of our dairy produce extra superfine.

## The Necessity for a Noxious Weeds Bill.

(BY M. MURPHY, F.L.S.)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN—A great deal might be said on the question of noxious weeds, and on the injury they inflict on the farming community. But as the time allowed to each paper is limited to fifteen minutes, I shall confine myself to a few of the aspects of the question which appear to me to be of most importance.

While believing that the time has arrived when the Government should be asked to legislate for the suppression of certain kinds of weeds, I am of opinion that no Act of Parliament alone will ever rid the soil of our enemies. I have more faith in education than in legislation.

Permit me for a moment to digress for the purpose of taking a retrospective glance at the condition of things when the white man took possession of this fair land. Not half a century ago the plains of Canterbury, for instance, were handed over by Dame Nature into the keeping of British husbandmen, in their virginity, full of plant food and free from noxious weeds of any kind. A soil ready to respond to the husbandman's rudest touch. It might reasonably have been expected that farmers coming from the weed-infested fields of Britain would have appreciated the pleasure of farming weedless soil, and that they would have endeavoured to have kept it so. However, that precaution was not taken, and hence this Conference is asked to assist the Government in framing a workable Bill for the common protection of farmers against their advancing foes.

The rapidity with which weeds have spread in New Zealand borders on the marvellous. Seeds of weeds have come to us in the first instance in seed cereals, clover and grass seeds, &c., and now we see the pernicious weeds of our Fatherland, with others added, growing in rank luxuriance all over the colony. A very few years ago wild turnip was a comparative stranger. It may now be seen in some districts tinging the landscape with its yellow blossoms in the months of November and December, covering hundreds of acres.

I have seen wheat growing on land worth £20 per acre capable of yielding 50 to 70 bushels per acre if free from weeds, so infested with wild turnips as only to yield 15 to 20 bushels, making up the difference in wild turnip, fathen, cornbind, and other abominations.

A correspondent, writing of weeds, remarks of fathen that he thinks it must be the "Pusley" referred to by C. D. Warner in "My Summer in a Garden," and which, he says, corresponds to original sin in the vegetable world here. He goes on to say that it is a perfect curse, more especially in dry seasons, as it flourishes in the severest drought. It absolutely ruins all crops if not checked, but is especially troublesome in root crops.

Another correspondent, speaking of the losses sustained by weeds, writes thus:—"Taking the best wheat lands, such as would grow with good management from 40 to 60 bushels of wheat per acre, the depreciation in the selling value of such land by the presence of wild turnip, Californian thistle, or fathen—for these are really our most alarming weeds, at least in the South Island—I should estimate at not less than from 35 to 50 per cent. Farming in the future," he remarks, "must consist of a continual war with weeds. The weeds must be kept down or the farmers will fall before them."

Again, the growing of turnip seed, or indeed any of the cruciferous family of plants, is rendered impracticable, for the reason that no seed could be depended upon grown in districts where wild turnip prevailed.

Surely this is not a creditable state of things for a young colony to be drifting into. The heaviest tax the farmer has now to pay is a self-imposed one in the maintenance of weeds. It is a progressive tax with a

vengeance. It is urged that the cost of labour, coupled with the low prices for grain, leaves little available capital for carrying on the war of extermination.

How, then, are weeds to be dealt with? There are three methods which suggest themselves as being feasible. The first is to lay infested lands out to grass—but it must be remembered that this is only putting off the evil day, for however long the land may remain uncultivated, such weeds as wild turnip and fathen will spring up so soon as they are brought by the plough and harrows within reach of the necessary heat and moisture.

Another, and probably a better method, is to keep the infested soil under a continuous course of cropping with rape, oats, barley, tares, and clover, for feeding off with sheep, never allowing a weed to bloom, with a vigorous use of the harrows on all suitable occasions. This latter system has much to recommend it, especially for soils which do not retain too much moisture during the winter and early spring months. Under no circumstances, however, should a corn crop be allowed to ripen on such lands during this course of treatment.

There is still another method of dealing with certain classes of weeds. It is by wise legislation, in the shape of a Noxious Weeds Bill. An attempt was made last session, as you are aware, in this direction, but too much was attempted, and the Bill happily died in its infancy. Let us hope that the next effort will be more modest in its demands. The object of such a Bill should be rather to protect the frugal and careful farmer against his too negligent neighbour than to harass him with impossible demands, such as clearing his land of certain weeds, and making penalties possible for the non-fulfilment of impossibilities.

Let us legislate against such plants as Californian thistle, sweet-briar, bramble, gorse, broom, Bathurst burr, &c. Sweetbriar is gradually but surely making its way in the South Island, and should be exterminated while it is yet possible to do so. Briar and gorse are taking possession of some of our river-beds, and if left undisturbed they will most assuredly, sooner or later, divert the course of such rivers, causing, it may be, incalculable damage. For this reason I would urge that drastic measures should be directed against these pests. As regards Californian thistle, this pest has now got such complete hold in the country that its total eradication is well nigh hopeless. But heavy penalties should be imposed for allowing this plant to flower or seed. In Tasmania, where legislation has been brought to bear against this plant for some years past, this is all that is now attempted, experience having demonstrated the folly of attempting to eradicate it.

A clause should be introduced into the next Bill making it an offence to send out seeds of any kind infected with the seeds of weeds, such as wild turnip, fathen, and Californian thistle. The machinery for cleansing seeds is now so perfect that there is no excuse for adulterated seeds.

Owners of threshing plants should be prevented, under heavy penalties, from removing their plant from one farm to another without first thoroughly cleaning them of all rubbish and seeds. The transport of threshing plants from one farm to another along the public roads is a fruitful source of contamination. I once saw half a three-bushel bag of Californian thistle heads taken out of a threshing machine after it had been removed to another farm.

I submit that I have now touched upon what should be the main features of such a Noxious Weeds Bill as would probably be found to meet the requirements of the colony. Many persons object to be legislated for in the management of their farms. Nor would there be any necessity for doing so were all to recognise what was to their own interest. But when farmers neglect the ordinary principles of good husbandry, and that to the detriment of their neighbours and of the State, then legislation becomes desirable.

Legislative enactments for the suppression of weeds have been resorted to in other countries. There is (or was) a law in France obliging farmers to free their lands of thistles at certain seasons of the year, and empowering anyone to sue a neighbour who neglects this work. In some States in America there are stringent enactments against troublesome weeds.

In Denmark, farmers were compelled to root up corn marigold (a brother of our oxeye daisy, which is becoming a pest in some of our pasture lands)

Referring to ancient records, we find that in Scotland a statute of Alexander II., about the year 1220, was directed against the corn thistle, which was considered to be peculiarly pernicious to corn fields.

The statute is very short, and ably expressed. It denounces that man as a traitor who poisons the King's land with weeds. Bondsmen who had this plant in their corn were fined a sheep for each stalk, and under the authority of that law Sir William Grierson, a Scottish baron, was accustomed to hold "Goul-Courts," for the express purpose of fining the farmers in whose growing crops three heads or upwards of that weed were found.

Arbitrary as such a law may appear to those of the present day, there was still a large measure of wisdom in the enactment; and although we may not now advocate extreme measures, the time has arrived when the State should interfere, and by a wise exercise of its power frame and enforce such laws as will prevent the spread of certain noxious weeds which inflict heavy losses on the farming community and the State as well.

# On Manures and the Manure Act.

BY GEORGE GRAY, E.C.S.

*(Lecturer on Chemistry, Agricultural College, Lincoln).*

The fertility of any soil depends on two main conditions: (1) the composition and physical properties of the soil itself, and (2) on the surrounding conditions as regards climate, viz., temperature, rainfall, &c. The latent resources of a soil as concerns plant food, when climatic conditions are favourable, depend on the previous treatment it has received as to the removal or otherwise of the vegetable products grown on it. When nothing is removed and the products return again to the soil, the degree of fertility may be retained, or even gradually increased. In new countries, like New Zealand, soils possess the accumulated fertility of ages, and that such does exist in our own case is shown by even the few investigations that have been made with regard to the composition of the soils here.

Thus, taking the most important soil constituent, nitrogen, and comparing the amount present with that contained in the soils of Great Britain, as shown by Messrs Lawes and Gilbert, this is at once rendered evident. The same indication is shewn to a greater extent by results obtained by these investigators with the United States and Canadian virgin prairie soils. Comparing these results, we find that in Great Britain the amount of nitrogen present to be. 156 per cent; (mean of 19 analysis); in New Zealand, 273 per cent (mean of 13 analysis); and in the United States virgin prairie soils 320 per cent (mean of 11 analysis).

The presence of this accumulated fertility explains probably the cause of our being able to grow grain so frequently and to such perfection here. When, however, the products of vegetation are removed from the immediate vicinity of the soil, if it is desired that the degree of fertility should be maintained it is necessary that some restoration should be made. This is done to a certain extent by the natural decomposing agencies at work in the soil by which the reserve store of unavailable plant food is gradually rendered available; but under our present system of agricultural practice, the process is not sufficiently rapid to retain the normal fertility of the soil. Exhaustion is also retarded by a judicious rotation of crops, but sooner or later a direct application of plant food in the shape of manure becomes necessary to restore the balance of fertility.

But, fortunately, it is found that the exhaustion of soils is not of a complete, but only of a partial nature. The illustrious Liebig enunciated a law which is now known as Liebig's Law of Minimum, which states "that every field contains a maximum of one or several, and a minimum of one or several nutritive substances. It is by the minimum that the crops are governed, be it lime, potash, nitrogen, phosphoric acid, magnesia, or any other mineral constituent."

As by strengthening the weakest link of a chain we increase its whole strength, so it is by augmenting the constituent in a soil that is most deficient in an available condition, that we increase the strength or fertility of a soil. Science associated with practice has done much to assist in this matter. It has been found that the main constituents most deficient in soils, and which produce when added increased growth, providing other conditions are favourable, are nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and to a less degree potash. These are the main constituents of all the more important manures.

It has also been found that our ordinary crops have special requirements with regard to these three constituents. That grain crops and grasses are best assisted by the application of nitrogenous manures, root crops by manures containing phosphoric acid, and leguminous plants such as peas, beans, cloves, &c., by potash manures. The action of these substances is not always of a direct nature in augmenting the quantity of such within the plant, for, strange to say, there is less nitrogen removed in the produce of a grain crop than in that of a root crop, and no more phosphoric acid in the root crop than in the grain crop. Phosphoric acid applied to the root crops, and potash to leguminous crops enable them to assimilate more nitrogen, yet the direct addition of nitrogenous manure to these is not always beneficial, but sometimes even prejudicial as far as the agricultural value of the crop is concerned. The condition in which the food constituents exist in the soil, determines their assimilation by plants, the most suitable form being that in which they are either soluble in water or in the root juices of the plant. The mechanical condition of both soil and manure as regards the subdivision of the particles, aids in the assimilation of plant food to a considerable degree.

General manures, like farmyard manure, seaweed, &c., in which all the necessary plant food constituents are more or less present, are applicable only to a limited extent in New Zealand. Special manures are better suited to our requirements, and where rotations are carried out, the manuring of the turnip crop with superphosphate of lime is often found sufficient for the course.

Land in good condition contains a considerable quantity of available plant food, and by a little assistance with special manures containing the food constituent most required, the crop may be grown many years in succession. Many examples of this are shown by the classical experiments of Messrs. Lawes and Gilbert, at

Rothamstead, extending over a period of 50 years.

The advantages derived from the practice of applying special manures of the nature best suited to the crop, as shown by practical as well as scientific experience, is of extreme importance. Not a few cases are known where manures have been applied to crops for which they were quite unsuited. This, hitherto, has not been always the fault of the farmer, but often of the manufacturer. Thus, at the present time, manures are being offered for sale in New Zealand as turnip manures, which contain a high percentage of nitrogen, and but a trace of soluble phosphate. These are excellent manures of their kind, and are also cheap, but not the sort of manure that the turnip crop requires. It has been found both here and in England that an excess of nitrogen in a turnip manure tends to produce too much leaf development at the expense of the bulb, and also at the same time lowers the feeding value of the latter. The best manure for turnips is a soluble form of phosphate of lime, such as we have in superphosphate, with but a small quantity of nitrogen. Our meat freezing industry has given us a cheap form of nitrogen in dried blood, animal guano, &c., that should produce good results on our wheat and oat crops, and grass land, but whether it will pay to use them at the present low price of grain, or whether our soils in their present condition will return sufficient compensation for the outlay, is a matter that needs further consideration. These manures as at present put on the market are more of the character of general manures, since they contain nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and a little potash; they are better suited for the purposes of the market gardener, or for the growth of green corn feed, rape, &c., where a good leaf development is required, than for application as special manures.

Failure of manures to produce the desired effect is not always due to the manure itself. Local conditions as to climate, rainfall, &c., are often sufficient to destroy the beneficial action of a manure. At the same time the conditions may be such as to render one form of a manure more suited to the requirements of a district than another. A case in point is shown by the preference given in the lower part of the Middle Island to the use of phosphatic guanos, such as the Coral Queen, Chesterfield, &c., for turnips, whereas in Canterbury superphosphate is found to give by far the best result. Local experience is of considerable value, and the establishment of experimental stations in New Zealand, where comparative experiments could be made with respect to the use of manures, the growth of new crops, &c., would be of material assistance to the farming community. In the United States there are at the present time fifty-four such stations, each publishing its own record of work in the form of bulletins or reports, which are distributed free of cost to any farmer who cares to apply for them. At many of these, also, the work of analysing and controlling the quality of manures sold in the State is carried out.

An insight into the quality of the manures obtainable in this country may be obtained from a report published by the School of Agriculture in 1891. With a few exceptions both local and imported manures appear to be of good quality, and but little evidence is forthcoming as to adulteration, and even the few cases met with were probably the result of want of knowledge on the part of the manufacturers.

The manure act passed by Parliament in 1892 will have the effect of not only keeping adulteration in check, but also will enable the agriculturist to purchase the manure best suited to his purpose. At the same time, owing to a provision made in the act by which the manufacturer or vendor is required to publish the value of the units (each 1 per cent per ton) of the more important constituents in the manure, the farmer is able to judge as to the cheapest source from whence to purchase his manure. This will also have the effect of inducing a healthy competition between the manufacturers.

The Manure Adulteration Act 1892, provides that the seller of any manure shall give to the purchaser of any quantity not less than 10cwt. at the time of purchase or delivery a signed invoice certificate, such certificate to state the percentage of the more important constituents contained in the manure, and also the value placed of each unit of such constituents by the seller. It is necessary that each package of the manure shall be branded with the trade mark, or its equivalent, of the seller. The seller failing to deliver such certificate, or omitting to brand each package, is liable for the first offence to a penalty of not more than £10 and not less than £61, and on a second conviction to a penalty not exceeding £25. Analysts have been appointed under the act to whom samples may be sent for analysis, which must be done within 14 days after delivery and before the bulk is broken. The vendor is to be notified when the manure is intended for analysis, and shall receive an offer to have the samples divided in his presence into five parts, each part to be marked and sealed, two parts to be delivered to the vendor, two parts to be retained by the purchaser, and the fifth part to be submitted to the analyst. The vendor may also forward one part to any analyst, and should the results obtained differ from those of the purchaser's analyst, the then one or both of the remaining parts shall be forwarded to the analyst of the School of Agriculture, Lincoln, for analysis, the mean of the three results to be accepted. The form of the certificate of the analyst is set forth which is to state the particulars in which the results obtained differ from those stated in the invoice certificate. A copy of the certificate is to be forwarded to the vendor. The certificate is also to state the value of the manure on the basis of the value per unit per ton published by the vendor. Any difference between such total value and the price charged for the manure to be allowed by the vendor. Should the

deficiency exceed the following limits:—Phosphates (soluble and insoluble) 3 per cent, potash 1 per cent, nitrogen 1 per cent, the deficiency is to be allowed by the vendor at double the above rates, until they reach the following limits:—Phosphates 6 per cent, potash 2 per cent, and nitrogen per cent. Should the difference exceed these amounts, the vendor is liable on conviction before a resident magistrate, for the first offence to a penalty not exceeding £20 and not less than £2, and for a second offence to a penalty not exceeding £50 and not less than £5. County Councils may be authorised by the Colonial Secretary to appoint inspectors, who may be directed to obtain samples from any manure offered for sale within the county, and to submit them to an analyst for analysis. Refusal to sell to an inspector renders the person offering the manure for sale liable to a penalty not exceeding £10 and not less than £1.

The act has only been in force about 14 months, and it is too early yet to judge of its utility, but there can be no doubt that it is to the interest of farmers to take advantage of it, if only for the purpose of getting good value for their money. But it should do more than this, it should be utilised for the purpose of selecting such manures in the market as are best suited for the crops it is intended to cultivate. Good results can only be obtained when the manure is of the right kind and properly applied. There is often a considerable difference between the agricultural and the commercial value of a manure. The former can only be ascertained by observing the increased yield of crop due to the manure. This increase, multiplied by the market price of the product, and divided by the quantity of manure applied will give the agricultural value. An example will make this clear. Supposing an acre of wheat is manured at the rate of 2 cwt per acre, the price of the manure being 5s. per cwt, and taking the increased yield as 8 bushels per acre, which at 2s. 6d. per bushel will be £1, then the agricultural value of the manure will be  $8 \times 2s. 6d. \div 2 = 10s.$  per cwt., showing a profit of 50 per cent, on the commercial value of the manure. The farmer himself only can ascertain the agricultural value of a manure, and often a simple field experiment, showing the difference between the produce of a manured and an unmanured plot, will teach a lesson that can be learned in no other way.

## Breeding of the Most Profitable Cattle and Sheep for Freezing Purposes.

In introducing this subject for the consideration of this Conference, I propose to treat it under three distinct headings:—

1. What class of mutton and beef brings the highest price in the English market, and is such meat the most profitable that can be produced by the New Zealand farmer? In considering this question it may be convenient first to state certain facts that do not admit of a difference of opinion, and afterwards take those points on which there may be a difference.

It is beyond dispute that comparatively small breeds both of cattle and sheep make the highest price per pound, and therefore we may conclude that it must be the small breeds that will best fulfil this condition.

2. What are the Breeds as regards cattle? I submit that there can be but little doubt that the Devons best supply our want. Granting that carcasses weighing from 600 to 750lbs do sell at the highest price per pound, and that when over 800 lbs. there is a progressive relative depreciation, with the increased weight. There is also another strong reason in favour of the Devons, they are more easily kept in high condition until they are fit for killing than any other breed. In this country where stall-feeding cannot be adopted the main qualities of the Hereford and Shorthorn for which they are preferred in England disappear by comparison. The above remarks, if admitted as correct, clearly points to the Devon, also as a most valuable breed for crossing with other breeds. In determining which are the best sheep to breed in New Zealand, we may well go for some assistance to the farmers of Great Britain, and we shall find that the comparatively smaller breeds are leading, especially the Shropshire Downs and the South Downs.

With reference to the Shropshire, a recent writer uses these words, "Tenant-farmers in England have not been slow to discern the rent-paying attributes of the breed;" and "It is an undisputed fact that in the show yard as well as in the sale ring they have, both in numbers and prices, distanced all others." And he goes on to say, "My opinion is that when the true merits of the Shropshire are better known here by the right stamp of farmers we shall hear less complaints of the frozen mutton, and *better prices* will be obtained. Consumers do not like your coarse over fat mutton."

You will have noticed the words used by an experienced man in England, that if we send a higher class mutton that "better prices will be obtained," and I would add that the more we send of such the better prices will be realised relatively. The small quantity that has been hitherto sent has not been sufficient to form a leading line, and therefore is lost to a great extent in the general average.

3. What system of breeding is practicable to the New Zealand farmer, that will bring him nearest and most

quickly to the desired end—the production of the largest quantity and best quality of mutton for freezing purposes.

As far as the South Island is concerned the Merino ewe must continue to be the basis of our flocks.

We now come to a part of the subject on which there will be a great difference of opinion, and I do not for a moment maintain that any fixed mode of breeding can be devised that will suit all localities and conditions. The object of the discussion of such a subject as this is to enable each farmer to weigh the pros and cons placed before him, and to be the better able to judge for himself.

I will now state briefly the conclusions that I have come to as to the best modes of breeding.

In the South Island I would on the Merino ewe use robust strong-woolled English Leicester rams, and after that on the cross use nothing but Shropshires. "Actions speak louder than words,"—I have used nothing but Shropshire rams since frozen mutton has been exported.

It is a singular fact that there should be such a great variety of opinions amongst practical farmers as to which is the most profitable sheep, and I respectfully submit that I believe it to be caused to a great extent by the mode of thought adopted in thinking on the question. New Zealand farmers appear to me to reason too much from the point "Which sheep will give me the most wool?" The English farmer reasons on the basis, "How much money will be the yield per acre in wool and mutton?"—in other words, which is the best paying breed? Since the price of wool has fallen so low, wool has been of small consideration to the English farmer, and since our mutton can be exported frozen, wool has become to the New Zealand farmers much less than the main object of production, as it once was.

Too little, I submit, is thought of the drain of a heavy fleece on the constitution of the sheep, especially of young sheep, and there is no doubt in my mind that that is the principal cause of the great mortality of hoggets in the flocks of the North Island.

A further great fact should be duly considered, that early maturity and heavy fleeces cannot under ordinary conditions be found in the same animal, as a consequence, heavy fleeced sheep are too old and too heavy when they become fat enough for freezing. We know now that the best weights for the London market are carcasses weighing from 56lbs. to 64 lbs., and it is a delusion to suppose that as many sheep of the larger breeds can be fed on any farm as of the smaller.

I have not ventured to speak of the advantages or disadvantages of the different pure breeds of sheep specifically, as no doubt this side of the question will be fully discussed from each breeder's point of view. I have tried to keep steadily to the one point submitted to me by your committee, in the question—"Which is the most profitable breed of Cattle and Sheep for Freezing purposes, all points considered?"

## Some Diseases in Sheep and Some Preventives.

BY H. F. GRAY (Vice President of N.A. and P.A.)

### I.

In dealing with the question of diseases among sheep, I propose to treat the subject on the lines of prevention and not of cure. Absolute prevention is an impossibility, for there are certain insidious diseases which break out periodically in the best managed flocks which no care on the part of the owner can avert, and New Zealand is not exempt from such cases, but fortunately they are not common or widespread in their effects. One of such cases is the complaint which attacks pregnant ewes, usually two or three weeks before lambing time, and is sometimes very fatal. With us in Canterbury the complaint has occurred to my own knowledge at varying intervals and in varying localities many times during the last 20 years. One peculiarity of the disease, as far as my own observation goes, and as far as I have been able to learn from other persons, is that the fatal cases are almost invariably among ewes carrying twins. So markedly is this a feature attending the disease that there seems to be a close connection between twin gestation, and at any rate fatal consequences. But doubtless many animals are attacked without fatal consequences ensuing. My reason for this belief is that among the survivors of a flock where deaths from the disease have taken place, are many ewes that rapidly fall off in condition after lambing, with a rapid diminution, and then cessation of milk supply, to the great injury of the lambs. The lambs of such ewes quickly assume the appearance of being motherless. As far as I know no remedy has been found for the malady, and no preventive. It occurs at a time when curative treatment is most difficult to apply, on account of the advanced stage of pregnancy. It occurs in ewes of all ages and of all conditions. Fat ewes and lean ewes are alike subject to it. I have drawn attention to this complaint, because as

yet it does not appear that any satisfactory preventive or cure has been found for it. No system of feeding or treatment within the compass of practical sheep farming, as it must be conducted in New Zealand, with due regard to our opportunities, and to the market value of sheep products has, I think, yet been discovered, and should it be discovered it will unquestionably be in the way of prevention.

## II.

In this section of the subject I propose dealing with the mortality in lambs; but before touching on the main question, I should like to say a few words as to the condition it is desirable that ewes should be in at the time the rams are put in with them, and up to the time of lambing. I merely give my own opinion based on my own experience. My choice is that ewes should be in decidedly forward condition during both the above-mentioned periods. If they are not in condition when the rams go with them, the probability is they will not gain it through the following winter. As far as merino ewes are concerned, the experience of the early days of the colony shows that the most prolific lambings were at a time when the country was so lightly stocked that every sheep of every sex, on good sheep country, was fat. So much for merinos. As to half-breds, I believe the same rule applies. The heaviest lambings from half-bred ewes I have ever known was from sheep so fat at the time the sexes were joined that many persons would have pronounced them too fat for mutton. When the half-bred stage is passed, the ewes may become too gross for fertility—Excessive condition in any breed or degree of breed is certainly not necessary, but I think ewes should be in rather high condition than in any way low. Feed is not abundant or usually nutritious in the early lambing season, and the ewes should have some condition on them to stand the drain of suckling lambs at a time when the grass supply is insufficient to maintain both the condition of the mother and the necessary nourishment for the offspring.

Mortality among lambs happens not infrequently after cutting and tailing, and blood poisoning is the cause. The best preventive is undoubtedly not to use old yards for the operation, especially yards where any animals have been slaughtered, or where there is any accumulation of filth. The presence of either of these things is enough to engender life organisms which may taint the blood of any animal with an exposed wound. Farmers often use yards about a homestead which horses, cattle, pigs, &c. have been in the habit of occupying, and which have more or less of decaying matter about them. Such yards should not be used for any castrating operations. The better plan is to pitch a yard in some clean spot in an open field. This can be done easily with a few hurdles, or for large numbers of sheep with a few lengths of wire netting and hurdles for close work. This method will be found inexpensive, and very conducive to the well-being of the lambs. Mr. John Gilruth, V.S. is of the opinion that blood poisoning arises chiefly from micro-organisms which infest low-lying swampy localities. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that such spots do produce the result, for the germs of malarial diseases are well known to exist in marshy and swampy places, but I believe myself that the most frequent cause of blood poisoning is from old and dirty yards, and my own experience is that when those yards are abandoned and new ground chosen, the mortality in lambs from operations is infinitesimal.

## III.

Following the order of diseases in the sequence of age is that known as lungworm, and this disease develops itself in lambs or hoggets sometimes shortly after weaning, and sometimes at a greater interval, according to the climatic conditions of the autumn or winter. In a dry season there is a total or almost total absence from it, but in a wet time it is especially virulent. On damp land the disease is most active, though on dry sound land in certain seasons it is very destructive. As is the case generally with diseases, it most readily attacks lambs of delicate constitution, and in low condition. The healthier and better conditioned lambs are those that are least liable to it, and the more frequently survive an attack. The consideration then is how to build up and fortify our lambs against the disease—that is to say, make them as little susceptible to it as possible. In the first place something may be done by the selection of rams which display indications of great strength of constitution. But though this is a point of no small importance, it is secondary to that of establishing the constitution and condition of the young animal by a liberal supply of food from its birth. The constitution of any animal may be strengthened or weakened, according to the sufficiency or insufficiency of nourishment. It is a matter of great regret, and I may say of shame, and also of false economy, that so many sheep breeders persist in overstocking their pastures. Such sheep farming really comes under the heading of cruelty to animals, and is nowhere so prevalent as among the inexperienced sheepowners of the colonies—men whose pursuits were in other lines, or not in the practical management of stock before embarking in their new occupation. Many of these sheepowners look on numbers of sheep as the one desideratum, regardless of all other considerations. With such men, the circumstance of a blade of grass being as they think, wasted, is pain and anguish. But the fact is, no stock can be kept in proper condition if compelled to eat out every growth of coarse and unpalatable

food. It is in this matter of feeding that the secret of condition in sheep, and greatly so of constitution, depends. "Who has not seen flocks which were originally almost all that could be desired, degenerate after a few years of semi-starvation into absolute culls? A general deterioration has taken place, and even the characteristics of the breed have become lost. Conversely, if such degenerated sheep pass into the hands of a skilful breeder, in a few generations the characteristics are restored. It is in attention to careful feeding that immunity from disease must chiefly be looked for. Build up the constitution and vigour of the sheep by an ample supply of natural food. I do not mean pampering with high artificial feeding,—that course in itself brings a certain form of delicacy of constitution—but of natural and wholesome food there should be no stint. If any breeder desires strong and healthy lambs, he will not get them in any other way. But what I have always considered as a great help to strength and vigour is, that lambs should be dropped as early as the climatic conditions of a farm will permit. The earlier lambs are dropped the more robust are they, and the more capable of enduring the hardships of the first-winter, and it is advisable, I think, that on front country the lambings should be as early as possible. An early dropped lamb has this advantage over a late dropped one that it has the benefit of the first flush of spring grass, which increases the milk supply of the ewe, and maintains it till the dry weather of summer sets in. By that time the lambs are pretty well independent of the mother, and are able to shift for themselves, even though the grass may be somewhat withered up. They suffer something however in these circumstances; and, if it can be arranged, the lambs should be weaned on to clover or rape, on which food their condition will be sustained, and it may be improved. Clover or rape are healthier foods than grass for weaning on, and if possible the lambs should be kept on such food till late in the autumn, and then put on to turnips of some soft kind, when the roots are ripe enough, but before they have lost their sappiness. If the feeding of turnips is postponed till most of the sap is gone lambs do not take so kindly to them, nor do they make so quick a start in improvement. Turnips are excellent feeding for hoggets, and it is doubtful if the crop can be used more profitably. If neither clover, rape, nor turnips are available, the lambs must take their chance; but if they have thriven well during the suckling period, and ordinary care is taken to keep them on the best grass the farm affords, there should be no great mortality from lungworm. Clover and rape are sounder feeding than grass, particularly if the latter is an old pasture. Corn and chaff as auxiliaries to grass during the winter are very beneficial to the health of sheep, but I do not look upon them as within the scope of practical sheep farming in anything like a large way.

The question of lambing a month or two earlier or later may seem a small matter, but in reality it makes an immense difference to the lambs powers of vitality if it has a month or two advance of age. Lungworm is a disease that is almost confined to lambs or hoggets. I understand that older sheep are sometimes affected with it, though I have never seen an instance; whether older sheep are liable to it or not there is no doubt that hoggets are the most liable, and if a month or two of age can be given by an early lambing the liability to disease is diminished, and the lambs go through the winter with greater freedom from any ailment or weakness. It is the same with other animals. Take the case of an early calf and a late one, both equally well reared, and note the difference in the two during the first winter. The older calf has a great advantage over the younger, much more than the mere fact of a slight advantage of age should apparently give. He has had the advantage of a full summer's grass before the winter begins. This is what gives him the hardiness to stand the winter well. So it is with lambs. It is as important to the lamb that it should have a full summer's grass as it is to the calf. These two qualities of good condition and early spring birth are the best resistants to disease, and it is possible to improve the condition of the lamb yet further, by shearing it at a suitable time, say in January. Lambs, like sheep, improve fast after the burden of the fleece is removed from them.

I cannot impress upon sheepowners too much the wisdom of treating their young stock liberally in the way of food. I do not say it is an absolute preventive of the disease we are speaking of, but it is a great safeguard, and quite apart from a reduced liability to sickness—it is wisdom on the score of general profit. An early lamb well fed becomes a marketable sheep at the age of 15 or 18 months, and sooner still if needed. It is large enough for every export or local purpose, and it is certainly something that a sheep should be sufficiently matured for slaughter at so early an age.

## IV.

There is one more common disease, and that is footrot. It is fortunately not fatal, but it is very troublesome to cure, and is most contagious. It may be prevented, though, to a large extent by watchfulness and preventive measures. It breaks out spontaneously in wet seasons even on what is usually sound land. A continuance of wet weather causes an excessive growth of grass, which keeps the feet of the sheep constantly damp and develops the disease. A farmer who is alert will observe the signs which will lead to its development, and should take precautions against an outbreak. During a wet time of any extension it is prudent to pass the sheep occasionally through the footrot trough, containing a solution of arsenic, bluestone or carbolic, and as a preventive the solution need not be very strong. In this way, if care is taken, an outbreak and much future trouble and loss may

be avoided. The disease is too serious to be trifled with on account of its extreme contagion and difficulty to cure, and on account of the very debilitating and attenuating nature of the disease. While on the subject of this disease, I will shortly depart from the rule I set myself at the outset—not to touch on the curative treatment of diseases. I have an idea which I should like to see carried out for curing footrot. The circumstances of my own farm do not make it necessary that I should make the experiment; the idea is this, that a flat concrete trough should be employed, and that the liquid should be kept at a suitable temperature by means of steam pipes surrounding or traversing the interior of the trough; a warm liquid is much more penetrating than a cold, and I know from small experiments I have made that it is much more effective as a cure. I believe if foot-rotty sheep were set to stand ten minutes or so in such a trough of warmed footrot solution of moderate strength, a cure would be rapidly effected, and that without the paring of the feet. In treating this disease the infected sheep should, if it can be managed, be separated from the sound, and the sheep when once dressed removed, if practicable, to ground which has not pastured infected sheep. Unhappily few farms afford this convenience.

This paper only deals with a few of the more common of sheep diseases, and if I have laid much stress on the preventive aspect of the question, it is not because I think slightly of curative treatment, only that prevention is, I think, the more important.

Front Cover

The Blind River Estate, Marlborough.

Particulars, Terms, and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 5,163 Acres

Open on Wednesday, 16TH JANUARY, 1895.

With Map, from Surveys made by Messrs. Seymour and Goulter; and Illustrations, from Photographs by D. Ross, Government Photographer.

Crest of the crown

Issued under the instructions of the Minister of Lands.

Wellington By Authority: Samuel Costale, Government Printer. 1894.

## ***View looking N.E. over Accommodation Reserve, tussocky flat, and Lake Grassmere.***

### **Blind River Estate.**

This property was purchased by the Government under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1892," in August last. It has been surveyed into sections suitable for the country, and is now offered for lease in perpetuity at the rent of 5 per cent, upon the purchase-money *plus* the cost of administration and the expense of making a few roads.

The property contains 5,163 acres, net area, and is situated on the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura, about twenty-five miles south from Blenheim, which is the principal town of the Marlborough Provincial District, and has a population of over 3,000.

The nearest railway-station is at Blenheim, but the line has been partially formed for some miles further south, through the Dashwood Pass.

The distance of the nearest point by road over Taylor's Pass is twenty-two miles, or by the new road through the Redwood Pass, about sixteen miles. The road is a good one all the year round, excepting when the Awatere River is in flood.

The boundaries of the property are, generally: On the east by the sea; on the south-east by Lake Grassmere (Native name, "*Kapara te Hau*"); on the south by the Main South Road, and on the west and north-west by a branch road and a rabbit-proof fence on the Starborough Estate boundary. The Blind River runs in a northerly direction through the greater part of the block, and near the western boundary.

The block consists of low ridges—the highest point being 414ft. above the sea—and flats, covered with tussock and other native grasses. It has not been surface-sown with cultivated grasses.

The land is in its virgin state, having been held by it; late owner for forty years for grazing purposes only. About one-third of the block can be easily ploughed.

The formation on the flats is alluvial loamy soil, several feet in thickness, resting on "papa" or blue clay.

The hills are formed of a calcareous clay, and in place along the sea-coast and seashore they are eroded into precipitous cliffs.

The whole of the block is open grassed land; there in however, a little manuka scrub along the Blind River,

and in some of the gullies leading from the coast.

On the land fronting the Blind River there is an ample supply of water, but on the higher portions of the estate the water has to be collected or obtained by sinking wells.

Timber for building and fencing will have to be brought from Blenheim; a certain amount of drift firewood can be obtained at times in the Awatere River, distant about nine miles, but the supply is limited and uncertain.

The land is capable of carrying at present at least one sheep to the acre; last year five thousand ewes were wintered on it, and produced 92 per cent, of lambs.

The property has not been loaded with a large sum for the construction of roads, as the formation is light.

The principal works will be small bridges and culvert crossing the creeks, and the diversion of watercourses, to enable roads to be constructed.

A detailed description of each section to be offered for lease will be found on pages 9 to 12.

The localities from which views of the estate were taken are indicated on the sections shown on the accompanying map by stars—thus \*.

## ***View of a Bend in Blind River, Section 13, looking S.E.***

### **Directions to Applicants.**

APPLICATIONS for leases will be received up to 4 p.m. on Wednesday, the 16th January, 1895. Forms and maps may be obtained at the Land Office, Blenheim, and at the Land Offices throughout the colony.

The ballot for sections for which there are more than one applicant will be held on Thursday, the 17th, at 11 a.m.

No deposits are required with applications, but every successful applicant must be prepared to pay a half-year's rent and £1 1s. lease-fee immediately on his application being approved.

Selectors who may not find it convenient to appear personally at the ballot should appoint an agent to select for them, or they may send with their application a draft or post-office order in favour of the Receiver of Land Revenue for the first half-year's rent, which will be returned, less exchange, in case of non-success.

Should any applicant not pay the half-year's rent on being declared successful, then another ballot between the other applicants will be drawn forthwith.

Selectors who apply for more than they wish to occupy should indicate on each application the order of their choice, or inform their agent of it.

## **Agricultural and Pastoral Land Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity.**

### **On and after Wednesday, 16th January, 1895.**

## **Marlborough Land District.—Marlborough County.**

### **Blind River Estate.**

[For description of each section see pages 9 to 12.]

# **Terms and Conditions of Lease in Perpetuity.**

## **First- and Second-Class Agricultural and Pastoral Land.**

The lands included in Blind River Estate are divided into sections, which are open for selection on lease in perpetuity, under the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892" (herein referred to as "the said Act").

### ***View from Section 14, looking S. towards "the Saddle" and Lake Valley Road.***

### ***View from Section 75, looking N. E. over rolling downs.***

1. The lease shall be for a term of 999 years, to be reckoned from the next 1st day of January or July following the date thereof, and shall in addition include the period between the date of lease and such day.

2. The half-yearly rental stated in the Schedule on the preceding page shall be the price at which the land shall be open for selection, and shall be payable in advance, on the first day of January and first day of July in each year, to the Receiver of Land Revenue, Blenheim.

3. Applications for leases shall be made in manner as provided in Part I. of the said Act; and all such applications shall be made to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Blenheim; and leases will be issued in accordance with the provisions of Part I. aforesaid.

4. The day on which the lands shall be open for selection shall be Wednesday, the sixteenth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-five.

5. Every applicant shall make the declaration prescribed and shall immediately after the application has been approved deposit a sum equal to one half-year's rent of the land applied for. Such payment shall be in discharge of the half-year's rent due on the 1st day of January or July following the date of application. He shall also pay the sum of £1 1s. for the preparation of the lease and the registration thereof.

6. A selector may apply for any number of sections, whether contiguous or not, up to the limit of 640 acres; but he can become the owner or occupier of 640 acres only in contiguous sections, including the land already owned by him. Sections on both sides of a road are considered contiguous or touching each other.

7. A married woman may become the owner of 320 acres of land in contiguous sections, notwithstanding any land that her husband may be entitled to acquire or may hold, and a married woman may also become a lessee under a will or by virtue of an intestacy.

8. When applications are made on the same day for the same land, or part of the same land, then the order of selection shall be decided by ballot.

9. The lessee must reside on the land selected within one year from the date of selection, and thereafter such residence shall be continuous for a period of ten years. The Land Board may dispense with residence if the lessee reside and continue to reside on lands contiguous to the lands held under lease.

10. The lessee shall put on the land comprised in his lease substantial improvements as under:—

- Within one year from the date of his lease to a value equal to 2½ per cent, of the price of the land;
- Within two years from the date of his lease to a value equal to another 2½ per cent, of the price of the land;
- And within six years from the date of his lease to a value equal to another 2½ per cent, of the price of the land;

and in addition thereto shall, within six years from the date of his lease, put substantial improvements of a permanent character to the value of £1 for every acre of first-class land, and 10s. per acre on second-class land.

Improvements existing on the land at the time of lease shall be deemed to be improvements made under

this clause.

Substantial improvements of a permanent character mean and include reclamation from swamps, clearing of gorse, broom, sweetbriar, or scrub, cultivation, planting gardens, fencing, draining, making roads, sinking wells or water tanks, constructing water-races, sheep-dips, making embankments, or protective works of any kind, or in any way improving the character or fertility of the soil, and include the erection of any building.

11. The lessee must fence the land with a ring-fence within the second year of the term, and such fence must be sufficient to comply in all respects with "The Fencing Act, 1881," or any other law to regulate the fencing of land which shall for the time being be in force; and shall once a year properly cut and trim all live fences which may be planted upon the land during the term, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom, sweetbriar, and other noxious plants.

12. The lessee must take alternately white-crops and green-or root-crops; and on the removal of the third crop the land must be sown down with good permanent cultivated grasses and clovers, and be allowed to remain as pasture for at least two years from the harvesting of last crop, before being again cropped.

13. The lessee must not cut the cultivated grass for hay or seed the first year of the course.

14. At all times during the lease the land must be so farmed that not less than one-third of the farm shall be maintained in permanent pasture.

15. The lessee must not burn any straw grown upon the land.

16. The lessee must once a year properly clean, clear from weeds, and keep open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses which now are or may be upon the land, and the Land Board shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make any drain through the land that it may deem necessary.

17. In the event of the lessee failing to comply with any of the covenants hereinbefore mentioned relating to the trimming of live fences, and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar, and to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, and keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it shall be lawful for the Commissioner of Crown Lands to have such work done, and to recover the cost of the same from the lessee.

18. All buildings erected upon the land shall be kept in good order and repair.

19. The lessee shall be liable for all rates, taxes, and assessments during the term.

20. Subject as aforesaid the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," and regulations made thereunder, with respect to applications for and the grant of leases in perpetuity, shall apply, so far as applicable, to all applications for leases under "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894."

21. A right to search for and take gravel for making or maintaining roads from any of the lands disposed of is reserved. Payment to be made for surface damage only.

*Declaration on applying for a Lease.*

I, A, B, do solemnly and sincerely declare,—

1. That I am of the age of seventeen years and upwards.

2. That I am the person who, subject to the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," "The Land for Settlements Act, 1894," and the regulations made thereunder, am applying for a lease of Section\_\_\_\_, Block\_\_\_\_, District.

## ***View from Section 17, looking South.***

## ***View from Section 18, looking E. over rolling downs.***

2. That I am acquiring such lease solely for my own use and benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever.

4. That, including the lands now applied for, I am not the owner, tenant, or occupier, directly or indirectly, either by myself or jointly with any other person or persons, of any lands anywhere in the colony exceeding in the whole 640

320 acres in case of a married woman.

acres of first-class land.

And I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of an Act of the General Assembly of New Zealand intituled "The Justices of the Peace Act, 1882."

A.B.

Declared at\_\_\_\_, this day of\_\_\_\_, 189, before me, C.D.,

## Detailed Descriptions.

THE following detailed description of the soil and character of each section, to be offered for lease in January, 1895, is furnished for the general information of intending purchasers, who are recommended, nevertheless, to visit the land and inspect it for themselves, the Crown not being in any way responsible for the absolute accuracy of every description:—

## Open for Selection on Lease in Perpetuity.

16TH JANUARY, 1895.

### Clifford Bay Survey District.

#### ***Section 1, Block XIV.; 161 acres; half-yearly-rental, £21 2s. 8d.***

This section is well watered, open, and level land. The soil is loamy, and all ploughable. It has a frontage of a mile and a half to Blind River. There is a wire-netted fence along the southern and western boundaries. The altitude of this land ranges from 50ft. to 100ft. above sea-level. Distance from Blenheim about 27 miles, 25 of which are along the main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura.

#### ***Section 4, Block XII.; 121 acres; half-yearly rental, £14 7s. 5d.***

107 acres of this section are ploughable, being nearly level land, and good loamy soil. The remaining 14 acres are pastoral. The whole section is open, and well watered; has a frontage to Blind River; and ranges in altitude from 50ft. to 200ft. There is a wire-netted fence along the western and southern boundaries. The distance to Blenheim is about 29 miles, 25 of which are along the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura.

#### ***Section 5, Block XII.; 122 acres; half-yearly rental, £15 10s. 1d.***

This section, like the preceding ones, fronts the Blind River. 114 acres of the land is level, and 8 acres terrace faces, the former being good loamy soil, well watered. A wire-netted fence is erected along the back boundary-line. The altitude is from 50ft. to 150ft., and the distance from Blenheim about 29½ miles, mostly along the Main South Road.

#### ***Section 6, Block XII.; 100 acres; half-yearly rental, £11 5s.***

This section may be classed as containing 75 acres of open, level, well-watered, loamy and ploughable land, and 25 acres of terrace faces. The southern boundary is Blind River. There are wire-netted fences on the north-western and part of the south-western boundary-lines. This land is situated about 30 miles from Blenheim, 25 of which are along the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura. The altitude varies from 50ft. to 350ft.

#### ***Section 9, Block XII.; 148 acres; half-yearly rental, £13 11s. 4d.***

This section is bounded on the north-west by the road fronting Blind River, and on the east by the South Pacific Ocean. The whole area is open country, and excepting about 22 acres of sand and cliff's is good ploughable land, consisting generally of flats and easy slopes. The access to Blenheim is by way of the Main South Road for 25 miles, and along a recently surveyed road for 5 miles. The country has an elevation varying from 10ft. to 100ft.

#### ***Section 10, Block XII; 150 acres; half-yearly rental, £13 15s.***

110 acres of flat and sloping land, easily ploughable, and 40 acres of hilly and broken country, fit for pastoral purposes only, are comprised in this section. The altitude ranges from 10ft. to 150ft. The section

extends between the Blind River and the coast in a belt of about 26 chains in width, and is accessible by Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura, for 25 miles, and along recently surveyed road for 4½ miles.

***Section 12, Block XII; 125 acres; half-yearly rental, £16 18s. 2d.***

This section fronts the road along Blind River, at an altitude of from 20ft. to 150ft., and is distant from Blenheim about 29 miles, 25 of which are along the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura. The land consists principally of open flats and easy slopes, ploughable, and of good loamy soil. There are only about 10 acres of pastoral country in the section.

***Section 13, Block XII; 148 acres; half-yearly rental, £19 8s. 6d.***

This section is situated about 28¾ miles from Blenheim, 25 miles of which are along the Blenheim-Kaikoura Road. The land varies in altitude from 30ft. to 250ft., and consists principally of good open agricultural land, level and undulating, with river-flats. The soil is of good loamy quality, and the whole section is easily ploughable.

***Section 14, Block XII; 169 acres; half-yearly rental, £22 3s. 8d.***

The whole of this section is ploughable, consisting as it does of river-flats, open level land, and downs. The soil is of good quality, and the elevation from 30ft. to 250ft. above sea-level. The distance from Blenheim is 28¾ miles, nearly all of which are along the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura.

***View from Section 18, looking South up the valley.***

***View from Section 19, looking South up the Valley Road over rolling tussocky downs.***

***Section 15, Block XIV; 163 acres; half-yearly rental, £21 7s. 10d.***

The land comprised in this section has a frontage to the road along Blind River, and consists of open, level, and undulating land, well fitted for agriculture, easily ploughed, and with a fine quality of soil. The elevation varies from 30ft. to 250ft. Access to Blenheim is by the Main South Road for about 25 miles, and thence by recently surveyed road leading to the land for another 2¼ miles.

***Section 16, Block XIV.; 168 acres; half-yearly rental, £22 1s.***

This section consists of open, level, and undulating land, well adapted for agricultural purposes, being of good loamy soil, and ploughable. There are about 7 acres of good flax growing in the western corner of the section, near the Blind River. The altitude varies from 30ft. to 250ft. above sea-level. The approach from Blenheim is by the Main South Road for 25 miles, and thence along a recently surveyed road for 2 miles.

***Section 17, Block XIV.; 167 acres; half-yearly rental, £18 15s. 9d.***

This section consists of mixed land, 120 acres being good open agricultural country, level and undulating, growing tussock and native grass, and 47 acres of pastoral quality. The general elevation above sea-level is from 30ft. to 200ft. This land fronts the road along Blind River, and is accessible to the Main South Road by a recently surveyed road for one mile and three-quarters, the total distance from Blenheim being 26¾ miles.

***Sections 7 and 8, Block XII.; 210 acres; half-yearly rental, £19 5s.***

These sections are situate in the northernmost corner of the estate, the eastern boundary of Section 8 being the ocean. The altitude ranges from 20ft. to 350ft. There are about 113 acres of open pastoral country, steep and

broken in places. The remainder is open table-land, with soil of good quality, ploughable and well-watered, there being a large frontage to Blind River. The distance from Blenheim is about 30 miles, 25 miles of which are along the Main South Road, Kaikoura to Blenheim.

### **Section 11, Block XII.; 270 acres; half-yearly rental, £19 2s. 6d.**

There are about 180 acres of open pastoral country in this section, the coastal frontage being broken by gullies and cliffs. The agricultural land comprises about 97 acres of low hills, which are ploughable. Access to Blenheim is by the Main South Road, and road along Blind River, 29 miles. Altitude ranges from 10ft. to 250ft. above sea-level.

### **Sections 18 and 19, Block XIV.; 640 acres; half-yearly rental, £42 13s. 4d.**

These sections have a frontage to the road along the north-western shore of Lake Grassmere, and consist almost wholly of low hills, alternating with steep faces, ranging from 50ft. to 400ft. above sea-level, covered with tussock and native grass, well adapted for pastoral purposes. The agricultural portion may be estimated at 50 acres, being flats in the valleys, of good soil. There is a wire-netted fence on the north-western boundary of the sections. Distance from Blenheim, about 26 miles.

### **Sections 20 and 21, Block XIV.; 550 acres; half-yearly rental, £36 13s. 4d.**

Sections 20 and 21 may be classed as open pastoral, tussocky land having an altitude varying from 200ft. to 400ft., with small flats in the valleys. Section 20 has a frontage to the road along the shore of [unclear: Lake] Grassmere, and Section 21 fronts the Main South Road. There is [unclear: s] permanent water on these sections. A wire-netted fence is erected on the western boundary of Section 21, from which place Blenheim is distant about 25 miles.

### **Sections 22 and 30, Block XIV.; 318 acres; half-yearly rental, £17 4s. 6d.**

Both of these sections have frontages to the Main South Road, Blenheim to Kaikoura, and to road along Lake Grassmere. The country is pastoral, interspersed with small flats near Lake Grassmere. [unclear: Tussock] and native grass abundant. The water-supply is unreliable, and during protracted droughts the lake becomes dry. The elevation varies considerably, between 10ft. and 400ft. The improvements are a wire-netted fence along the Main Road frontage. 25 miles from Blenheim by Main Road.

### **Sections 24 and 25, Block XIV.; 346 acres; half-yearly rental, £18 14s. 10d.**

There are small flats on these sections, situated near Lake Grassmere suitable for homestead sites. The quality of the country is pastoral being low hills and steep faces, varying from 10ft. to 250ft. in height covered with tussock and native grass. There is no permanent water.

### **Sections 26 and 29, Block XII.; 513 acres; half-yearly rental, £28 17s. 2d.**

These sections consist of about 20 acres level and undulating agricultural land, of good soil, and the remainder of pastoral country. Section 26 has a frontage to the road along Lake Grassmere, while Section 29 lies on the coast. The elevation ranges from 10ft. to 300ft. Water is not permanent. Distance from Blenheim, 29¼ miles.

### **Sections 27 and 28, Block XII.; 574 acres; half-yearly rental, £51 8s. 5d.**

Of the total area of these sections there are 78 acres of lagoons and 106 acres of flat country, partly covered with sand and shingle, and patches of good soil. The remainder is pastoral land, broken by gorges and high cliffs along the sea-coast. The water on these sections is not permanent.

### ***View of Lake Grassmere, looking S.W. from Section 26.***

## **Accommodation Reserve for Lease by Auction for three Years.**

THE under-mentioned Section will be offered for Lease by Auction, for a term of three years, at the District Land and Survey Office, Blenheim, on

### ***Terms of Lease.***

Three years, subject to six months' notice in the event of the land being required for sale or public purposes. One half-year's rent and £1 1s. lease-fee to be paid on the fall of the hammer.

By Authority: SAMUEL COSTALL, Government Printer, Wellington.—1894

### ***View from Lake Grassmere, looking N. from Section 25, up Lake Valley Road towards "the Saddle."***

## **Map of the Blind River Estate. Situate in Blocks XII and XIV. Clifford Bay Survey Dist.**

Front Cover

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Educational Institute of Otago 1893-4. Dunedin COULLS, CULLING & CO., PRINTERS, &C., CRAWFORD STREET. MDCCCXCIV.

## **The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Educational Institute of Otago 1893-4.**

### **Officers of the Institute.**

#### **President.**

- W. DAVIDSON, ESQ.

#### **Vice-Presidents.**

- J. E. STEVENS, ESQ.
- J. A. JOHNSON, ESQ., M.A.

- W. MCELREA, ESQ., B.E.

## **Secretary.**

- JOHN R. DON, ESQ.,
- M.A., B.SC.

## **Treasurer.**

- W. EUDEY, ESQ.

## **Librarian.**

- JAMES JEFFERY, ESQ.

## **Representatives of Branch Association.**

- DUNEDIN W. A. PATERSON, ESQ.
- BRUCE-CLUTHA C. R. SMITH, ESQ.
- CENTRAL OTAGO F. S. ALDRED, ESQ.
- WAITAKI J. R. MACDONALD, ESQ.

## **Representatives of Institute on Committee of Management.**

- R. G. WHETTER, ESQ., M.A.
- W. G. DON, ESQ.
- C. CHILTON, ESQ., M.A., D.SC.
- W. GRAY, ESQ.
- JOHN REID, ESQ.

## **Auditor.**

- W. J. MOORE, ESQ.

## **Past Presidents of the Educational Institute of Otago.**

- 1878—PROFESSOR JOHN SHAND, M.A., LL.D.
- 1879—SIR ROBERT STOUT, K.C.M.G.
- 1880—PROFESSOR JAMES G. BLACK, M.A., D.SC.
- 1881—PROFESSOR D. MCGREGOR, M.A., M.B.
- 1882—JOHN B. PARK, ESQ.
- 1883—WM. MACDONALD, ESQ, M.A., LL.D.
- 1884—W. S. FITZGERALD, ESQ.
- 1885—WILLIAM MILNE, ESQ., M.A.
- 1886—JAMES REID, ESQ.
- 1887—ROBERT PEATTIE, ESQ., M.A.
- 1888—DAVID WHITE, ESQ., M.A.
- 1889—DAVID A. MCNICOLL, ESQ.

- 1890—ALEX. WILSON, ESQ., M.A.
- 1891—CHARLES CHILTON, ESQ., M.A., D.SC.
- 1892—JAMES RENNIE, ESQ., B.A., B.SC.
- 1893—R. G. WHETTER, ESQ., M.A.

## Seventeenth Annual Report of the Educational Institute of Otago 1893-94.

The Committee of Management beg to lay before members the SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Institute.

During the year six meetings of Committee have been held, at which the average attendance of members has been nine.

### Meeting of the Council of the N.Z. Educational Institute.

The Council of the N.Z. Educational Institute met at Nelson in January of this year; when the Otago Branch was represented by Dr. Chilton and Messrs. W. Davidson, R. G. Whetter, and John Reid. Copies of the report of the meeting of Council have already been sent to Branches; and others will be distributed amongst members at the Annual Meeting in Dunedin, when delegates will report as to the business done.

The business considered by this year's Council was of unusual interest to teachers; and the attention of members is particularly directed to the report of the committee on the status and payment of teachers, and especially to those sections dealing with the proposed Court of Appeal for teachers.

From a communication lately sent to this Institute by the General Secretary, your Committee were pleased to learn that there is every likelihood that the Hon. Minister for Education will, during the coming session, introduce a Bill to establish a Court of Appeal.

Your Committee are pleased to note that members continue to show keen interest in the election of delegates to the Council. Nominations of members willing to act as delegates will be taken at the Annual Meeting; and an opportunity will be given to Branches to make additional nominations before the ballot papers are distributed.

The next meeting of Council will be held at Invercargill in January, 1895.

### The Inspectors' Conference.

The following resolution formed part of the report presented to last year's meeting of Council by the Executive of the General Institute:—"That examination of primary and secondary schools should be placed under the Central Department, and meanwhile, that a Conference of Inspectors should be arranged."

Acting on this suggestion of the Executive, the Hon. Minister for Education invited the Inspectors to meet in conference at Wellington during the first week of February, 1894. The invitation was accepted by all the Inspectors in the Colony; and matters of the greatest interest to teachers were discussed.

The Hon. Minister for Education, with his usual courtesy, supplied the Institute with copies of the minutes of the Inspectors' Conference. These were sent to Branches, and your Committee, after considering the Branch reports, sent to the Executive of the General Institute a series of resolutions dealing with the matters discussed by the inspectors. With the great majority of the inspectors' recommendations your Committee heartily agreed, but, for reasons given below, they strongly opposed the following motion passed at the Conference of Inspectors:—"That arrangements be made for revising the classification of teachers on some such basis as the following:—If for three years in succession a local inspector assigns to a teacher lower marks for efficiency than he has before received, the Inspector-General of Schools, or another inspector acting as his deputy, shall see the teacher's work, and decide whether his marks are to be lowered or left unchanged, when if his marks are lowered by the Inspector-General or his deputy, the teacher's classification shall also be lowered."

With regard to the above motion the following resolutions were sent to the Executive:—"That the Institute thoroughly disapproves of the recommendation to lower teachers' certificates as proposed on page 9 of the report for the following reasons:—(1) That the Education Department by means of its regulations for the classification and promotion of teachers provided numerous safeguards against hasty or undeserved promotion. Under these regulations the inspectors already have it in their power to withhold marks to prevent a teacher from reaching the highest division of his class, although he may have 30 or 40 years' experience as a public school teacher. (2) That no sufficient reason has been given for an increase in the discretionary powers of the

inspectors. (3) That the inspectors' annual reports to the Boards of Education disclose no reason for supposing that there is any marked inefficiency on the part of teachers, calling for any interference with the existing system of classification and promotion; on the contrary, the inspectors speak in the highest terms of the character and work of the teachers in their various districts. (4) That the proposal to give the inspectors power to lower the grade of a teacher's certificate, if carried into effect, would give rise in the minds of most teachers to an undesirable feeling of insecurity and anxiety that would inevitably prove detrimental to the teaching profession, and to the cause of education. (5) That the fear of being reduced by the inspectors would be most keenly felt by the best teachers, who require no further stimulus to do their work well, whilst it would have no practical effect on the kind of teacher it is intended to reach, who is supposed already to be dead to all sense of duty. (6) That by means of unfavourable reports to Education Boards endorsed on the teacher's certificate, the inspectors have at present sufficient power to prevent inefficient teachers being promoted in the service, and that as under the present system there is power to remove or dismiss incompetent teachers, the Institute hopes that the Minister for Education will not impose any further restrictions on the rights of teachers in the way proposed by the recommendation referred to."

In his opening address at the Inspectors' Conference the Inspector-General spoke as follows:—"I have the strongest possible sympathy with the proposal for a considerable increase in the number of reading-books. Modern school-readers are very small books, printed in large type, with much space devoted to illustrations, words selected for spelling, and so on. The allowance of one such book for a year's reading is absurdly small and inadequate. The ordinary treatment of the reading-lesson is too laborious and slow to afford much practice in reading, or to allow the pupil to experience any of the satisfaction that cultivated people find in reading for information or for recreation. New or difficult words are selected for definition or for spelling; the drift and scope of the passage are explained; the reading of a sentence is criticised or it is corrected by the teacher's own reading, which has afterwards to be imitated; the passage is so short, that when a few pupils have read a few sentences each the end is reached, and the others have to go over the ground a second or a third time, after it has ceased to have any interest for them except as a reading exercise, and so on. I have no fault to find with this method if it is not exclusively employed, but I hold that, taken by itself, it neither affords sufficient practice, nor tends to create or foster a love of reading. One or two lessons a week of this strict kind may be necessary for a time at a certain stage of progress, and an occasional lesson of the same type is useful even in advanced stages, if the passage read is highly rhetorical and is worthy of minute study as a piece of literary work. But for the other reading lessons of the week I hold that it would be better to supply constantly fresh interesting matter, to be read continuously with few interruptions by way of correction, and to be read as much for the pleasure of reading as for practice in reading. Four or five books instead of one would be required in the course of a year. *One book might be of the customary type of our ordinary school-readers, and this might be used for the strict and orthodox reading-lesson.* The others might be exchanged about once in three months, being passed on from school to school. Biography, descriptive geography, historical tales and records of brilliant episodes, natural history, fairy tales, New Zealand history; and for very young classes, simple stories of cats and dogs or of children might be read quarter by quarter in rotation. The books on my plan would belong to the Education Board, which would arrange for the periodical exchange of parcels. The first cost in these days of cheap books would not be great. The books would last very much longer than those which belong to the pupils, and which are worn out not so much by use, as by being rammed into pockets or satchels, or thrown under hedges during play-time, or saturated with rain and scorched by the sun. The demand for uniformity is based almost entirely on the question of cost, and would soon die out under the influence of an interesting and instructive variety cheaply secured. And our children would, as a rule, learn to read."

Your Committee adopted the following resolution dealing with the matter referred to by the Inspector-General:—"That the members of the Otago Educational Institute, being impressed with the importance of inculcating in the minds of their pupils a desire for reading healthy and pure literature, are of opinion that the present requirements in reading do not tend to produce this effect; and think that some change like that suggested by the Inspector-General of Schools in opening the Inspectors' Conference would be both practicable and advantageous. This Institute, therefore, strongly recommends this matter to the attention of the Executive."

## **The General Election.**

Before last general election, your Committee appointed a sub-committee to watch the interests of education in this electoral district. Among the steps taken by the sub-committee, was the sending of the following circular to every candidate for parliamentary honours in the Otago district:—

Nov. 13, 1893.

Dear Sir,

*The Otago Educational Institute would be obliged by your answering the following question at your earliest convenience:—*

*"If elected to a seat in the House of Representatives, would you support a grant in aid of denominational schools?"*

*Any answer you may make to the above question will be published in the newspapers circulating in your electoral district.*

I am,

*Yours faithfully,*

*John R. Don.*

*Hon. Sec. Otago Educational Institute.*

Members of the Institute are doubtless aware that the education question was very much in evidence during the late election contest; and the Committee consider that it is a matter for congratulation, that so many pledged supporters of the education system were elected to the House of Representatives last year.

## **Resolution Sent to the Education Board.**

During the year circumstances arose which rendered it necessary that the following resolution should be sent to the Education Board:—"That this Institute desires respectfully to draw the attention of the Education Board to the undesirability of discussing in open Board matters affecting the professional reputation of the teachers employed by the Board, since the publication of such discussion in the newspapers necessarily damages the reputation of the teacher whose case is being considered, and may prevent even those who are admitted by the Board to be capable teachers from obtaining new appointments."

## **Place of General Meeting.**

In accordance with a motion passed at last annual meeting, your Committee considered the advisability of holding the Annual Meeting at some other centre than Dunedin. After giving the matter full consideration, your Committee have come to the conclusion that, for the present year at all events, it is not advisable to change the place of meeting.

## **The Annual Meeting.**

This year's Annual Meeting will be held on the 5th, 6th, and 7th July in the Normal School, the use of which has been kindly granted by the Education Board. The Board has also agreed to send to School Committees a circular informing them of the date of the Annual Meeting.

Members will see by the Branch Reports attached that increased interest is being taken in the work of the Institute; the Committee therefore look forward with confidence to a large attendance at this year's meeting.

## **Branch Reports.**

Reports from the Dunedin, Bruce-Clutha, Central Otago and Waitaki Branches are attached.

In April of this year, your Committee, being anxious to see the Waitaki Branch re-established, sent a circular to all the teachers of North Otago, inviting them to meet a deputation from the Committee of Management at Oamaru, in order to discuss the advisability of re-establishing a Branch of the Institute in that district. In response to this circular, a large and representative gathering of teachers from all parts of the Waitaki district met the President and Dr. Chilton who formed the deputation, and after matters had been fully discussed, it was decided that the Waitaki Branch should be re-established.

Your Committee desire to congratulate the teachers of the Waitaki district on the re-formation of their Branch, and to wish the new Branch a useful and prosperous career.

The Committee hope soon to have the pleasure of congratulating the teachers of Tuapeka on the re-establishment of the Branch in their district. If this were done, the teachers of all parts of Otago would be

fully represented by the Otago Educational Institute.  
Signed on behalf of the Committee of Management,

W. Davidson, *President*.  
J. R. Don, *Secretary*.

## Annual Reports.

### Dunedin Branch.

#### Officers:

- *President*, Jas. Jeffery, Esq.;
- *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer*, Mr. J. A. Johnson, M.A.;
- *Representative on Committee of Management*, Mr. W. A. Paterson.

Your committee has the honour to present the annual report for the year 1893-94.

Seven meetings have been held on the first Saturday of each month from August 5, 1893, to May 5, 1894, inclusive. At the annual meeting Mr James Jeffery was elected president and Mr J. A. Johnson hon. secretary. The subjects discussed were:—

- 1893 August 5—"The Lantern as an Aid to Primary Instruction" Mr. JAMES JEFFERY.
- Septem. 2—"A Scheme of Spelling arranged to meet the Standard Requirements" Mr. C. MAHONEY.
- October 7—"Greek Views on Education" PROFESSOR SALMOND, D.D.
- Novem. 4—"Wasted Energies" Mr. O. J. HODGE.
- 1894 March 3—"The Place of Literature in Education" Mr. J. GARROW.
- April 7—Discussion on the Recommendations made at the Inspectors' Conference, January, 1894.
- May 5—"The State *versus* the Parent; or the Limits of National Education" Dr. WM. M. STENHOUSE.

The Branch has a membership of 48 men and 14 women; total 62. This shows an increase of 16 on the previous year. When asking teachers to support the efforts of the Institute by their presence your committee is often met with the excuse that the members do not represent the teachers. The answer to this has always been that, if it is so, the fault lies with those who hold aloof. Your committee to meet this objection has analysed the list of members, with the following result:—Headmasters 22, matrons 6, assistants 27, members not in public schools 7. Of the 55 teachers 42 are in the Dunedin and suburban schools; 13 are in the country schools near Dunedin. All the Dunedin and suburban schools are represented in this list, the members being well distributed in this respect.

The average attendance is 18. Only 36 of the members have attended the meetings, and of the 14 ladies only one has. Your committee would recommend to the attention of the members the lack of interest on the part of this section of our members.

Though comparatively few teachers attend the meetings, yet the subjects discussed meet all, to some extent, through the Press. The meetings are always fully reported, and in some cases the papers have been published in full.

The balance sheet presented with this report shows that the debit balance has been reduced by £2 6s 3d.

At the annual meeting the following clause was added to the report:—"That the thanks of the Branch are specially due to the energetic and successful efforts of the secretary for placing the finances of the Branch upon a sounder basis.

#### List of Members.

- Miss A. Anderson, High Street School
- Miss H. Alexander, Forbury School
- Miss Albert, Kensington School
- Mr. G. Balsille, Sandymount
- Mr. J. Ballantyne, Normal School

- Prof. Black, University
- Dr. Chilton, Port Chalmers School
- Miss J. Campbell, Kaikorai School
- Mr. W. G. Don, Caversham
- Mr. J. R. Don, Normal School
- Mr. Wm. Davidson, Waitati
- Mr. W. Eudey, Kensington
- Mr. J. A. Fitzgerald, N. E. Valley School
- Mr. W. S. Fitzgerald, Normal School
- Miss Fitzgerald, Normal School
- Mr. R. Fergus, Henley School
- Mr. J. Garrow, Albany St. School
- Mr. Wm. Gray, George St. School
- Mr. R. Huie, Broad Bay School
- Miss B. Hutton, Forbury School
- Miss Hooper, Kensington School
- Mr. O. J. Hodge, Highcliff School
- Mr. Jas. Horsburgh, George Street
- Mr James Jeffery, Anderson's Bay School
- Mr J. A. Johnson, High St. School
- Mr L. A. Line, Union Street School
- Miss C. Little, Ravensbourne School
- Mr. D. McNicoll, George Street School
- Mr. W. Milne, Caversham School
- Mr. J. Murray, N. E. Valley School
- Mr. A. Mathews, Union St. School
- Mr. W. J. Moore, Kensington School
- Mr. J. McPhee, George St. School
- Mr. A. Marshall, Normal School
- Miss I. McLeod, Walker Street
- Mr. Jas. Nelson, Saddle Hill School
- Miss E. Nimmo, High Street School
- Mr. W. A. Paterson, Wakari School Dunedin.
- Mr. J. Reid, Ravensbourne School
- Mr. J. R. Rutherford, Kensington School
- Mr. Jas. Robertson, High Street School
- Miss Renfrew, Ravensbourne School
- Mr. Jas. Rennie, Caversham School
- Mr. A. Stewart, Union St. School
- Mr. G. L. Stewart, Mornington School
- Mr. J. Simmers, Junction School, N. E. Valley
- Mr. J. Southwick, St. Leonards School
- Miss Sheriff, George Street School
- Mr. J. Smith, Pine Hill School
- Mr. G. Simmers, Normal School
- Mr. A. Sligo, George Street Sir Robert Stout, Princes Street
- Professor Shand, University
- Mr. J. Waddell Smith, High Street School
- Dr. Scott, University
- Mr. J. S. Tennant, High Street School
- Mr. A. W. Tyndall, Blue Spur
- Mr. G. M. Thomson, High School
- Mr. R. G. Whetter, Forbury School
- Miss M. M. Walker, Macandrew Road School
- Miss White, Union Street School
- Mr. D. White, Normal School
- Mr. Alex. Wilson, Girls' High School
- Mr. C. Young, Caversham School

J. A. Johnson, *Secretary*.

## Bruce-Clutha Branch.

### OFFICERS:

- *President*, MR. JOHN NICHOLSON;
- *Vice-President*, MISS MCLAREN;
- *Secretary*, MR. J. A. ROBERTSON;
- *Treasurer*, MISS PATTERSON;
- *Representative on Committee of Management*, MR. C. R. SMITH.

The Branch commenced session 1893-94 by preparing a programme of work for the year. This programme consisted of (1) a paper on "The History of the Educational System of Scotland from 1686," by the President; (2) a paper on "Moral Teaching in Schools," by Mr. Dunbar; (3) a paper on "Composition for Advanced Classes," also paper on "Composition for Standard Classes," by Messrs J. Reid and C. R. Smith, respectively; (4) a lecture on "The Physiology of Digestion," by Dr. Fitzgerald (to be given on June 30); (5) a subject to be chosen by the ladies.

The meetings have been bi-monthly, held in turn at Milton, Balclutha, Kaitangata, and Stirling. The attendance has been good, averaging 15 out of a membership of 24.

The programme has proved to be a very interesting one, the several papers provoking a good deal of spirited discussion. During the year the Branch has lost two good working members in Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Botting. On the whole the Session has been a very successful one.

### List of Members.

- Miss Allan, Balclutha School
- Miss Ferguson, Fairfax School, Milton
- Dr. Fitzgerald, Kaitangata
- Miss Gibb, Southbridge School
- Mr. Grigor, Inchclutha School
- Miss J. Kinder, Stony Creek School
- Mr. Wm. McElrea, Milton School
- Mr. W. McLaren, Kaitangata School
- Miss McLaren, Milton School
- Mr. J. Nicholson, Kaitangata School
- Miss Patterson, Kaitangata School
- Miss S. B. Paul, Glenledi School
- Mr R. Beattie, Taieri Ferry School
- Mr L. Pope, Balclutha School
- Mr Jas. Reid, Milton School
- Mr Renton, Balclutha
- Mr J. A. Robertson, Fairfax School
- Miss Robertson, Milton School
- Miss Sinclair, Kaitangata School
- Mr. C. R. Smith, Stirling School
- Miss Tregoning, Stirling School
- Mr. J. Valentine, Balclutha School
- Miss J. A. White. Circle Hill School
- Mr. Jno. Wilson, Warepa School

J. A. Robertson,  
*Secretary*.

# Central Otago Branch.

## OFFICERS:

- *President:* MR. J. E. STEVENS, Clyde;
- *Secretary,* MR. D. S. MASON, Lowburn;
- *Representative on the Committee of Management,* MR. F. S. ALDRED, Greytown.

This Branch was constituted at a meeting held at Clyde on Saturday, May 6th, 1893, at which meeting the office-bearers mentioned above were elected.

The next meeting, held at Cromwell on July 1st, was devoted to making rules and drawing up a syllabus. The President, Mr. J. E. Stevens, read an address dealing in a masterly manner with several of the subjects of instruction.

At the next quarterly meeting, held at Clyde on October 7th, Mr. Warburton read a paper on "Education *versus* Instruction."

At the next two meetings, on February 3rd and on April 4th, no papers were read, and only business of a formal nature was transacted.

During the year the Branch had the misfortune to lose its energetic secretary, Mr. F. S. Aldred, who left the district. Mr. Warburton was appointed to act for the balance of the year.

Financially the Branch is at present in a sound position, but unless some alteration be made either in the amount payable to the Otago Institute, or in the subscription paid by its own members, it will not be in so satisfactory a position for long.

## List of Members.

- Mr. J. G. Closs, Alexandra School
- Mr. J. F. Fleming, Bannockburn School
- Miss M. Fowler, Kawarau Gorge School
- Miss M. A. Green, Hawea Flat School
- Miss Rosetta R. King, Albert Town School
- Miss S. E. Mackellar, Alexandra School
- Mr. D. S. Mason, Lowburn School
- Miss M. McGrogan, Cromwell School
- Mr. H. J. Reaks, Ophir School
- Mr. M. South, Nevis School
- Mr. J. E. Stevens, Clyde School
- Mrs. Stevens, Clyde School
- Miss Truman, Bannockburn School
- Miss E. Waddell, Queensberry School
- Mr. Abel Warburton, Cromwell School
- Miss C. G. Weir, Tarras School
- Miss Wilkinson, Galloway School

A. Warburton,  
*Secretary.*

## Waitaki Branch.

This Branch has only lately been re-established, so that no annual report is available; but the following letter from the secretary gives an account of the re-establishment of the Branch:—

"North School," *Oamaru,*

24 *th* April, 1894.

"Mr. J. R. DON, "*Secretary of Otago Educational Institute.*

"Dear Sir,

"I have to inform you that, after hearing the views of delegates sent by the Institute, *re* the resuscitation of the Waitaki Branch, the teachers of N. Otago resolved to take immediate steps for the re-formation of the Branch. At a large and representative meeting held on Saturday, April 6th, at which four delegates were present the following committee and office-bearers were elected:—President, Mr. P. B. Fraser; Secretary, Mr. O. D. Flamank; Treasurer, Mr. Wm. McDonald; Committee, Misses Cook, King, and A. Thomson; Messrs G. Macdonald and E. Piper; Representative on Committee of Management, Mr. John MacDonal, Macandrew Road School.

"With many thanks for kind wishes for our future welfare,

"I remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"OSCAR D. FLAMANK,

"*Hon. Secretary.*"

## **Educational Institute of Otago.**

### **Statement of Accounts for the Year 1893-4.**

#### **Receipts.**

Audited and found correct,

W. J. Moore,  
*Auditor.*

June 13th, 1894.

#### **Expenditure.**

W. Eudey,  
*Treasurer.*

## **Educational Institute of Otago.**

Seventeenth  
Annual Meeting  
Will be Held in  
Normal School, Moray Place, on 5th, 6th and 7th July, 1894.

Programme of Proceedings.

Thursday, 5th July, 11 A.M.

Adoption of Annual Report, Election of Officers and Members of Committee of Management,

Appointment of Committees.

Report of Delegates to Council Meeting, 1894.

Thursday, 8 P.M.

Address by the President:—W. DAVIDSON, ESQ.

Consideration of Syllabus as lately amended.

Friday, 6th July, 11 A.M.

"The Lantern as an Educational Aid"

JAS. JEFFERY, ESQ., *President Dunedin Branch.*

Friday, 8 P.M.

"The Georgian Novelists" A. WILSON, ESQ., M.A.

Saturday, 7th July, 11 A.M.

Consideration of Reports of Committees.

Consideration of a Bill drafted by the Council, to provide a Court of Appeal for Teachers.

NEW ZEALAND INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS, *Wellington,*

*June 6th, 1894.*

DEAR SIR,—

The Council of the New Zealand Institute of Journalists desire to once more respectfully call your attention to the present condition of the Law of Libel, and the injustice which is thereby inflicted upon the Press of the Colony. The Bill framed to remedy this injustice and to assimilate the law of the Colony to that at present existing in England has been three times passed by the Legislative Council, and its principle has also been affirmed by the House of Representatives. Unfortunately, however, the Bill has on each occasion been shelved owing to press of other matter at the end of the session. My Council would most strongly urge you to re-introduce the Bill in the House of Representatives early in the coming session, and to push it forward as rapidly as possible, so that its passage into law during the session may be assured. The three members of the late House who threatened to obstruct the Bill are fortunately absent from the present House. The Council trusts that you will accede to its request.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. HUMPHRIES,

*Hon. Secretary.*

The Hon. R. J. SEDDON,

Premier of New Zealand.

Premier's Office, Wellington,

*June 9th, 1894.*

Sir,—

I have been directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., and in reply to inform you for the information of your Institute that the Government has decided to re-introduce the Libel Bill at the next session of Parliament in the House of Representatives.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEX. WILLIS.

GEO. HUMPHRIES, ESQ.,

*Hon. Sec.*

New Zealand Institute of Journalists, Wellington.

# Newspaper Libel Limitation.

[HON. MR. J. MCKENZIE.]

A Bill intituled an Act to amend the law relating to libel.

BE IT ENACTED by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follow:—

1. The short title of this Act is the Newspaper Libel Limitation Act, 1894.

2. "Article" means any printed matter (other than letters) appearing in any newspaper, and containing any comment, direct or indirect, on the public affairs of the Colony, or on the acts or conduct of any person in the Colony.

"Newspaper" means a newspaper as defined in the Printers and Newspapers Registration Act, 1868.

3. In so far as concerns the proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher of a newspaper, any article or letter published therein is privileged, if such article or letter be published without malice, and discloses in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer. But nothing contained in this section shall be construed to in any way protect such writer, even though he be such proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher as aforesaid.

4. If in any newspaper there be published any article or letter which does not disclose in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer, the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher of such newspaper are severally liable to a penalty of not less than five nor more than fifty pounds, to be recovered in a summary way before a Stipendiary Magistrate.

5. No penalty inflicted or suffered under this Act is in any way an answer or a bar (whether by way of mitigation or otherwise) to any civil or criminal proceedings against any person whomsoever for libel.

6. In any civil or criminal proceedings for libel against the proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher of any newspaper, or against the writer of the alleged libellous matter published therein, the fact that such matter is contained in an article or letter which does not disclose in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer is evidence of express malice.

# Resolution passed by the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Journalists.

That this Council is of opinion that the Libel Limitation Bill introduced by the Hon. Minister of Lands is a most mischievous measure which, if passed into law, would effectually destroy the legitimate freedom of the Press in New Zealand, lessen its influence for good, and dangerously curtail the facilities for the expression of public opinion upon public questions; that this Council has observed with much surprise the introduction in a modern Parliament of so unparalleled and illiberal a measure, the object of which evidently is to suppress the expression of public opinion, and render impossible that free and open discussion in the press of public matters which is essential to the preservation of the national freedom of thought and speech. That this Council is especially surprised that such a measure should have apparently been substituted for the Bill to assimilate the law of libel in New Zealand to that in force in England, which was drafted by the Hon. the Attorney-General, and has thrice been passed by the Legislative Council, and the principle of which had been endorsed by the House of Representatives by a second reading, and which Bill the Hon. the Premier, in response to the request of this Council in June last, promised to reintroduce this session, so as to enable it to become law.

# *New Zealand Herald.*

It is difficult to know how to take the Hon. J. McKenzie's Libel Act Amendment Bill. It is said that it is a mere remnant of a comprehensive measure on the subject, devised by Mr. McKenzie's encyclopædic mind, with the assistance, we presume, of Mr. O'Hara Smith. But his colleagues insisted on cutting it down, till it is now only a reminiscence of its former glory. But it is still difficult to find out what is meant by it. No one can ascertain whether it is a Cabinet measure. It has not been stated whether it is a Government Bill, on which the Ministerial whips will drive all the Government supporters into the right lobby, whatever they may think, or whether in bringing it in Mr. McKenzie is simply fighting for his own hand. We have not even been told

whether it is a serious effort to revolutionise the newspaper press and the law of libel, or whether it is a joke, after the model of the famous Washers and Manglers Bill of Mr. Buckland. We can scarcely credit the joke theory. Mr. McKenzie is a Scotchman, and is of the elephantine type which no doubt Sydney Smith had in his eye. He hates newspapers with a perfect hatred. They annoy and irritate him, and he is determined to put a gag in their mouths. His Bill provides that every article and letter appearing in a newspaper must be signed by the name and address of the writer. We have not seen the precise terms of the Bill, but according to a Wellington paper, theatrical notices and almost every second paragraph in a paper would have to be signed by a name and address. Such a system prevails nowhere in the world. Mr. McKenzie goes far beyond any law or custom in France. The signature to an article, or letter, be it remembered, would in no way protect the proprietor of the newspaper from an action for libel, and the only result would be to show to a curious public who wrote the articles or paragraphs.

Such an innovation would be opposed to the whole history of Anglo-Saxon journalism, and would be impossible to be carried out. In some of our magazines the articles are now signed by the writers, the chief purpose being to advertise. An article stands a greater chance of being read if it is signed by a man who is already known as an authority on the subject, or who has obtained a reputation for a bright, striking style. The system has its drawbacks too, for conductors of magazines like to parade the name of a person of rank, or of a well-known individual, although he or she may be by no means the person best fitted to deal with the topic in hand. But magazines are generally different from newspapers. A magazine will one month have an article dealing with a social or political question, and in its next issue it will contain a scathing reply. Newspapers do the same in their correspondence columns, but they could not pursue such a policy in their leading articles. The whole system of newspaper management in England, America, and the colonies is against the plan of everything being signed. The person who really directs the policy of the paper, and who is responsible for its utterances, may not write anything in it at all. All articles, contributions, and criticisms pass under a supervision, and are subject to alteration, which is sometimes rather extensive. In such a case, who is to sign the article, the person who wrote the original draft, or the person who has made, perhaps, radical changes in it? Moreover, it can be a matter of no interest at all to the public to see the names and addresses of the staff of a newspaper printed all over its pages every morning. In regard to letters, that is a matter which is under the control of every editor. Sometimes he considers himself justified in declining to publish a letter unless it is signed by the name of the writer, on the ground that the person making such statements ought to take the full responsibility for them. But it often occurs that some very serious evil has been brought to light by a person who cannot safely write unless his anonymity is preserved. Many excellent letters are written to a paper whose authors would not endure to see their names in type. To insist on all letters therefore being signed would have no good result whatever.

In regard to their conduct and management, Mr. McKenzie had better leave the newspapers alone. He knows nothing of the subject, and cannot form an idea of how any changes he may make would operate in practice. If he really wants to amend the law of libel he had better give up at once the idea of being an original reformer, and, striking out a new line, take up the law as it exists in England, and get that enacted here.

## ***Napier Telegraph.***

We said the other day that Mr. Seddon had *probably* been predestined from all eternity to make a fool of himself. But there can be no doubt about Mr. McKenzie. The Minister for Lands must have been doubly predestined, to make the thing absolutely sure. No New Zealand Minister has ever been a patch on him. He stands alone in proud preeminence—the most insolent, sour-natured, and tyrannical vulgarian that ever abused the trust of a portfolio. Mr. McKenzie would no doubt hold this to be libellous, but it is the simple truth. His outburst of ill-temper in the House the other week was a disgrace to the politics of the colony. Even the "dumb dogs" to whom he applied his lash could not help snarling a faint defiance. But he seems to have outdone himself in his Libel Bill. This precious document has not arrived in Napier yet; but the few particulars given by our correspondent last night are enough to damn it a thousand times over. No British community would for a moment tolerate such a measure. The anonymity of the press may be said to be part and parcel of the British constitution. It is at any rate one of the strongest safeguards of the liberties of the British people. The contrary custom, which still obtains under the Republic in France, was a device of tyranny, and has entirely nullified the legitimate influence of the French Press. A newspaper like the London Times or the Daily News is a simple impossibility in Paris. There is practically no Fourth Estate in France. The Press still retains the marks of bondage; it is a weak, rickety, spasmodic thing, and no more like that of England than a cripple is like Hercules. And yet this is the condition to which Mr. McKenzie would reduce the newspaper press of New Zealand. The strange thing is that it should have come into the world as a Government measure. Mr. Seddon indeed does not

love the penny-a-liners. No New Zealand Liberal ever did. Even Sir Robert Stout, who will no doubt soon be fulminating against this mad McKenzie Bill, did his very best when a member of the Grey Government to muzzle the Opposition papers. But we do not believe that Mr. Seddon is such a doubly predestined fool as to approve of his colleague's Libel Bill. and what about Mr. Ward, an old penny-a-liner himself? That gentleman is noticeably degenerating since he got among his present associates, but he cannot possibly have taken leave of his senses or of common decency to such an extent as to give his cordial assent to such a preposterously outrageous measure. Nor can Mr. W. P. Reeves, another of the scribbling breed. If Mr. Cadman has any say in the Cabinet, we should imagine that he also must see the infinite absurdity of this Libel Bill. And as for Sir Patrick Buckley, why, his Hibernian love of fun will actually revel in the proposal to prescribe the limit of newspaper comment on public measures and public men! What, then, is the inference? Simply what we conjectured a few days ago, that Mr. McKenzie's colleagues, wishing to get rid of the incubus they find him, have laid a trap for the honourable gentleman. In the meantime it will be interesting to notice how the Bill will be regarded by the Ministerial organs—whether they will take the thing in earnest and submit to be muzzled for the sake of their masters and their subsidies, or whether having been duly notified of the intrigue, they will adopt the patriotic *role* and vociferate in defence of the "palladium of liberty." The attitude of the Government supporters will also be watched with interest. Will they consent to a measure to extinguish the public liberties? Or will they, too, on receipt of the Government tip, shout for freedom and the indefeasible rights of Britons? It is certainly impossible to believe that any Government in a British community would venture to bring down such a measure in sober seriousness. But supposing that the present Bill is a serious attempt to muzzle the press, and that Parliament passed the Bill and the Governor gave his assent to it (two seeming impossibilities), the next step would unquestionably be to destroy the independence of the Judges; for the Supreme Court Bench, as at present constituted, would, of course, be still a barrier against the arbitrary will of our Liberal despots.

Mr. McKenzie, even if he were backed up by the whole of the "Highland host" in the Southern Hemisphere, in kilt and plaid, and duly furnished with snuff-mulls, dirks, and claymores, could not do what his petty rage demands. But we heartily hope the Bill may pass. Nothing better could be desired. It would indeed bring the ridicule of the civilised world on the colony. That, however, would not signify. New Zealand could survive a good deal of ridicule. It will even survive the choice collection of charlatans who compose its present Government. But the quickest way to get rid of them would be to pass the Libel Bill. It would be the greatest practical joke ever played by a Collective Wisdom; but it would make a full end, and that in a jiffy, of its wiseacre authors. If it were to become law to-morrow its only effect would be to hurl the Government from power, to use the regulation phrase. There is not a journal in the colony—except, perhaps, a dozen or so of the more abject Government organs—but would, metaphorically speaking, snap its fingers in the Honourable John McKenzie's face. Only imagine Ministers prosecuting the majority of the journals in New Zealand for refusing to sign their articles! Let the Ministerial mob execute the orders of their masters and pass the Bill; and Heaven forbid that the Council should reject it. At first we believed that it was, as we said, a trick of the Premier's to get rid of his colleague; but we are told that Ministers as a whole are in favour of the measure. It is scarcely credible, but so we are assured. Then by all means let the Bill pass both Houses, *nem. con.*, and let it be sent at once to the Governor. If his Excellency were to refuse his assent, as he might well do, on strictly constitutional grounds, he would nevertheless at once spoil an incomparable joke and do a very unpatriotic action.

## ***Napier Evening News.***

When, a week or two ago, we published the Libel Limitation Bill introduced by the Hon. John McKenzie, we did so without comment, for two reasons. In the first place, we did not wish to place obstacles in the way of the enthusiastic Minister of Lands, while he was piloting his Lands for Settlement Bill through the House. We thought he had quite enough obstruction in his path as he bore his policy-burden, without being obstructed on this subject. We stood aside to let him pass with his load. Secondly, we never took Mr. McKenzie's Bill seriously. We never supposed for a moment that the House would pass a measure so preposterous. However, the Journalists Institute having taken the matter up, we must not be silent. We are of opinion that the Institute has exhibited needless precipitancy. The House might have been trusted to reject such a measure as this. It is evidently the outcome of personal spleen, and the House is not so undiscerning as to overlook that. It is not a Policy Bill, and no suggestion of party loyalty could for a moment be entertained by members when the division bell should ring. No want-of-confidence debate could arise out of a defeat. Our brother journalists have taken the matter up with warmth, and we cannot deny the cogency of their reasoning. They say the Bill, if passed into law, would lessen the influence of the press; that the Bill is an apparent substitute for the measure which the Premier promised last year he would bring forward. He has been anticipated by his colleague, and this circumstance certainly does not make the present Bill any more acceptable. We fancy Mr. McKenzie must

by this time have realised the full import of the Bill, which no doubt emanated from him when he was smarting under the gross unfair and scurrilous attacks which were being made upon him in some quarters, while he was earnestly striving to carry out a grand purpose in regard to the settlement of the people on the land. His great measure has now passed through the House, and is beyond his control or that of the representatives of the people; and Mr. McKenzie is doubtless able to look more calmly at the measure which he framed in anger. The Bill if carried into law would not only deal a paralysing blow at the journalistic profession. That is a less important matter than the effect it would have on public opinion. That is the point upon which the real interest centres. Public opinion is the atmosphere of society, and just as necessary is a healthy public opinion for the ventilation of our institutions as that the physical atmosphere we breathe should be kept pure. The healthfulness of public opinion is maintained by the free expression of sentiment, and it is in a great measure to the freedom of the press, which British communities have so pre-eminently enjoyed, that the stability of our constitution is due. Any attempt to gag the mouthpiece of public opinion would have a seriously evil effect. It would lead to congestion of sentiment, and out of that what might not evolve in these days of political unrest? The press, if it serves no other purpose, is undoubtedly a safety valve. Every journalist of experience knows this. It may be illustrated by reference to the ordinary citizen who is excited by some circumstance. His interest or indignation is aroused, and as there is a free press at hand, he proceeds straightway to pour out his soul in a letter to the editor. Next day, when the letter has appeared, his interest in the subject gives place to a complacent view of his own production, and a feeling of satisfaction at having done his duty at any rate. And there is no need to fear any real corruption of the press. There are and there always will be scurrilous writers; there are and there always will be venal writers. We shall always hear the sound of somebody under the lash, the protest of some individual or corporation against censure. There will always be some injustice done by newspapers. But to say this is merely to say that the press is a human institution, and if the situation be dispassionately examined, it will be found that the occasional wrongs inflicted by the press are a thousand times more than counterbalanced by the controlling power which it exercises over public affairs. Would Mr. McKenzie (to put it fairly and squarely, and in his cool moments) extinguish the 'fierce light' in which public men walk? Does he not understand that the sense of being so illuminated, in the presence of the community, has a good deal of influence in keeping our public men pure and preventing corruption? The Minister in charge of this precious Bill would extinguish the light; for by compelling every writer to sign his name, he would prevent public questions being effectively discussed. The personality of a writer may be surmised,—it may be known and generally is, in the case of an editor. But that personality is not obtruded when he does not sign his articles, and the reader accepts the indication, viz., that the subject is to be discussed apart from the writer. The limitation and restrictions already in force around journalism are sufficient to keep it from degenerating, or from seriously injuring an individual or a cause, and we hope to see the Minister withdraw this Bill, and support the more reasonable and earlier proposal to assimilate the law of libel in New Zealand to that in force in England. We can assure Mr. McKenzie that the profession feel far more kindly towards him than he appears to do towards them. Even those who are against him pay tribute readily to the purity of his motives and his unselfish earnestness in pursuit of the colony's good. That the Bill will be withdrawn or shelved we sincerely trust for his sake; for to carry it further into the region of debate would be to court a crushing and ignominious defeat.

## ***The Bush Advocate.***

How much our legislators are exercised about the press is a marvel, and if they are permitted to have their way the boasted freedom which it is reputed to enjoy will soon be a thing of the past. The press of New Zealand has always had the credit of having been well conducted, but of course they must and do comment on man and things, and sometimes are compelled to write in a strain which is not altogether palatable. Well, this is just it, as long as men are flattered and cajoled, then the press is, in their opinion, fully entitled to be called the "Fourth Estate," but let the press rub the hair the wrong way, and all the fat is in the fire. The newspaper comment must be curbed, and attempts are made to literally gag the press. Well, we know of many instances where the freedom of the press has been interfered with, but none of them ever succeed. The inhabitants of Great Britain and the Colonies have been too long used to a free and untrammelled press to stand idly by and see the privileges of fair comment taken from them. The press has greatly assisted to build up the nation to its present greatness; this has been generally recognised, and we believe any attempt to curtail its powers will be nipped in the bud. The present Ministry deem that they have never had justice done to them or their measures by the press; but they should consider that there always were, and always will be, two sections, one for and one against. An unanimous press would be a misnomer, a servile thing which would not be tolerated by the people, and when Ministers faithfully and honourably do their duty, the fact of having done so should make them perfectly indifferent as to the comments of opposition newspapers, knowing that right will always triumph, and

come to the front clear as the day. We remember that esteemed Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Richmond, commiserating with a plaintiff in a libel case, in which the verdict had gone against him, saying that men were judged by their walk in life, which gave the lie to any calumnious thing which might be said about them. In like manner Ministers should not be so thin-skinned as to what may be said about them in the Opposition journals. They are in a majority both in the House and the country, the like of which no other Government ever enjoyed, and can afford to laugh at any malicious shafts which may be directed against them. However, Ministers have not come to that sensible frame of mind yet, and as a consequence we have this Libel Bill before the House, by which an article is defined by the Bill as meaning any printed matter (other than letters, commercial reports, and commercial advertisements) appearing in any newspaper, and comprising more than 150 words. The main operative clause of the Bill states:—"In so far as concerns the proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher of a newspaper any article or letter published therein is privileged if such article or letter be published without malice and disclose at the imprint at its foot the true and full name and address of the writer; but nothing contained in this section shall be construed to in any way protect such writer even though he be such proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher." This clause is certainly a most objectionable one, and while doing no good, it would rob the newspapers of all their influence. The leading article is generally looked on as a kind of inspired contribution, and a sort of finger-post to direct the people, but if at the end of it, for instance, is attached "Jack Smith," the veil would be completely pulled aside, and the article looked upon simply as the private opinion publicly expressed of one member of that numerous family; and, instead of the leader being viewed as an ornament to the paper, it would merely assume the form of a letter written by so and so, and as such be deprived of all influence as a direction of public opinion. Penalties of from £5 to £50 are to be recoverable summarily before a Stipendiary Magistrate from the proprietor of any newspaper who does not print the name of the writer at the foot of each article; and the concluding clauses state that no penalty inflicted under the Act will in any way be an answer to any proceedings for libel, and that the publication of an article or letter without the name and address of the writer is to be taken as an evidence of express malice in any civil or criminal proceedings that may ensue. Such is a synopsis of the new pains and penalties which are to be fastened on to the newspapers; but we have hope the Ministry will think twice before they put such gags on the freedom of the press. No such limitations of the press have even been attempted in any other English-speaking community, and we do not think such a source of procedure will be tolerated in New Zealand, which has hitherto led the van in all reform.

## ***New Zealand Times.***

Mr. Buckland's Washers and Mangles Bill is no longer the champion instance of burlesque legislation. The Libel Bill of the Hon. John McKenzie has taken its place alongside that notorious measure. If we thought this Bill was seriously intended we should treat it seriously. As it is, we need only say that Mr. W. P. Reeves no longer enjoys the monopoly of Ministerial humour. Mr. McKenzie has made a bold, if elephantine, attempt to divide the honours with his younger colleague. He has succeeded tolerably well, because a Libel Bill which concerns libel as little as it concerns the King of Dahomey is almost a screaming farce. Moreover, a Bill seeking to compel the signature of not only every article and letter appearing in a newspaper, but also of almost every local and every telegram is as rich a piece of burlesque as we have come across for a long time. Further, the provision for making the absence of signatures a proof of malice, which is a proposal for legislative interference with the independence of juries, professing as it does to come from a Liberal politician, is of the essence of the noble art of burlesque. We must compliment Mr. McKenzie on his effort. But we cannot forbear telling him frankly that, if he were to refrain from joking when he is angry, he might joke very much better.

## ***Evening Post.***

The New Zealand press has for years appealed to the Government and to the Legislature to assimilate the law of libel in this colony to that which now obtains in the United Kingdom. New Zealand has stood still for 50 years in regard to legislation on this subject, and the result is that it has been left far in the rear of the enlightened legislation of the Mother Country within that period. The libel laws of New Zealand are a disgrace to the country—their existence reflect on the intelligence of the country. They would not for a moment be tolerated by public opinion at Home. They are obsolete, barbarous, and unjust. The injustice and unreasonableness of the law has been conceded repeatedly by the Government, and by each branch of the Legislature, yet the law still remains unaltered. This year the Premier gave a pledge in writing that he would endeavour to effect the necessary reform. That pledge he has falsified. The press asked Ministers for bread. The

virtual reply, despite the Premier's plighted word, is that a stone has been hurled at the press with all the force of malice which a narrow-minded and vindictive Minister could give it. Instead of a measure to place the press of the colony on terms of equality with the British press, in the enjoyment of similar liberty, coupled with protection against blackmailers, there has been introduced a Bill to render the press of this colony subject to restrictions which are unknown to the law of any other civilised community. No such law as that with which Mr. McKenzie wishes to fetter the press with has ever been known before. His Bill is a unique Legislative production. It proposes to impose restrictions such as have never even been suggested in the most severe press laws passed in England since Henry VII. practically introduced the art of printing. The Licensing Acts of 1662 and 1665 imposed no such restriction, the Star Chamber never enforced such provisions, nor did it ever occur to the infamous Jeffreys or the brutal Scroggs, who hated and feared the liberty of the press as much as the Hon. John McKenzie does, that such restrictions were necessary or desirable. History records the names and acts of many enemies to the press—men who sought to curb its power, fetter its action, and gag its voice. The end of all such attempts has been the same—defeat, discomfiture, and utter failure, coupled with loss of popular respect and deprivation of power. No public man ever yet sought to destroy or curtail the liberty of the press without suffering ignominious defeat in the unequal combat, and covering himself with shame and dishonour. It has been well said by a great writer—"To learn the principles of a man in office, a single question will suffice. If he will concur in putting matters on such a footing with respect to the liberty of the press that no man shall have more to fear from writing against Government or Ministers than for writing in their favour, the Government which he desires to see established is Liberal and Constitutional; if not, he is anxious to maintain a Despotic Government, however he may gloze the fact over to others or himself." Judged by this standard, the Hon. "Junius" McKenzie stands revealed to the world in his latest Bill not only as a terrible Tory in disguise," but as an opponent of Liberal and constitutional government—a would-be despot. If Messrs, McKenzie and Seddon were well-read men, knowing something of the constitutional history of the Empire in the government of a small portion of which they have been called on to bear a part, they would not need to be reminded of the struggles which have been gone through or the blood which has been shed by their forefathers in the effort to establish civil and religious liberty on a firm basis wherever the English tongue is spoken. For the sake of liberty of thought, liberty of speech, liberty of conscience, and liberty of worship, men have gladly laid down their lives, and by their blood secured the rights they contended for. The liberty of the press—the right to print what men have a right to say, to think, and to believe—embraces and embodies all the other liberties which are essential to the freedom of man. As John Milton said—"To prevent men thinking and acting for themselves by restraints on the press is like the exploits of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gates." This is the task the Hon. John McKenzie, aided by his Ministerial colleagues, has set himself. He would curb, fetter, and destroy the liberty of the press, in order the better to gag freedom of thought and speech and impound liberty of conscience. The method he has resorted to has, as we have said, the charm of novelty in repressive legislation. He attacks the liberty, through the anonymity, of the press. He seeks to impose upon the New Zealand press a system which has obtained in France, not through the operation of any law, but as a development of characteristic national individual vanity, and desire for personal applause. The French press laws do not require signed articles, although most French writers and papers (not all) do sign their articles. Mr. McKenzie desires to make compulsory in New Zealand what is optional in France, and to impose on New Zealand papers and writers a system which is quite foreign to the genius of the people, and which if enforced would effectually undermine and ultimately destroy the influence, freedom, and independence of the press in any British community. Speaking before the Institute of Journalists in Lincoln's Inn Hall in September last, M. Zola, in an exhaustive paper, dealt very ably with the question of the anonymity of the press, and the relative advantages and disadvantages of the French and English systems of journalism. We will first of all take the French system of signed articles. M. Zola says "it is to the interest of writers to sign their articles." The celebrity thus attained is, he thinks, "a delicious reward for a life of effort." If a writer signed his articles, "it would be he who would reap the reward of his talents, at least in part, and not the newspaper, which now takes the whole profit." M. Zola does not like the quiet, humdrum life of an English press writer. "No responsibility, no duels, no actions at law." He thinks the system destroys individuality, and lessens individual power. But, on the other hand, says M. Zola, "it is very certain that the British press owes to anonymity its power, its unquestionable authority. If the writer loses his personality, he at the same time gains perfect freedom. . . . Himself being sunk, he need no longer fear being disagreeable to anybody, may praise or blame without incurring any responsibility, and is shielded from all venal temptations." In France, "personal questions dominate, and we go into ecstasies of devotion to the new god who happens to pass. Signing secures success, so articles are signed. It may be that you see the whole race here in this craving to fight in the front rank, the face uncovered, and in the glory that is therefore to be won by hurling one's name into the midst of the conflict. I am well aware of all that may be said against that political press which signed articles have given us. It has lost its authority; it has completed the destruction of Parties; it is as often as not a more brawl in which the great

interests of the country are lost sight of amid abominable personal squabbles. The spectacle truly is heartrending; it must convey a frightful impression of us abroad, and you would not have to press me hard to force me to the conclusion that anonymity alone would restore honesty and disinterestedness to our political newspapers." This is the French system as delineated by a distinguished French journalist. Such is the system which the Hon. John McKenzie seeks to force on the New Zealand press in order to banish honesty and disinterestedness from its utterances, and so destroy its power and influence. The Times, in its review of M. Zola's speech, declares that he has on these points arrived at "very sound and satisfactory conclusions. . . . The subordination of individual personalities to a system and a policy renders the typical English newspaper a great organism, with a continuous life, independent of personal changes, with traditions, methods, and character peculiar to itself. M. Zola was right when he laid stress on the fact that it is anonymous journalism which gives stability and solidity to the English press." To prevent the New Zealand press being stable, solid, honest, disinterested, and independent, is the object of Mr. McKenzie's Bill to destroy its anonymity. He fears the press as the fearless exponent of public thought, the ever watchful guardian of public liberty, and the bulwark of civil and religious freedom. Hence he seeks to sap its influence and destroy its power.

To establish the dangerous character and demonstrate the impotent folly of Mr. McKenzie's attack on the liberty of the press of this colony it is only necessary to prove two propositions. The first is, that the liberty of the press is synonymous with, and inseparable from, the freedom of thought, of speech, and of conscience necessary to the maintenance of civil and religious liberty. The second point is, that the anonymity of the press is essential to its freedom and independence. It is not necessary that we should enter into any elaborate argument on our own part to sustain either proposition. The questions of principle involved have been long ago determined by a consensus of enlightened public opinion. The wisest statesmen, the most enlightened jurists, the greatest constitutional writers and authorities, have expressed themselves with no uncertain voice upon these points, and in words far more eloquent, far more telling, and far more convincing than any which we could use. And their words have this additional weight, that they are not uttered for any Party purpose or inspired by any personal interest. They are not words used in the heat of political strife, or in defence of any threatened interest, but are the calm, deliberate expression and formulation of immutable principles—the assertion of great rights, on the maintenance of which the dearest liberties of the human race depend. As Mr. McKenzie's Bill conflicts hopelessly with all these principles, nothing more is needed to stamp it as a radically dangerous measure, a menace not only to the liberty of the press, but to the freedom of the people. Mr. McKenzie, in his ignorant restiveness under criticism and animosity towards press critics, has overlooked what a great Constitutional writer terms "the fundamental truth, settled after centuries of misguided zeal and energy, that thought and speech are beyond the reach of all Governments and laws, and cannot be extinguished or dictated to except at the expense of life itself; that therefore it is idle, impotent, and vain for the law to attempt to do what is impossible, and that it is the highest wisdom to confine itself to the narrowest province of regulating by the smallest number of restrictions the enjoyment and exercise of this natural illimitable force." Paterson, in a well-known work on Public Liberty, writes: "While the liberty of speech is coveted by the people as indispensable to their living under any well-balanced system of Government, much more so is the liberty of the press, which is nothing more than the expansion of the other by mechanical means, thereby intensifying and making universal what might otherwise be spent on a small and isolated group of listeners. When any person is free to publish whatever he deems interesting or valuable, either as a mode of procuring profit to himself or as a means of influencing the minds and will of his fellow-citizens on matters on which union and combination can effect great results, this is the highest mark of freedom, and when once enjoyed by a people will not easily be relinquished, and any attempt to tamper with it will provoke unappeasable clamour and resistance. The freedom of the press, like the great discoveries of science, has been arrived at by painful steps and slow." And still again the same authority says:—"And yet this simple proposition that thought and speech are free has been arrived at only after the painful experience of ages. . . . Whether this conflict is yet at an end everywhere, some Governments at least have long ago surrendered, being satisfied that they have met a force which they can neither conquer nor annihilate. They have learnt that it is idle, impotent, and vain to continue the conflict longer on the old basis, and therefore they admit that the primary right of all men is to think and say what they like, both about themselves and everybody else, and for this simple and all-sufficient reason, that no power known to mankind has been discovered strong enough to compel them to abstain." The basis of the liberty of the press is thus defined by Lord Erskine:—"Every man not intending to mislead but seeking to enlighten others with what his own reason and conscience, however erroneously, have dictated to him as truth, may address himself to the universal intelligence of a whole nation either upon the subject of government in general or upon that of his own individual country. He may analyse the principles of its constitution, point out its errors and defects, examine and publish its corruptions, warn his fellow-citizens against their ruinous consequences, and exert his whole faculties in pointing out the most advantageous changes in establishments which he considers to be radically defective or sliding from their object to abuse. All this every subject of this country has a right to do if

he contemplates only what he thinks would be for its advantage, and but seeks to change the public mind by the conviction which flows from reasonings dictated by conscience." Another authority says: "The liberty of the press means the liberty of publishing whatever any member of the public thinks fit, without any preliminary license or qualification whatever, and subject only to this restriction, that if he goes to an extreme in making blasphemous, immoral, seditious or defamatory statements, that he maybe punished afterwards by indictment, information, or by action for such excess." Another eminent writer quoted in Parliamentary History writes to this effect:—"The greatest enjoyment that rational and sensible creatures are capable of is to employ their thoughts on what subject they please, and to communicate them to one another as freely as they think them; and herein consists the dignity and freedom of human nature, without which no other freedom can be secure. For what is it that enables a few tyrants to keep almost all mankind in slavery, but their narrow and wrong notions of government, which is owing to the discouragement they lie under of mutually communicating, and consequently of employing their thoughts on political matters, which, did they do, it is impossible that the bulk of mankind should have suffered themselves to be enslaved from generation to generation. But the arts of State in most countries being to enslave the people or to keep them in slavery, it became a crime to talk, much more to write, about political matters, and ever since printing has been invented there have been in most cases State licensers to hinder men from writing freely about government, for which there can be no other reason but to prevent the defects of either the Government or the management of it being discovered and amended." Finally, so far as this branch of the subject is concerned, we quote again from Parliamentary History the noble words uttered in Parliament by Charles James Fox:—"English freedom does not depend on the Executive Government, nor upon the administration of justice, nor upon one particular and distinct part, nor even upon forms, so much as it does upon the general freedom of speech and of writing. Speech ought to be completely free. The press ought to be completely free, when any man may write and print what he pleased, though he is liable to be punished if he abused that freedom. This is perfect freedom. I have never heard of any danger arising to a free State from the freedom of the press or freedom of speech; so far from it, I am perfectly clear that a free State cannot exist without both. It is not the law that is to be found in books that constitutes, that has constituted, the true principle of freedom in any country at any time. No, it is the energy, the boldness of a man's mind which prompts him to speak, not in private, but in large and popular assemblies, that constitutes, that creates in a State, the spirit of freedom. This is the principle that gives life to liberty. Without it the human character is a stranger to freedom. As a tree that is injured at the root, with the bark taken off some of its branches, may live for a while, and some sort of blossom may still remain, but it will soon wither, decay, and perish; so take away the freedom of speech or of writing, and the foundation of all your freedom is gone. You will then fall and be degraded and despised by all the world for your weakness and your folly in not taking care of that which conducted you to all your fame, your greatness, your opulence and prosperity." As so how far anonymity is necessary to preserve the freedom, independence, purity, and influence of the press, we shall have something to say and authorities to quote on a future occasion. What we have already said and quoted may aid in making Mr. McKenzie realise the true character of the attempt on which he has embarked, and the disastrous consequences to the public, rather than to the newspapers, which would result if success were to attend his efforts—a contingency which, fortunately, is practically impossible.

The Christchurch Star, now perhaps the most ably-written journal of the small section of the press which gives the Ministry a general support, says:—"The Libel Bill of the Minister of Lands is enough to wreck any Ministry, discredit any Party, and earn for the man who could conceive such a measure the contempt of every open-minded man in the colony. Away with such a measure. It is a mere 'dirty little black devil.'" Such is the opinion entertained by a staunch Liberal journal. From that opinion there will be no dissent in the colony. Abroad there will be even stronger expressions of condemnation and contempt at this insane ministerial attempt to destroy the right of anonymous writing, on which says a great English writer, "the liberty of the press is chiefly founded." Were such an attempt to be made by any English politician, it would be his own death warrant as a public man. He would be hounded from public life as an enemy, not merely of the liberty of the press, but of the liberty of the people. The liberty of the press has on the highest authority been declared to be "the most valuable of our constitutional rights, and one resting chiefly on the privilege of anonymous writing." Still another writer has declared—"The press is to us what the militia was to Charles I. If we were to lose all our other liberties, it would ultimately bring them all back again. The liberty of the press and the liberty of the country must stand or fall together. Other liberties have been held under governments, but the liberty of opinion keeps government itself in subjection to duty." And again—"A free press provides Parliament with the means of profiting by the information of the public. It enables electors to act with some knowledge of the conduct of their representatives. It informs legislators of public opinion. It informs the people of the acts of legislation. It conduces to the maintenance of order, and prevents the stern necessity of revolutions. For nearly all that keeps up in us permanently and effectually the spirit of regard to liberty and public good, we must look to the unshackled and independent energies of the press. It is the air which liberty breathes; if she has it not she dies."

Again—"A free press is a real censorial power lodged in the impartial hands of the people. It gives them the right to express their disapprobation of public evils. It is a beneficent power which begins where other checks fail; it touches matters out of reach of the law; it indicates; it does not punish; it is the mildest yet the most effectual restraint that could be devised for authority. . . . The freedom of the press, therefore, in any country should be anxiously and conscientiously preserved as a blessing to the whole world." A great divine, now some years dead, once wrote—" I love liberty, but hope it can be so managed that I have soft beds, good dinners, fine linen, &c., for the rest of my life." He objected to being made a martyr. It is essential to the preservation of liberty that its friends should be protected, or in troublous times few would dare to defend it. The right of anonymous writing is absolutely essential to preserve writers from persecution, if not martyrdom. It is the very essence of a free and useful press as it permits men to write what they might fear to speak. "Anonymous writing is a surer guarantee against injustice and oppression than any form of Government could be. The right of anonymous writing is a protection the value of which cannot be exaggerated. It is one that no power can silence, no money can corrupt, no flattery can lull to sleep. To abolish it would be to bid the soldiers of truth go forth to attack the fortresses of error without armour, while any fool might launch poisoned arrows at them with safety." It is this right which enables the poor to battle against the rich, the weak against the strong, the unjustly treated against the abuse of authority, and enables them to make their appeal to "a Judge whose authority is the greatest, to a Court whose publicity is the widest, in the realm." Another great writer has declared "that the suppression of anonymous writing would undermine the healthful power of the press more, perhaps, than any measure which could be devised, and would take from it a great guarantee of earnestness and sincerity." No doubt this is the object and intention of our Boeotian Minister of Lands. To defend the right, however, "is not to encourage a nameless body of literary men in a course of doubtful honour, but it is to protect life, to insure property, to fence the altar, to guard the throne, to give space and liberty to all the finer powers of man and lift him up to his right place in the order of creation." Verily, Mr. McKenzie has undertaken a big order in attacking and seeking to destroy the anonymity of the press. "If the shelter of anonymous writing were withdrawn, one of two risks would be incurred: Either things which ought to be said would be left unsaid—facts which ought to be dragged to light would be hushed up and concealed—either the task of correcting delinquents, detecting jobs, and dealing out the fittest measure of refutation and of blame must be abnegated, or it must be left to literary bravos. A far higher and more conscientious class can now venture to undertake the functions of censors and denouncers than would be willing to wield the lash had they to do so without a mask. To say the harsh things which ought to be said, to make the fierce onslaught which needs to be made, to stigmatise the evil deeds which it is for the interests of the public should be ruthlessly exposed, is pleasant and easy only to the unfeeling and malignant." As has been well remarked—"It is possible to have wisdom without the fortitude to become a martyr." Sir James Mackintosh has well remarked—"To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office, but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly it cannot be done effectually, and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it." If anonymous writing were abolished, no public writer who did his duty but would have to endure daily social, political, and probably material martyrdom. In every age and in every State the wisest and best of men and women have been glad to be able to address the public and enunciate views for the public good without intruding their personality, and perhaps so exciting animosity and opposition on personal grounds alone. Every profession, even royalty itself, has swelled the ranks of anonymous writers, and "therefore this tower of strength and bulwark of the liberties of the press may be strenuously defended without a blush or misgiving. It may be defended in the name of truth as the most fearless and redoubtable opponent of error. It may be defended in the name of reason as often the only possible opponent of error; and it may be defended in the name of the law as the inalienable right of all Englishmen." So says one of the most eloquent and learned writers on the subject. Even the ancient Greeks had some glimmering of what is in modern times involved in the liberty of the press. One of their noblest poets wrote—

*This is true liberty: when freeborn men,  
Having to advise the public, may speak free;  
While he who can, and will, deserves high praise,  
Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace,  
What can be juster in a State than this?*

It has been left a New Zealand Minister to be the first in any English-speaking land to seek to gag the press and deprive it of the greatest bulwark of its liberty, to endeavour to muzzle the expression of free thought, and to undermine the liberty of speech and conscience on which the freedom of our race depends, and which have

been the proudest boast, the dearest heritage, of our nation. Shameful and degrading indeed is the task which Mr. McKenzie has essayed, and in which he asks the assistance of the Parliament of New Zealand. But he will fail—utterly and ignobly fail—in his dastardly attempt on public liberty, and as in our mother country

*"Here shall the press the people's right maintain,  
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain."*

The title of Mr. McKenzie's Press Bill is a misnomer. It should be termed "A Bill to prohibit anonymous writing." It in no way limits the law of libel, as would naturally be inferred from the title. On the contrary, it attaches privilege to certain forms of libel which would not now be privileged—that is, it gives privilege, where the publication is without malice, to the paper which publishes a signed libel, which is not given under the present law. This would most materially extend instead of limiting the publication of libels. But it is evident that the Bill as originally drafted was intended to cover much wider ground than is included in the six clauses of the Bill which are now left. The title was devised to cover this wider ground. Mr. McKenzie desired to define libel and limit the right of free and independent criticism. Probably when the Bill came before Cabinet his better-informed colleagues intervened to prevent him making them and himself more utterly ridiculous than is done by the six clauses which now constitute the Bill. The greatest modern statesmen, the most learned jurists, the most advanced legislatures of the old world, have shrunk from the task of defining libel, either by legislation or judicial decision. Verily, it is true that fools rush in where angels fear to tread, or a possibly illiterate Minister or Ministers in a small colony would not have dreamt of attempting the delicate and practically impossible task of formulating a general definition. Ignorant and weak-minded men very easily grow puffed up in their own conceit, and then they become exceedingly thin-skinned. When the bubble of their self-importance is pricked, their vanity wounded, and their actions or utterances subjected to well-deserved criticism, their galled withers wince, and they at once begin to complain that the criticism is scurrilous or libellous. Probably in the whole range of the English language there are no two words more often misapplied by public men than these words, scurrilous and libellous. The more thoroughly just, the more entirely deserved a criticism or a censure may be, the more likely is its object to declare it to be libellous and scurrilous. The most scathing criticism is possible without trenching on either scurrility or libel; and we are glad to say that only in very rare instances indeed does press criticism, however severe, justify the application to it of either of the two descriptive terms. They are used and applied simply to divert attention from the truth and justice of what has been said, and in default of any reasonable or plausible reply or defence on the merits or facts. As to libel and the possibility of giving it a legal definition, a great authority has declared that "no man can tell precisely what is or what is not a libel." Bentham once, with caustic humour, defined a libel to be "anything that may at any time displease anybody." This is the sort of definition which Mr. McKenzie would no doubt have liked to put in his Libel Limitation Bill had he been allowed. Possibly he would have substituted the word "Ministers" for "anybody." We do not suppose he would have proposed to limit the power which members of Parliament now possess, and sometimes use, of making the most false and libellous statements with impunity, under protection of Parliamentary privilege, against those who may chance to incur their enmity. Prior to 1792 Judges used to direct juries as to what was libel. In that year Fox's Act was passed, which gave the jury the sole power of saying whether any publication was a libel. This provision affords one of the greatest possible protections to the freedom of the press and liberty of thought and speech. The Judges, for a time, struggled to retain their former power, but in the end they had to yield to the jury the right of determining what was libellous. Lord Denman has said that "if a judge told a jury that an article was in point of law a libel, he virtually repealed Fox's Act." No doubt Mr. McKenzie would like to give Ministers or Judges the power. Lord Camden has explained why it should be jealously preserved to juries. He did so in these memorable words:—"Who shall have the care of the liberty of the press—the judges, or the people of England? The jury are the people of England. The judges are independent men. Be it so. But are they totally beyond the possibility of corruption from the Crown? Is it impossible to show them favour in an any way whatever? The truth is they possibly may be corrupted. Juries never can. What would be the effect of giving judges the whole control of the press? Nothing would appear that could be disagreeable to the Government. As well might an Act of Parliament pass that nothing shall be printed or published but panegyrics on Ministers. In the full catalogue of crimes there is not one so fit to be determined by a jury as libel." In precisely the same spirit is Wedderburn's declaration that "libel is founded entirely on public opinion. There is no other standard by which it can be measured or ascertained. Who, then, so proper as the people to determine the point?" Lord Kenyon, C.J., gave an admirable definition of the liberty of the press and what constitutes libel, in these words:—"After all, the truth of the matter as to the liberty of the press is very simple when stripped of all the ornaments of speech, and a man of plain common sense may easily understand it. It is neither more or less than this—a man may publish anything which twelve of his countrymen

think is not blameable, but that he ought to be punished if he publishes what is blameable. This in plain common sense is the subject of all that has been said upon the subject." Sir John Macintosh, an eminent authority, has declared that "Those who slowly built up the fabric of our law never attempted anything so absurd as to define by any precise rule the obscure and shifting boundary which divides libel from history or discussion." Curran referred to the question in these words:—"The liberty of the press—that sacred palladium which no influence, no power, no Minister, no Government—which nothing but the depravity, or folly, or corruption of the jury, can destroy." How valuable is the liberty of the press, existing under the protection of public opinion, and resting not upon the dictum of authority, not defined by law, not subject to the definition of Ministers, legislatures, or Judges, but in every instance dependent on the unbiassed interpretation of a jury, Sheridan has shown in impassioned words. Addressing the House of Commons, he said—"Give me the liberty of the press, and I will give to the Minister a venal House of Peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons. I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office. I will give him the whole host of Ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance, and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed—I will attack the mighty fabric he has raised with that mightier engine. I will shake down from its height corruption, and bring it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to scatter." It is scarcely necessary for us to say more to show how dangerous is Mr. McKenzie's desire to limit and define libel by Act of Parliament.

## **Evening Press.**

We hardly know whether to take the Hon. Mr. McKenzie's Libel Amendment Bill seriously. New Zealand Liberalism may be prepared for new departures, but hardly for so surprising a new departure as the abolition of anonymous journalism. In France, during the Empire, anonymous journalism was prohibited, and though it is not prohibited now the results of the prohibition remain. The institution still bears its stamp. A description of journalism has arisen which presents a marked and a very interesting contrast to the English system. There are one class who are immensely the gainers by it, that is the contributors of articles to the press. No English newspaper writer gets anything like the remuneration that M. Albert Wolff used to get from the Figaro for his articles on the Salon, or M. Zola for his contributions on social subjects. Where articles are not signed with the true name, they are mostly signed with a *nom de plume*, and it does not matter much whether a man makes his reputation under a real name or a *nom de plume*, he makes it, and can charge for his services accordingly. In proportion as the newspaper writers gain, the newspaper proprietors lose. There is no journal in Paris so well got up as the Christchurch Press say, or the New Zealand Herald, while many newspapers that had or have a European reputation such as the Pays, the Gaulois, or the Voltaire are in appearance what we should here reckon second-class rags. Their number, however, is legion. Every day or two one dies and another rises from its ashes. Not only when the present writer was last in Paris had such literary men as Victor Hugo or such politicians as Gambetta their special organ, but numbers of men whose names are never heard outside Paris had theirs also. One printing office alone turned out about 20 of these journals daily. The whole system presented a marked and marvellous contrast to the Fourth Estate in England.

If the newspaper writers were gainers and the newspaper owners the losers that was mainly their concern; the point of interest is how it affected the public. The salutary influence of the responsible utterances of such papers as the great London dailies was altogether absent. The idea that the editorial "we" is a fiction is not altogether correct. We believe that when some important subject is on the *tapis* the Times gets half a dozen leaders written on it and pays for them all, the final leader being composed after the perusal of the lot. The lesser lights of journalism cannot emulate this practice, but, for all that, any journalist who knows his business at all has the best information, and the best intelligence of the community open to him, and will not fail to draw upon it for inspiration on any special subject. He may have to deal with many subjects in regard to which his own information is necessarily limited. The information which goes into his paper need not, however, be as limited as his own. His duties are often of an eclectic character. After having ascertained, as best he can, what is the right line to take by the comparison of many opinions, he may then sit down and put into shape what are really to a large extent the thoughts of others. He would hardly, in some such cases, be justified in signing his own name to his articles, however willing he might be to do so.

## **Wairarapa Star.**

The Hon. Mr. McKenzie, Minister of Lands, who has latterly distinguished himself for his eccentricities, is venting his spite against the newspapers of the colony by introducing a Bill to compel writers of articles and

correspondence in papers to attach their names. We need not refer in detail to the foolishness of such a proposal. We can only say that a person who suggests such a thing is either in a furious rage at some newspaper criticism or is altogether beside himself. Mr. McKenzie may have been handled rather severely by the Opposition press, and may be somewhat angry. But he should remember the injunction to "Be angry and sin not." His proposed newspaper Bill is certainly a very sinful one, and could only have been bred of anger. We hope he will not press it. For the sake of his common-sense, colleagues, and for the sake of the country, he should not allow himself to become so ridiculous.

## ***Wairarapa Standard.***

The Hon. J. McKenzie has introduced a Bill which he has declared will abolish libel. The hon. gentleman is one of those peculiarly-formed individuals who think that every forcibly-written article is libellous, and that newspapers should be merely small beer chroniclers. His panacea for the abolition of libel is a remarkable one. The Bill sets forth that all articles or letters published in newspapers are "privileged" if published without malice, and have at foot the names and addresses of the writers, but although "privileged," the writers, and proprietors of the papers they appear in are not "protected." Under such circumstances the "privilege" might also be dispensed with. If articles or letters are not signed with name and address as aforesaid, the proprietors are liable to a fine of not less than £5 and not more than £50. If any article or letter is not signed, such omission is to be taken as evidence of "express malice" in any legal proceedings. The Bill is ridiculous from beginning to end. It aims solely at banishing anonymity, as if the mere compulsion to put a name at the foot of each paragraph or letter in a newspaper would also abolish libel. Proprietors and publishers of newspapers are responsible now for everything that appears in the journals under their control, and they would be no more responsible if the articles were signed. To meet the wishes of those who wished to retain their anonymity, no doubt the publisher or printer's devil could sign anything that the editor and publisher would insert and take the responsibility of. The Hon. Mr. McKenzie should stick to his sheep, his noxious weeds, and his "little black devil." Newspapers are beyond his kin.

## ***West Coast Mail.***

In looking through Mr. McKenzie's new Press Bill one cannot help wondering what his colleagues are about to let this illiterate Minister have his way in the matter, and seek to set up and promulgate a law that our greatest jurists have been nonplussed at. The Bill apparently seeks to define what libel is, but, as most people know, the intricacies of what is and what is not libel are so great and manifold that judges and juries alike have usually been considerably puzzled to define it. There is an old saying that "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and this may well be applied to the present case. The present Bill, instead of limiting the law of libel, as one would suppose from the title, attaches privileges to certain forms thereof which, under the existing law, are not privileged, *i.e.*, it gives privilege where the publication is without malice to the paper which publishes a signed paper, which is not given under the existing law. The new Bill provides that every article or letter must have attached the full name and address of the writer, otherwise the editor, proprietor, printer, and publisher are severally liable to fines varying from £5 to £50, to be recovered summarily. Provided the name and address is appended to a letter, and it is published without malice, no one but the writer is liable for libel. The fines above mentioned are to be no bar to civil or criminal proceedings for libel. As everyone knows, at present the editor, printer, or publisher of a paper is liable, even supposing the writer of a libellous letter does append his name, the aggrieved person nevertheless has his remedy against the newspaper or the writer. The more one reads the present Bill the more convinced one is that Mr. McKenzie intends it as a burlesque, or, as the Post puts it, "on a par with Mr. Buckland's Washers and Manglers Bill."

## ***Manawatu Times.***

It is not surprising to find the statements made public that the Hon. J. McKenzie's Libel Bill is universally ridiculed. When, a few weeks ago the Premier, in reply to a question, stated that his colleague, the Minister for Lands, would undertake the preparation of a Bill dealing with the libel law of the colony, it was generally accepted as an indication that the matter might be treated in a jocular fashion; but elephantine even as are Mr. Seddon's jokes, the most pronounced opponents of the Ministry never thought they could have been guilty of perpetrating such a huge farce as this latest emanation from the Minister of Lands would suggest. When by a

combination of circumstances a man ignorant of all mental culture finds himself elevated beyond the sphere for which nature intended him, it sometimes happens that by cultivation and assiduous application he makes himself fitted to fill; if not to adorn, his altered station. Any hopes that might have been formed of Mr. John McKenzie's capacity to rise superior to his former environments, and to show himself worthy of his position as a Minister of the Crown, have been long dissipated. Any lingering doubt that may have existed on this point must surely have been dispelled by the Minister's Libel Bill. Mr. McKenzie bitterly resents the fact that there are in the colony newspapers which have declined to bow their heads to the brazen calf set up by the Seddonian Government. Though with the party has for the time rested victory, their triumph has only been secured by the most questionable means, and by a policy of imposture. The fly in the ointment for the Minister has been that the more powerful and independent section of the press have resolutely refused to be gulled and hoodwinked by the Government. They have mercilessly exposed the shallow sophistries the Government has endeavoured to pass as principles; they have not failed to lay open to public inspection the imposture of the protestations of the Government, and, more than all, they have absolutely refused to accept the value of the Minister of Lands as a politician at the price that gentleman puts upon himself. This is really the unpardonable sin of the journalists, and this is the reason why an endeavour is to be made to strike a fatal blow at the power, independence and usefulness of the press. Outside of France or Russia no such proposal as that made in the Libel Bill would be tolerated, and we venture to express the opinion that the people of this colony are too well satisfied by the benefit of a free press to permit the existence of a muzzled press like that sought to be instituted. We have too much confidence in public opinion to think that such a degrading proposal as that now made will ever be carried into effect. Of all the idiotic, senseless mistakes ever made by the set of political jugglers that have by a turn of fortune's wheel for the time being secured public office in this colony, none has so glaringly shown their incompetence and dense ignorance as the Libel Bill.

## ***Manawatu Herald.***

It was not our intention to have entered into any discussion upon the misnamed Libel Bill introduced into Parliament by the Hon. John McKenzie, as even the New Zealand Times belabours it as an absurdity, and as an "elephantine" joke of that Minister. However, it is all important that the position should be put right before the public, and we take this opportunity of putting on record the obligations all those connected with the press are under to the editor of the Evening Post for the very able leader under the above title appearing in Monday's issue. The whole of the best authorities are quoted which show "the liberty of the press—the right to print what men have a right to say, to think, and to believe—embraces and embodies all the other liberties which are essential to the freedom of man." For a Liberal Government to introduce such a measure as the Minister of Lands has brought in is an un-fortunate exhibition of the power they would like to obtain, as the Post points out, "no such law as that with which Mr. McKenzie wishes to fetter the press with has ever been known before." In the leader referred to, it is shown that the Premier gave a pledge in writing that he would endeavour to effect the necessary reform in the law of libel, but instead "a stone has been hurled at the press with all the force of malice which a narrow-minded and vindictive Minister could give it." The leader is a long one, but well worth the perusal of all, as it utters many words of warning which appear most needed at the present time. It concludes with the statement that Mr. McKenzie "fears the press as the fearless exponent of public thought, the ever watchful guardian of public liberty, and the bulwark of civil and religious freedom. Hence he seeks to sap its influence and destroy its power."

## ***Feilding Star.***

It is rumoured in Wellington that if the Hon. Mr. McKenzie's Libel Bill becomes law, the Electoral Act will be amended so as to do away with the ballot box. The alleged reason for the proposed change is, that if the anonymous press is a crime, the secrecy of the ballot box is an offence, inasmuch that it allows a man to vote according to his convictions without fear or favour.

## ***Rangitikei Advocate.***

In the House a few days ago the Minister of Lands announced his intention to introduce a Bill dealing with newspapers, which he darkly hinted would make libel impossible in the future. This wonderful measure has at last been circulated, and a perusal of it can only lead to the conviction that the notoriously thin-skinned man

who, according to Mr. Pi rani, muddles the land business of the colony, wishes to commit the country to a real orgie of newspaper repression. Mr. McKenzie, who imagines that he has suffered dreadfully at the hands of anonymous writers, has indeed apparently made up his mind to squelch them at once and for ever, and so possess his soul in peace, and in order to do this effectually he has gone to the dark ages for inspiration. The Bill provides that any printed matter (other than letters) appearing in any newspaper, which contains any comment, direct or indirect, on the public affairs of the colony, or on the acts or conduct of any person in the colony, must be signed by the real name of the writer, or the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher (the printer's devil is mercifully exempted) will be liable to a fine of not less than £5 or more than £50. The absolute silliness of such a provision must be apparent to anyone, when it is remembered that there is hardly a paragraph in a newspaper which does not comment in some way on the public affairs of the colony or on the acts of persons in it, and every one of these, if only one sentence, would need to have the "true and full name and address of the writer" appended to it. The same provision would apply to the cables from Europe and Australia and the interprovincial telegrams, each one of which, if the newspaper proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher, as aforesaid, are to be exempt from fine or imprisonment, must be followed by the name and address of the sender. A newspaper would thus become simply a sheet of full names and addresses repeated every day with a sickening reiteration, with little scraps of news sandwiched between them. A shining literary light must Mr. John McKenzie be to plan such a newspaper. Of the malicious vindictiveness of the author against newspapers, the production which he seeks to dignify by the appellation of a "Bill" supplies plenty of evidence. Thus, the thing is so worded that the newspaper proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher may be exposed to a whole fusilade of law actions for the publication of one innocent paragraph. For instance, if a newspaper should comment on the actions of any individual and inadvertently omit the name of the writer, action may be taken, first by the authorities against the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher, for publishing matter without appending the name and address of the writer. Then the person whose actions have been the subject of comment may bring an action for libel. As the failure to print the name and address of the writer is expressly declared to be evidence of malice, Mr. McKenzie literally seeks to throw the newspaper to the dogs, for a verdict for plaintiff would, under those circumstances, be a foregone conclusion. Indeed, no such ludicrously silly or vindictive Bill has ever before been brought into the House of Representatives, and when the Minister of Lands has disappeared from the stage there will be no danger that such a one ever will be again. The newspaper editor is Mr. McKenzie's "bogieman," his "social pest," his chief aversion, but no Parliament could be so asinine, so lost to every consideration of public good and private liberty as to vote for a Bill which contains internal evidence of a hatred to journalists amounting almost to monomania.

## ***Wanganui Chronicle.***

If the present Government can have their way, nobody will be allowed in the future to write to the newspapers without attaching, for publication, the writer's full name and address. Neither will it be permissible to publish any article or paragraph exceeding 150 words (about twenty lines), without the full signature and address of the writer being printed at the foot thereof. We have not yet received a copy of the Bill, but the summary of its provisions forwarded by our special correspondent will, we think, astonish our readers. An article is defined by the Bill as meaning any printed matter (other than letters, commercial reports, and commercial advertisements), appearing in any newspaper, and comprising more than 150 words. The main operative clause of the Bill states: "In so far as concerns the proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher of a newspaper, any article or letter published therein is privileged, if such article or letter be published without malice, and disclose at the imprint at its foot the true and full name and address of the writer; but nothing contained in this section shall be construed to in any way protect such writer even though he be such proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher." In order to make the Bill as harassing as possible, it is expressly stipulated that if in any newspaper there be published any article or letter which does not disclose or print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer, the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher are severally liable to a penalty of not less than £5 or more than £50, to be recovered summarily before a Stipendiary Magistrate. The concluding clauses state that no penalty inflicted under the Act will in any way be an answer to any proceedings for libel, and that the publication of an article or letter without the name and address of the writer is to be taken as an evidence of express malice in any civil or criminal proceedings that may ensue. And this is Liberalism! The Bill is introduced by the Hon. Mr McKenzie, at the request of his colleagues, and is a Ministerial measure. As such, Mr. McKenzie can carry it through, provided he cares to risk putting a little more strain upon the allegiance of his supporters. There is just the possibility, however, that the "Dumb Dog Party" may begin to open their mouths and show their teeth. Already a few have begun to bark angrily, and if further provoked they may bite. But to return to the Bill. Its aim is to "gag" the people. It will not make a particle of difference to

newspaper editors and proprietors, but it will place a complete bar against working men and women using the press for the purpose of ventilating grievances, or discussing public questions. At present, editors and proprietors are responsible for everything that appears in their papers. A member of a local body may make libellous and slanderous statements at a meeting of such body, and escape all responsibility therefore, but the unhappy editor who publishes his speech word for word as he delivered it, is liable at law in costs and damages for so doing. An elector may write a letter to a paper, and escape all responsibility for the statements contained therein, because of an aggrieved person preferring to take civil or criminal proceedings against the publisher instead. Mr. McKenzie does not propose to relieve newspaper people from any of their present disabilities, but rather to further hamper and harass them, and annihilate what is known as the "open column." Professional writers and people in independent circumstances would, under the Bill, have a monopoly of the papers, while the rank and file of the people would be obliged to put their pens away. The correspondence column in the newspaper is to the working-man writer what the ballot-box is to the working-man voter. The latter enables him to vote as he thinks right, without any fear of coercion; the former affords him the opportunity of giving free expression to his views without subjecting him to personal ridicule or vindictive spleen of his masters or social superiors. To shut the mouths of the people may be McKenzie-ism, but it surely cannot be called Liberalism.

To the great majority outside of press circles it matters little what the law of libel is, but to those whose living depends on the pen and the fruits of their brains it is something of more than passing importance, and may be said through them to have a general interest, for whatever is for the safe guarding of liberties is a benefit to the community as well as to the individual. What has been asked for by newspapers in this colony for some years past is that the law of New Zealand shall be assimilated to the law of England. It is one of the peculiarities of our own profession that in place of this progressive colony showing the lead in this matter, as it has done in so many others, it has to follow. But even the privilege of following is and has been denied. For some years this has been due to the persistent efforts of men like Mr. G. Fisher, who themselves have been connected with the Fourth Estate, and Mr. H. S. Fish, whose notorious conduct had so often brought him under the laches of the press, and now the delay comes from another source, to wit the Minister of Lands, who hates journalists and journalism as the devil is said to hate holy water. The law for Libel Bill has twice, if not thrice, passed the Legislative Council, and this session, in order to give it a better chance, the Premier promised (Mr. McKenzie says in a weak moment) to introduce it in the House of Representatives at an early date. Having failed to keep his promise he was reminded of it, and jocularly referred the questioner, Mr. W. Hutchison, to the Minister for Lands, who in his reply said he would bring down a Bill which would prevent libel in future. The Bill brought down is not the Bill promised at all, but a measure which provides simply for signed articles as in France. This practice can be discussed without in any way trenching on the grounds of the reasonableness of press demands for a new libel law. The great difference between English and French journalism has been the anonymity of the first-mentioned, while in France signed articles though not *de rigueur* are at least the general rule. To the ambitious journalist there is an attraction about the French system, because it offers a chance of large salaries, and to a very great extent we find that in England the men who write under a now *de plume* are just as readily known as though they signed their real name and address. Anyone who wants to know the views of George Augustus Sala knows exactly which is his leader in the Daily Telegraph by its position, the theatrical criticism of Archer, though only initialled by him, are known to all, and so on, and it is because these names are in demand that the owners secure such large salaries, whereas under the anonymous system they might toil unknown all their lives, the credit of their smart writings going to the paper and the proprietor, who "discovers" them, as the term goes. Under the editorial "we," on the other hand, while there is much labour, erudition, and faithful work that can never be known, and unfortunately is too little appreciated by a public that forgets the article as soon as read, and never thinks of the writer, there is still a sense of responsibility that a true journalist never forgets. It is the custom with some flippant critics of the press to look on the opinions of the "we" as only those of one man, and to claim for themselves the same rights of judgment as the editor. This is too often mere folly. There are few, if any, of the principal papers in the colony the leading articles of which are written by one individual. But supposing for a moment they were, they represent the result of rubbing shoulders with men and women by those who are particularly and peculiarly adapted for the work, who do nothing else in going through life but set themselves out to gather ideas from other people, so that by assimilating them with their own they may at last be able to put forth something which will tend to form and mould public opinion. The right of all who read to judge for themselves is of course conceded, nor did such a demand need to be made, for it is the foundation of all our liberties, political, social, and religious, but those who sit in judgment on the writers should bear in mind that though they may differ from their paper the views expressed are published without view to personal aggrandisement, for public honours and State remuneration come not in the direction of the pressman. Leaving Mr. McKenzie's Bill alone, the general reader may ask what is that the newspaper press of the colony want in their Libel Bill? Briefly, they want protection in the carrying out of their work. First of all it is unfair that a paper should be liable to be mulct in damages for giving a fair and impartial report of a public

meeting, but so it is, and the law of England protects the press against actions of the kind, But the main grievance is "the man of straw" who can find some Dodson and Fog kind of lawyer to bring an action against a respectable journal, and having lost his case and put the paper to a great deal of expense, he simply leaves it in the lurch to pay its lawyer the fees he should have paid. Newspapers ask that before libel actions are brought security should be given for costs, so that if victory rests with the paper it shall not be the worse than hollow one which lands them in expense because of the dastardly and cowardly conduct of the plaintiff. This is not un-reasonable. No proprietor or editor in the colony likes a libel action. The very thought of going to law is sufficient to drive them to any extreme of apology or retraction, sometimes not short of an indignity, and in asking for this measure of justice the newspapers do not ask for a license to libel all and sundry, for their Bill provides that in the case of a person who thinks himself libelled but who is without funds, a judge shall decide whether he has a case or not before it is allowed to proceed. Thus no injustice is done to the poor whose honour and good name might be at stake, but the man of straw with a purely imaginary grievance set up often only to drag blood money from those who do not wish to go to law, would receive his quietus, and this Mr. McKenzie's Bill leaves out entirely.

## ***Wanganui Herald.***

It did not require the above evidence to prove the Hon. John McKenzie's enmity towards the press of New Zealand. No doubt he has been roundly abused by different journals during the past few years for things he either never said or did, or which were worthy of praise. Because some papers slated him, he included the whole press of the colony as a pestiferous nuisance, which ought to be legislated, like the noxious weeds, against in so drastic a fashion as to ensure its destruction. But the man has not yet been born who can bring the people of any civilized country to consent to the strangling of a free press. Mr. McKenzie may have frequent causes for just indignation at the false charges made against him in the columns of the Opposition press of the colony, but that is no valid reason why the whole of the newspapers in it should be legislated out of existence. The Opposition in their places in Parliament make quite as unfounded charges against Mr. McKenzie and other Ministers, and in a far more offensive manner, despite the controlling influence of the Speaker, it would be therefore just as reasonable on the Minister for Land's part to bring in a Bill making it an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment to cast any reflections on the veracity, good breeding, or capacity of a Cabinet Minister. Seriously, Mr. McKenzie has fathered a Bill to amend the law relating to libel which, if passed, would gag the press of New Zealand, and place the remnants of it, which elected to try and struggle on under so mischievous a law, under the heel of the Government of the day. The whole trend of the Bill is to compel every newspaper writer, whether on the staff, or only an occasional contributor, to sign everything from his or her pen with the writer's full name and address, under a penalty of not less than fifty pounds. In short, the anonymity of the press is to be abolished, and no future "Junius" allowed to throw the search light of an undaunted love of freedom of criticism and truth upon the actions of those in high places. The Bill before us is one of the crudest attempts at *amending* an existing law we have ever perused, and we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that it is not an invention of some facetious *quid nunc* anxious to eclipse the famous Washing and Mangling Bill. What the press of New Zealand wants and will have sooner or later is the right to report the proceedings of all public bodies, and generally to enjoy the same privileges as those possessed by the press of the Mother Country.

## ***The Record (Inglewood).***

One of the most unpopular, egotistical and obstinate politicians that ever filled the position of Minister for Lands in this colony is the Hon. John McKenzie. He bears a strong antipathy to those directly connected with the press of this country, and, indeed, all those newspaper correspondents who differ from him as a land administrator, and who express their disapproval of his pet fad, the lease in perpetuity system of land tenure. Being acquainted with his political life and idiosyncracies, we are not surprised to find that his thin-skinnedness has prompted him to introduce, as a Government measure, the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill, which provides that "all newspaper correspondence and all leading articles must have attached the names of the writers." The journalists of this colony have been asking the Legislature for years past for bread, speaking in a metaphorical sense, but Mr. thin-skin McKenzie will not even give them the proverbial stone; he is desirous that the name of every political opponent of his should be disclosed, so that he may mete out punishment accordingly—an unheard-of line of action for any public man worthy of the name to follow, and a movement which we trust will meet with the contempt it deserves in a country inhabited in the main by law-abiding and liberty-loving people. This is not the proposed act of the Czar of all Russias, but of a Minister of a democratic colony of the British

Empire, and a country which has made greater progress in political life than probably any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, owing to the freedom which its press has enjoyed. This precious Ministerial bantling "also defines what comment shall be actionable, and exempts from action for libel legitimate comment on public affairs and public acts," but does not, we presume, extend its operations to those autocratic Ministers whose acts are frequently opposed to the best interests of the people. A provision of this latter character would not suit Mr. McKenzie or other members of the present Ministry we could name. They are, in his opinion, immaculate, but not so the well-meaning journalist or the newspaper writer, who, for good reasons, wishes to maintain his anonymity, rather than be subjected to the wrath of the Minister for Lands or any of his colleagues. We can fancy what Mr. McKenzie's dictum would be as to "fair comment" if he or any other member of his political clan were made the subject of newspaper criticism—in fact, his decision would be a foregone conclusion in the opinion of most people. The journalists of this colony have been endeavouring for years past to have the law of libel assimilated to that in existence in England, but the professional politicians of this country have up to the present time prevented such being done, and honest pressmen are still at the mercy of every "man of straw" who may seek election during a parliamentary campaign, or any unscrupulous individual who may have been associated with some matter which has formed the subject of a newspaper article, penned in the interests of the public at large. We believe in the principle of "liberty, not license" in regard to the discussion of public matters, and therefore are entirely opposed to Mr. McKenzie's little Bill, which is really a veiled attempt to give concessions to members of the Fourth Estate and at the same time rob them of some of the privileges they and their correspondents at present enjoy. If Mr. McKenzie cannot accept legitimate criticism in regard to any of his public acts in a fair spirit, the sooner he retires from the arena of party strife and devotes himself to more congenial employment the better will it be for himself and the community generally.

## ***Taranaki Herald.***

The Newspaper Limitation Bill, which is to be introduced by the Hon. Mr. McKenzie, is a most extraordinary measure. It is on a par with "The Printers and Registration Act of 1868," an enactment the chief clauses of which are ignored by every printer in New Zealand. In the "Newspaper Limitation Bill," clause 4 provides that the "name and address of the writer have to be placed after every article or letter which appears in a newspaper, or the writer, proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher" render themselves liable to a penalty of not less than £5 and not more than £50. We have not seen the Bill itself, but from a pretty full summary of it which we publish elsewhere, we gather that the above is something like one of the provisions in this unique measure. We do not know what can be the object of the Ministry in bringing in such a Bill, because it strikes at once at the "liberty of the press." Much has been said and written for and against the compulsory signature of newspaper articles and letters. Journalism may not be a very popular institution with some public men; but we suspect that the dislike with which it is viewed is due to its having too much rather than too little influence, and the hope and expectation of those who demand a law of signature is that a press which is no longer anonymous will be less and not more influential. There may be evils attached to an anonymous press, but, on the whole, we believe it to be of incalculable advantage to both the writer and reader, who is called upon to exercise his judgment unfettered by external influences which, under other circumstances, bias or overawe him. It may be said, of course, that a reader will often yield to an anonymous authority the same blind and unthinking acquiescence which a superior station or established name might have imposed on him; but this is only to say that the disease is stronger than the remedy, and the incurableness of the particular patient is no proof of the inutility of a medicine. But it is, above all, in respect to the writers that we think it will be found the anonymous system conduces to the public interest. It is an anonymous press alone which offers to any man, whatever his private station or his personal means, the opportunity of taking part in public affairs and bringing the resources of his mind to bear on national opinion. It is idle to say that this could be as equally well done above a signature. In the first place, many able and competent writers who now occupy themselves with public questions would be compelled to desist from pursuits which might be deemed inconsistent with their professional avocations. Journalism would be left in the hands of a few monotonous and professional contributors, and would lose all the variety, originality, and copiousness, which it derives from the resources of writers taken from every condition and occupation of life. "John Smith" or "Tommy Jones" may take just as deep an interest in politics, and be just as capable of discussing public affairs as any man. If either of them, however, send their idea to a newspaper, everyone would be asking "who is John Smith," or saying "What does Tommy Jones know about the matter." But let either of them write a leading article, or put an anonymous signature to their letters, hundreds of people will read what each has got to say just because they do not know who it is that is addressing them. It very often happens that "John Smith" or "Tommy Jones" has something to say which is quite as well worth the public's while to read as any topic by persons of "established position," and

we confess we should think it a public loss if the only medium were to be destroyed through which it is now possible they may make their sentiments heard. It may be that men of "established position" dislike an intrusion which introduces rivals into a field in which they would be otherwise pre-eminent. For our part, however, we think the handicap is a fair one, and the more horses are entered the better is likely to be the race. It may be said that the influence which the anonymous system confers is both irresponsible and inordinate, that it may be abused we are not concerned to deny, for this is an objection which is common to all power. That writers are often too rash in assertion, loose in argument, and at times unscrupulous in attack may be true. But we do not find that the publicity of the speeches of men on the platform is any cure for this evil, which is imputed as the peculiar vices of the press. An anonymous press is as necessary as the ballot-box at an election. The former gives a man the power to express his views as he dares to think and the latter enables him to vote as he pleases. We are surprised at Mr. McKenzie introducing such a "Star Chamber" measure, which, if passed into law, would be as likely to injure his own friends to as great a degree as it would his opponents, against whom it is directed.

## ***Marlborough Express.***

The absurdity of confiding so important a measure as a Bill to amend the law of libel to the hands of such an ignorant and prejudiced a gentleman as the Hon. John McKenzie is self-evident, but it has received a very practical illustration by the ridiculous character of the Bill he is now reported to have evolved from that curious creation of providence, his alleged brain. We have not yet received a copy of the Bill, but we learn from Wellington that it will make compulsory the signing of all leading articles and newspaper correspondence with the true name of the writer. The exact nature of what is fair comment upon the public actions of politicians and others are also to be defined. If the Minister of Lands can arrive at such a definition, and at one which, while providing against personal abuse and unfair comment, shall not at the same time trench upon the necessary liberty of discussion in newspapers of public men and their public actions, he will have achieved something which will do him the highest credit, but we have no hope whatever that such will prove to be the case. Judging from his own speeches, the only comment upon matters political which the honourable John would deem to be "fair" and "proper" is wholesale "buttering-up," a fulsome flattery of himself and his colleagues, and of all their respective deeds and words. We shall be mighty curious to see this Bill, and to be enlightened as to the exact nature of the fair comment which the McKenzian brain has evolved. As to the alleged requirement that all leading articles and correspondence in newspapers shall be signed, it is altogether too absurd. Of course it would exactly suit the present Ministry to be able to spot every writer of a letter who happens to criticise the Government and their administration, for the malignancy with which certain Ministers pursue all those who dare to hold opinions of the "wrong colour" is already a matter of notoriety amongst pressmen. The House will not, we hope and trust, consent to such a regulation as that proposed by the honourable gentleman. What he wants to see is a toadying, truckling, subservient, and therefore a despised and worthless press; but the public, we think, and hon. members too, we hope, would never agree to such a dastardly blow at the liberty of the press, and at the independence of public criticism. By causing every leading article to be signed by the name of its writer, Mr. McKenzie would prevent newspapers from availing themselves of the very valuable service of experts in various branches of knowledge who are at present called in to assist the regular editorial staff of a newspaper, but who might not deem it desirable for public—and with such a Government as this in office—for private reasons, to allow their names to be published. We await a copy of the Bill with considerable curiosity, and we have little doubt that when we get it we shall be able to make it the subject of an article which will be both entertaining and instructive, although to our modern Press Censor, the Hon. John McKenzie, it may prove somewhat unpalatable. The "gentleman" who could so far forget all sense of decency as to call a fellow member "a dirty little black devil," is himself mightily averse to be treated to a little wholesome criticism, and howls like a whipped cur when any public journal administers to him a well-merited castigation.

Mr. John McKenzie's Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill is as foolish and vicious a measure as his bitterest enemy might have wished to draw up. We cannot imagine it possible that the House will pass it, and we are at a loss to understand how his fellow Ministers could have ever allowed him to introduce such a Bill. Our readers are well aware that the Minister of Lands holds the newspaper press of this Colony in the most decided detestation and complete contempt, and no doubt some of them may be inclined to say "Oh, let McKenzie and these newspaper fellows fight out their battles between themselves, and not bother us about it." We think, however, that when the public are made acquainted with the full details and import of the Bill which the Minister in question has thought fit to introduce, and understand how wide-reaching would be the effect of such a measure were it by some malign stroke of misfortune to become law, they will speedily change their opinion and see for themselves the full extent to which Ministerial folly and Ministerial bitterness of feeling can be

pushed, and will also become aware how seriously the general interests of the community at large are effected by this most preposterous piece of would-be legislation. The chief operative clause of the Bill reads as follows:—"In so far as concerns the proprietor, editor, printer or publisher of a newspaper, any article or letter published therein is privileged if such article or letter be published without malice, and discloses in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer. But nothing contained in this section shall be construed to in any way protect such writer, even though he be such proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher. Further, it is sought to be enacted by this Bill that if in any newspaper there be published any article or letter which does not disclose in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer, the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher are severally liable to a penalty of not less than £5 nor more than £50, to be recovered summarily before the Stipendiary Magistrate." Then it is further stipulated that no penalty inflicted under the Act shall in any way be an answer or bar (whether by way of mitigation or otherwise) to any civil or criminal proceedings for libel. In any such proceedings the absence of the full name and address of the writer of the alleged libellous matter is to be evidence of express malice. As to the real meaning and effect of the above clauses, should the Bill become law, we shall now quote from a very able article which has appeared in the Dunedin Star, one of the most influential and most ably conducted journals in the Colony. After pointing out that the Bill will establish a Press Censorship, which would be much more suitable to Russia than to a British colony, the Star proceeds thus:—"It is notorious that the Minister of Lands writhes under the criticism to which he is subjected in the newspapers from one end of the colony to the other, so he proposes to 'scotch these vipers' by withdrawing from the writers of articles and letters the shield of anonymity. The Bill, it appears, makes it compulsory that all articles and letters should be signed by leader-writers and contributors in their proper names, the object being, no doubt, to enable the Government to crush out or dispose of in some more pleasant way those who wield powerful pens against their policy and upon the evils of their administration. The anonymity of the press is universally regarded throughout the Empire and the States of the Great Republic as the greatest safeguard against administrative tyranny, official corruption, and public and private wrongs. It is thus that the people are warned in time as to the mischief in contemplation, and the first steps are taken to redress grievances by a full exposition of the circumstances. In many instances were silence to be preserved until demonstrative proof were forthcoming, the mischief would be done before the exposure was made. Leaving aside the consideration of articles, in regard to which an enactment requiring the signature of the writer would be easily evaded, as it is in France—a special employe being engaged in the leading offices to sign such as may be dangerous and take the consequences—the public interests would, it is at once manifest, suffer materially by the practical suppression of newspaper correspondence. The most able and intelligent citizens are accustomed to ventilate their opinions on matters of general or local interest by this means, and it affects the arguments in no degree that the identity of the writer is covered by a *nom de plume*. Those best informed in regard to a subject are, as a rule, debarred from personal intervention, and information often of extreme value, would most certainly be withheld if the writer could not give it except under his own name. The reasons for this may be well understood, particularly in communities comparatively small, and where business, social, and domestic interests are closely interwoven." Our Dunedin contemporary, it will have been observed, deals with the question of compulsorily signed correspondence in much the same terms as we used in our first article on the Bill, and proves, we think, very conclusively the very serious inconvenience and injustice which would be done to a large and intelligent section of the community were this wretched measure of Mr. McKenzie's allowed to pass, preventing as it undoubtedly would a full expression of opinion on the political and social questions of the day. The whole Bill is intended to check free discussion of political questions, to exclude from the public press all correspondence in which flattery and self-seeking toadyism are not the salient features, and to harass and embarrass the journalistic profession as much as possible. Why Mr. McKenzie should be so bitter against the newspaper press of this colony we do not know, but we can tell him that if he expects to stamp out adverse press criticisms of his methods and measures by such a contemptible legislative abortion as he has been pleased to father, he is vastly mistaken. In the first place we do not think the House, even when threatened with the big boots of the Minister of Lands, will ever pass the Bill; and even should such a calamity happen—a calamity it would be for the members of the majority—the journalists of the colony will not be the men we give them credit for being if they cannot very easily devise ways and means of making the law and its makers the laughing stock of the colony before the measure has been on the Statute Book a month. In conclusion, we give our readers a quotation from Sheridan's famous speech in the House of Commons, delivered in 1810. The quotation shows, we think, the true reason why Mr. McKenzie is so very anxious to throttle the press of this Colony; and let our readers mark well the full import of Sheridan's eloquent words:—"Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the Minister a venal House of Peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons. I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office. I will give him the whole post of Ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed. I

will attack the mighty fabric he has raised with a mightier engine. I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins it was meant to shelter." It is exactly this liberty of the press—which Sheridan declares to be so powerful for good in the State—that John McKenzie, Minister of the Crown, wishes to destroy, once and for all, in this Colony. Will the House allow him to compass the wished-for destruction? We throw not.

## ***Grey River Argus.***

The Hon. John McKenzie is in some respects a most remarkable gentleman. His ambition to become a great land and social reformer is simply unbounded. He would apparently reform creation and make people live by rule and compass, or according to his ideas. He is a would-be Draco. Just now he has a very large order in hand. Apparently he has been smarting from the annoyance of some of the shafts of the slaves of the press. Of course it was very wicked of those slaves to pen anything in any way derogatory to this high and mighty land Lycurgus and general all-round, go-as-you-please reformer, and they ought to be severely admonished not to do so again. But it was really too awful of him altogether to visit the first sins of those scribes against himself on all the others of the colony, who, generally speaking, manage to treat his Lairdship with that deference which is no doubt properly due to his exalted position. It is really unkind, and shows a want of consideration that we ought not to expect from so exalted and infallible a person as the M. of L. to bring down a measure that is calculated to strike terror to the very vitals of every editor and newspaper proprietor in the colony. "Freedom of the Press!" "The Fourth Estate of the Realm!" "The bulwark of the liberties of the people!" Bah! These titles and claims are all pure bosh! The Hon. Mr. McKenzie says so! He intends to reform all that. The time has evidently come when the press should be chained up or muzzled like a useful watch-dog, as may serve the purpose required. He will allow it to bark, but it must do it by the card. If the Minister of Lands can manage to carry his "little reform Bill," the editor who will dare to "comment upon the public affairs of the colony," or "on the act or conduct of any person of the colony," must be either a very bold person or a rampant idiot. There are no half measures with the Minister of Lands, no give and take, or such a thing as expediency. As he intends to ram his Lands for Settlement Bill down the throat of the House, as old divines in a certain persuasion in times a little remote used to administer Gospel texts, he will no doubt do the same with the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill, or try it on. There is a picnic in store for the House, and all the gods and little fishes. The thing is very funny, that a politician from a small farm settlement should embark on a crusade to abolish the customs of ages and prove to the whole world that the system on which journalism is conducted in all the English-speaking communities is quite wrong in principle and practice, and so vicious as to urgently demand immediate and thorough reform. Do spare us, oh, most Hon. John! a little—just a little longer! Give us at least one more opportunity to reform ourselves, as even the House of Lords was vouchsafed the opportunity; otherwise we might all, jointly and severally, expire in the throes of the Gargantuan laugh that would be almost certain to rend our diaphragm and explode us utterly and for ever and ever. Our Wellington correspondent furnishes us with the following *precis* of this innocent but very necessary little reform Bill:—"Under the Hon. Mr. McKenzie's Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill an article is defined as any printed matter (other than letters) appearing in any newspaper and containing any comment, direction, direct or indirect, on the public affairs of the colony, or on any act or conduct of any person in the colony. Every article or letter must have attached the full name and address of the writer, otherwise the editor, proprietor, printer, and publisher shall be severally liable to fines of from £5 to £50, to be recovered summarily. Provided that the name and address is appended to a letter, and it is published without malice, no one but the writer is to be responsible for libel. No fines as above shall be a bar to civil or criminal proceedings for libel. In any proceedings for libel the fact that the full name and address was not printed at first shall be evidence of express malice." "Honest John!"

## ***Lyttelton Times.***

It would be a curious commentary upon the ways of Liberalism if the Newspaper Libel Bill introduced by the Hon. John McKenzie should pass into law. It is not surprising, perhaps, that the Minister of Lands, who has never been on the best of terms with his public critics, should wish to curtail the liberty of the press, but it is difficult to understand how his colleagues can ever have even contemplated a direct attack upon the anonymity of English journalism. The introduction of the signed article—which is really the leading principle of the Bill—would change the whole character of the colonial press. Instead of a newspaper standing on its merits as an exposition of public opinion, it would go forth to the world as the expression of the views of an individual. This is possibly what Mr. McKenzie desires—a lessening of the influence of his critics—but there is little

danger we think of a majority of the present House of Representatives assisting the Minister and his colleagues in such an unworthy attempt to abolish a long-established custom and a national privilege. The people are too closely interested in the independence of the press to allow their representatives to take a single step that could endanger the fruit of long years of earnest labour and patient sacrifice.

## ***Christchurch Star.***

One of the Bills introduced by the Ministry that will be utterly condemned is the Hon. J. McKenzie's Libel Bill. Has the man gone clean daft, or what is the matter with him? The other members of the Cabinet are decidedly to blame for allowing such a measure to be introduced, and if the House has any sense of dignity left it will refuse to even discuss such a measure. The mover of the Bill and the Bill itself should be, by the members, treated with silent contempt and just voted out on the very first opportunity. It is to be regretted that the Hon. J. McKenzie is exceeding all the bounds within which a Minister of the Crown should keep himself and his proposals, and if he finds that he cannot curb the spirit that has risen within him, the sooner he quits the Ministry the better. At present it seems to the outsider as though he were riding for a fall, but the mischief is that he may bring the Ministry down along with him. If Mr. Seddon does not control his Cabinet better, he will find himself involved in serious difficulties. The Libel Bill of the Minister of Lands is enough to wreck any Ministry, discredit any party, and earn for the man who could conceive such a measure the contempt of every open-minded man in the colony. Away with such a measure. It is a mere "dirty little black devil,"

## ***Christchurch Truth.***

There is a strong disposition on the part of the Ministers to "gag" the press, but there is no indication, we are pleased to say, that members will back up the ridiculous proposals that have already emanated from the Minister of Lands. The "boycott" of certain journals which did not support the present Government did not have the desired effect, and now a further effort is to be made with a view to cramp the freedom of the press. The very name of a newspaper has the same effect on the Minister of Lands as a red rag has on a bull. The opposition to anything touching journalism is really farcical. Sir Robert Stout introduced a simple measure, having for its object the incorporation of the New Zealand Institute of Journalists, but strange to say it met with strong opposition, we suppose on account of the name. The chief effects of the Bill would be to enable the Institute to sue and to be sued, and to purchase and hold land of a total area not exceeding ten acres. The Institute was formed just over three years ago, and experience has proved that it is desirable that it should possess the very modest privileges which the Bill proposes to confer. The advantages sought do not approach those given to ordinary trades unions, and it is not easy to see why reporters and editors should not be allowed a little of what is given freely to those who practise mechanical occupations. As the Nelson Mail points out, the objects of the Institute of Journalists as set forth in the Bill do not include combination for increase of pay, or for shortening hours of work. There is nothing about eight hours a day, or nothing about a weekly half-holiday. It is proposed to test the qualification of candidates for admission to professional membership by examination, to collect information to provide friendly intercourse, to enable members when out of employment to procure employment and to accomplish various other laudable ends. Under such circumstances it is strange that members should have gone out of their way to bring about the shelving of such a measure. Our contemporary says:—"Mr. McKenzie and other Ministers and members who hate newspapers are singularly ungrateful. If it were not for the journals of the colony they would be almost unknown, and the greater part of their fame is due to the Opposition journals. It is all very well for Ministers, as they say, to go among the people and speak to them face to face, but the numbers that can be so met are small in proportion to the whole population, and the effect of unrecorded words is very fleeting. Without reporters a speech by Mr. Seddon at Hokitika or by Mr. McKenzie at Palmerston South would be well-nigh lost. As things are if a Minister makes an important speech, what he has said is made known not only to his hearers, but to those in the place who could not or would not attend the meeting, and to the people of the colony. It ought not to matter to the Ministers if unfriendly comments appear in the same papers as the reports. If their arguments are good they need not fear criticism. So long as the reports are fair, speakers have no cause of complaint, and among all the charges laid by Mr. McKenzie and others against newspapers we do not remember to have seen that of misrepresentation in reporting. What specially stings the thin skin of Mr. McKenzie is that the reports are fair, and that the comments are invariably just. He does not always get the better of the argument, and he is enraged accordingly. Every opportunity is given to him to state his case, but leave is reserved to state the other side also. This in his eyes is a high crime and misdemeanour. It is positively wicked to differ in opinion from the Minister of Lands,

and most of the newspapers of any consequence differ from him on many points; therefore with that magnanimity which distinguishes him he does his best to prevent writers for the press from obtaining advantages which could be conferred without injuring a human being.

## ***Ashburton Mail.***

It is very evident that the Hon. John McKenzie is about the last man in the House of Representatives who should be trusted with the work of preparing a Libel Bill. He is extremely narrow-minded, painfully impatient of criticism, exceedingly short-tempered, and is only too ready to regard adverse criticism of his public acts and utterances as personal attacks upon himself. One of the fixed beliefs in the mind of this tremendous Minister is that on all matters affecting the land question in New Zealand the collective wisdom of the colony has centred in him, that on this momentous question he is Sir Oracle, and when he opens his mouth let no dog bark.

## ***Timaru Herald.***

From first to last Mr. McKenzie, the Minister of Lands, has had very little real cause of complaint against the newspaper press of the colony. He has, indeed, been treated with exceptional generosity and forbearance. It is true that his occasional statements with regard to the success of his special settlement associations have been impugned, but the official figures have proved conclusively that the critics were right and the Minister wrong. The Minister went by the number of the members of the associations—the paper settlers—; the press critics looked at the reality—the amount of *bonâ fide* settlement, or such as was likely to prove permanent. It is true also that the Minister's dummy-hunts and his methods of hunting gave rise to much unfavourable comment, but the facts amply bore out the criticism; and on one remarkable occasion a Judge of the Supreme Court, sitting in the seat of justice, was unable to refrain from an expression of opinion with regard to the Minister's methods, or those of his subordinates, far more condemnatory than anything which had appeared in the newspapers. But, on the other hand, the newspapers have, almost without exception, given the Minister of Lands credit for an honest desire to administer his department solely in the interests of the public, and especially of that part of the community either profitably settled on the land or anxious to be so settled. He has also been credited with untiring energy in the prosecution of his work, and where he has failed or erred, the failures have been attributed to lack of means or want of opportunity, and the errors to defective judgment. Of course there has been some unfair partisan criticism, but on the whole the press of the colony has been friendly to the Minister of Lands, and has forgiven him a good deal because of a belief in his anxiety to do the right thing and to do it energetically. The newspapers sympathised heartily with the Minister in his hatred of dummyism; they merely complained that he sometimes expended his energy in wrong directions. They sympathised with him in his efforts to plant the small settler on the land, and to prevent the rich man grabbing what was intended for the poor; but they took the liberty of pointing out that his associations opened the door for a huge amount of exactly the sort of trafficking which it was his object to put a stop to. But the Minister of Lands has returned evil for good. He has introduced a measure whose sole objects are to insult and injure the newspaper press of the colony. His bantling is named the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill, a title which is in itself an insult, for it implies that the newspapers are given over to the vice of libelling people, and that the time has come when the propensity should be curbed. On Saturday last we gave an abstract of the Bill, and need not go over the same around again. Suffice it to say that the anonymity of press writers would be effectually destroyed. Not only would it be necessary to place at the foot of every leading article the name and address of the writer, but three parts of the paragraphs, usually called locals, would be subject to the same condition. Leader writers who understand their business would not be personally injured, and in many instances they would derive benefit from the new arrangement. It would be a capital advertisement for them as journalists, but nevertheless the whole character of the colony's journalism would be altered for the worse, and what is now accepted by the public as the opinion of the paper (and rightly so) would simply appear as the utterance of the individual. In countless instances that would be much less than the truth, for the journalist follows public opinion as well as directs it, and a substantial meaning attaches to the editorial "we" To the proprietors of newspapers the provisions of Mr. McKenzie's Bill might prove a source of substantial loss, and they certainly would be an almost intolerable nuisance to readers. In another issue we may have something further to say about Mr. McKenzie's spiteful attack on the newspapers, but it is hardly possible that Parliament will allow it to be successful.

# ***North Otago Times.***

We have enfranchised women; we have introduced one-man-one-vote; we have established a State Bank; and one of our heaven-born Ministers is now going to abolish the liberty of the press. Some will, perhaps, consider this a retrograde measure, but that is because they have not been initiated in the true doctrine of New Zealand Liberalism. Mr. McKenzie holds that the press is the great obstacle to progress in the colony. The largest section of it has actually dared to criticise and condemn the measures brought forward by a Liberal Government. This is quite intolerable in the hon. gentleman's eyes, and he has accordingly hit upon a plan for putting a ring in its nose. For some years back a new Libel Bill has been widely and loudly demanded. Such a Bill has, in fact, been, session after session, introduced. The last time, if we remember right, it was talked out by Mr. George Fisher, a gentleman who somehow has at least had a great spite against the press. The Libel Bill the country wanted was one to protect newspapers in the performance of their public functions. At present many of their reports are not privileged; indeed, none of them are except those of Parliament and the Courts of Law. This is a great disadvantage to the public, who are often kept in ignorance of things which ought to be known, but newspapers cannot of course run the risk of libel actions, though they are sometimes mulcted in damages through mere inadvertency. The press should certainly be protected in giving a fair report of a public meeting, or of the meeting of a local body. There is no valid reason why such reports should not be privileged as well as reports of the proceedings in Parliament and the Law Courts. Some member accordingly asked Mr. Seddon when he would bring down the Libel Bill. The hon. gentleman, to the surprise of the House, said that he had handed it over to his colleague, the Minister for Lands. The other day Mr. W. Hutchison made further enquiry with regard to the Bill, when Mr. McKenzie, to the still greater surprise of members, announced that the Premier had, in a weak moment, agreed to bring in a Libel Bill, but that he (the Lands' Minister) was getting one drafted that would effectually prevent all libels. It was at once concluded that the Minister of Lands intended to muzzle the press instead of granting it greater liberty in serving the public interests. His Bill, which was introduced on Thursday, amply confirms that conclusion. No such Bill has ever been introduced in the Parliament of any British community. It is simply a wanton outrage not only on the liberty of the press but also on the liberties of the people. It is beyond question the sensation of the session. If it became law it would be a warning to everybody with any spark of self-respect to leave the colony, but we cannot believe that such an infamous measure can pass; indeed, it would bring the contempt and derision of the world upon New Zealand. The Ministerial majority have shown a most unpatriotic subserviency to their masters, but we will not believe till we see it that they have sunk so low as to vote away the public liberties, for that is exactly what passing the Bill would mean. There is something shockingly outrageous as well as ludicrously incongruous in an ignoramus like Mr. McKenzie assuming to prescribe what is not legitimate comment on public measures and public men. The people will rub their eyes and ask whether they live in Russia or under the British crown. Ministers do not seem to have the least idea that the anonymity of the press is one of those British institutions which the people would no more think of parting with than they would think of parting with trial by jury. If they are really in earnest they must be mad. That is the only thing to say of them, and it is an old proverb that whom the gods wish to destroy they first bereave of their wits. If then the Government really wish to have this Bill passed their destruction cannot be far off. The motive of the measure is evident enough. It is simply to punish the press for daring to ridicule and oppose their policy; but we could not have believed and we can scarcely believe yet that any set of British Ministers could seriously contemplate the passing of a Bill which would be in exact accord with the mind of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. We shall have a good deal more to say about Ministers and their Libel Bill.

In his Libel Bill, Mr. John McKenzie intends, in order to reach his opponents, to trample under foot one of the most cherished planks of the Liberal platform—the freedom of the press. Who will suffer most—viewed from the Liberal standpoint—by the introduction of such a Russian measure? Will it be the poor man or the rich? Unquestionably the former, for the existence of such a law will stifle the exposure of many wrongs which those who are poor may be called upon to submit to. Few men in a subservient position will care to ventilate a grievance if they have to sign their names to their communications. Yet John McKenzie is a Liberal! It is one of the idiosyncracies of this gentleman to imagine, with his overbearing and dogmatic manner, coupled with a naturally perverted imagination, that everything that walks, creeps, or crawls, should be viewed through Liberal spectacles. But in this case he has overreached himself. It is not given to the Minister for Lands to discriminate between what is fair and what is unfair. His mental vision is limited to discriminating between what is Liberal and what is Conservative—what is of the right colour and what of the wrong. And it is this want of proper discriminating force, or rather want of sense, that has led him to believe that in bringing in his Libel Bill he will succeed in scotching his political opponents, losing sight altogether of the fact that the measure will act as a wet

blanket to the party he deludes into believing he only lives to serve. We do not for a moment anticipate that the Liberal party or any other party will allow themselves to be made catspaws of by this cantankerous individual he forced a number of his followers into rebellion over his Land for Settlements Bill, and he is apparently determined to immolate himself in his morbid anxiety to get at his political enemies, for the Liberal party will surely see that this Libel Bill is designed to increase the power of wealth. We do not say that the anonymity of the press is not often abused, but better that this should be so than that the power of rectifying abuses should be abrogated in this senseless way.

## ***Otago Daily Times.***

How eagerly would Mr. McKenzie scan the columns of the newspapers day by day after his new system had come into operation! We seem to see him, pencil in hand, glancing with lynx's eye over a collection of reputedly anti-Ministerial journals, and getting an appetite for breakfast by adding gleefully to his black list of marked journalists. What a wealth of Gaelic mutterings, choice and euphonious, would be devoted to the leader writer who dared to criticise, say, a Land Bill, and how carefully would the name be stored in view of possible opportunities! The Minister would be in his element; he would be following his native bent. For the moment we are almost inclined to regret the hopelessness of the Bill, and the inevitable thwarting of this pleasant design. But, truth to tell, Mr. McKenzie has come a century too late. As a secret-service superintendent in Pitt's time he would have found a proper outlet for his abilities; or had he flourished in the Paris of a hundred years ago he need not have gone idle. Here is a description of a state of matters which would have evoked his liveliest co-operation: "Only one journal of the first rank, the *Mercure*, continued to brave unpopularity by a steady defence of liberty and order. . . . But again and again self-constituted critics, deputations from the Palais Royal, representatives of the mob, and even the agents of the local authorities, denounced, remonstrated, and interfered with the writer, and plainly threatened with violence and death anyone who dared to use the freedom of the press to defend unpopular, though liberal opinions." Citizen McKenzie would not have been backward among the self-constituted critics, the deputations, and the representatives of the mob: he would have done his full share of denouncing, remonstrating, interfering, and threatening. He would have helped to bring about the calamitous result—viz., the almost complete (because forced) enlistment of the power of the press on the side of turbulency, the Reign of Terror, and all the horrors of the Revolution. But Mr. McKenzie's destiny was ordered otherwise, and at that time he was not even feeding his flock beyond the Grampian Hills. He was reserved for the New Zealand of the end of the nineteenth century, and doomed to stretch out arms of impotent longing to the tyrannical power which has gone for ever.

We have animadverted so often on the illiberal and tyrannical tendencies of the present "Liberal" Government that the theme might be thought to be exhausted; but fresh offences call for fresh comment, and something must be said concerning the latest Ministerial freak. We say "Ministerial," for the Ministry as a whole cannot escape responsibility for the extraordinary legislative abortion which the Minister for Lands has proudly fathered. We shall not, however, make the mistake of treating the new Libel Bill too seriously; indeed, our only temptation to do so would arise from the consideration that the follies of New Zealand Ministers must to some extent make New Zealand itself ridiculous in the eyes of the world. As for Mr. Reeves' complaisance in allowing this absurd Bill to issue from the Cabinet, we can only suppose that he is gratifying his humorous tendencies without considering too closely the propriety of his attitude. We mention Mr. Reeves because, as a journalist of some repute, he is well aware of the impracticability and unsoundness of his colleague's empirical proposals; but there are other men in the Cabinet who might have been expected to decline complicity in such arrant tomfoolery. Surely less senseless ways of humouring Mr. John McKenzie's ignorant boldness could be found than this. It goes without saying that the Bill will not pass even the Lower House, but we sincerely hope it will come on for its second reading. It would be provoking to miss Mr. Reeves' defence of the anti-press proposals, while Mr. McKenzie's own speech is sure to be rich in self-revelation and unconscious humour. The fundamental motive of the Minister for Lands in introducing this Star Chamber measure must, of course, be found in his bitter chagrin at realising that the majority of the newspapers of the colony are unable to abjure sound political principles and swallow holus-bolus all the crude schemes of the present Government. If circumstances were otherwise, if the press of New Zealand were generally Ministerial in tone and tendency, we should have seen nothing of this splanetic Bill: nay, the press would probably not have looked in vain for that full and enlightened reform of the law of libel which is one of the needs of the day in this colony.

## ***Evening Star, Dunedin.***

The Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill, which the Minister of Lands is introducing, is far more drastic in its provisions than we had ever anticipated from that source, though well aware of the honourable gentleman's deep-rooted aversion to a section of the press. By this precious Bill a newspaper article is defined as meaning "any printed matter (other than letters, commercial reports, and commercial advertisements) appearing in any newspaper and comprising more than one hundred and fifty words." The main operative clause states:—"In so far as concerns the proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher of a newspaper, any article or letter published therein is privileged if such article or letter be published without malice, and discloses in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer. But nothing contained in this section shall be construed to in any way protect such writer, even though he be such proprietor, editor, printer, or publisher." To make the measure as harassing as possible it is expressly stipulated that if in any newspaper there be published any article or letter which does not disclose in print at its foot the true and full name and address of its writer, the proprietor, editor, printer, and publisher are severally liable to a penalty of not less than £5 nor more than £50, to be recovered summarily before the Stipendiary Magistrate. Then it is further stipulated that no penalty inflicted under the Act shall in any way be an answer or bar (whether by way of mitigation or otherwise) to any civil or criminal proceedings for libel. In any such proceedings the absence of the true and full name and address of the writer of the alleged libellous matter is to be evidence of express malice. This is press censorship with a vengeance. It is, however, most unlikely that the House, even constituted as it is, will for a moment tolerate such legislation, though it happens to be promoted by a Minister who has before now threatened members with dire consequences if they hesitate to pass a measure on which he has set his heart. But how a Cabinet, of which the Minister of Education, himself a distinguished member of the profession which this Bill will unquestionably greatly harass, could consent to the introduction of a measure (suitable, perhaps, to Russia) as a Government Bill is one of those tilings which "no fellah can understand." It is notorious that the Minister of Lands writhes under the criticism to which he is subjected in the newspapers from one end of the colony to the other, so he proposes to "scotch these vipers" by withdrawing from the writers of articles and letters the shield of anonymity. The Bill, it appears, makes it compulsory that all articles and letters should be signed by leader-writers and contributors in their proper names, the object being, no doubt, to enable the Government to crush out or dispose of in some more pleasant way those who wield powerful pens against their policy and upon the evils of their administration. The anonymity of the press is universally regarded throughout the Empire and the States of the Great Republic as the greatest safeguard against administrative tyranny, official corruption, and public and private wrongs. It is thus that the people are warned in time as to the mischief in contemplation, and the first steps are taken to redress grievances by a full exposition of the circumstances. In many instances, were silence to be preserved until demonstrative proof were forthcoming, the mischief would be done before the exposure was made. Leaving aside the consideration of articles, in regard to which an enactment requiring the signature of the writer would be easily evaded, as it is in France—a special employe being engaged in the leading offices to sign such as may be dangerous and take the consequences—the public interests would, it is at once manifest, suffer materially by the practical suppression of newspaper correspondence. The most able and intelligent citizens are accustomed to ventilate their opinions on matters of general or local interest by this means, and it affects the arguments in no degree that the identity of the writer is covered by a *nom de plume*. Those best informed in regard to a subject are, as a rule, debarred from personal intervention, and information often of extreme value could most certainly be withheld if the writer could not give it except under his own name. The reasons for this may be well understood, particularly in communities comparatively small, and where business, social, and domestic interests are closely interwoven. We repeat again that the liberty of the press and, as a necessary consequence, the liberty of the subject are threatened in this Bill, which embodies entirely retrogressive and illiberal principles. Mr. McKenzie possibly has read Sheridan's eloquent speech in the House of Commons on the liberty of the press, delivered in 1810; at any rate, he evidently realises the force of the peroration:—"Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the Minister a venal House of Peers. I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons. I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office. I will give him the whole post of Ministerial influence. I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed. I will attack the mighty fabric he has raised with a mightier engine. I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins it was meant to shelter."

Gladly would I keep King Charles' head—in other words, the Hon. John McKenzie—out of "By the Way" this week. I am well aware that the subject is neither ornamental nor specially edifying; but what can I do? I am as helpless in the matter as poor Mr. Dick. To pass over the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill would be to forego my function as an abstract and brief chronicler of the time, and how can I write about the Bill without mentioning the Bill's author? So Mr. McKenzie's peculiar personality must e'en dominate this column once again, and if my readers are inclined to complain I can only say that I sympathise with them from my heart. The day will come—sooner, perhaps, than some good "Liberals" imagine—when the Honourable John, politically

speaking, will be a power of the past: let us look forward to that day yearningly and prayerfully, meanwhile bearing our burden with manful fortitude. *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, and a glance at the new Libel Bill has filled me with confident hope that the hour of Mr. McKenzie's political perdition cannot be far off. The new Liberalism has certainly surpassed itself in this latest little Bill. Even Mr. Reeves' Masters and Apprentices Bill (in its original form) was an ordinary piece of work in comparison with Mr. McKenzie's gagging proposals—proposals at which the shades of Lords Castlereagh and Eldon, and all the good old Tories of the past, must be absolutely charmed. The Liberal Minister of to-day does not propose to go quite so far as Sir Vicary Gibbs (an Attorney-General of the early part of the century), who, according to Lord Campbell, "placed widows and old maids on the floor of the Court of King's Bench to receive sentence for political libels published in newspapers which they had never read, because they received annuities secured on the properties of these newspapers;" but none the less he is the true spiritual descendant of those suppressive Ministers who did homage to King George the Third.

Mr. McKenzie, as would-be gagger of the press, is the latest of a long line. "The regulations of the Star Chamber for this purpose," says J. R. Green, in his *short* history, "are memorable as the first step in the long struggle of government after government to check the liberty of printing. The irregular censorship which had long existed was now (1585) finally organised. Printing was restricted to London and the two Universities, the number of printers reduced, and all candidates for license to print were placed under the supervision of the Company of Stationers. Every publication, too, great or small, had to receive the approbation of the Primate or the Bishop of London." But let us do these bygone tyrants justice: they did not carry out their oppression in the name of Liberalism. This it is—the profession of Liberalism, the boast of democratic principles—that gives its infinite humour to the new tyranny; the idea has all the piquant flavour of ultra-audacious paradox. But let me quote Green again; he is now at the year 1763:—"In spite of the removal of the censorship after the Revolution, the press had been slow to attain any political influence. . . . It was, in fact, not till the accession of George III. that the impulse which Pitt had given to the national spirit, and the rise of a keener interest in politics, raised the press into a political power. The nation found in it a court of appeal from the Houses of Parliament. . . . In Number 45 of the 'North Briton' Wilkes had censured the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament, and a 'general warrant' by the Secretary of State was issued. . . . But the assumption of an arbitrary judicial power by both Houses, and the system of terror which Grenville put in force against the press by issuing two hundred injunctions against different journals, roused a storm of indignation throughout the country. Every street resounded with cries of 'Wilkes and Liberty.' It was soon clear that opinion had been embittered rather than silenced by the blow at Wilkes, and six years later the failure of the prosecution directed against an anonymous journalist named 'Junius' for his Letter to the King established the right of the press to criticise the conduct, not of Ministers or Parliament only, but of the Sovereign himself." I must apologise for making such a long extract, but my readers will hardly regard it as malapropos. It was Lord Grenville who put Wilkes in gaol and endeavoured to suppress "Junius," and one's first thought is what a capital Grenville Mr. John McKenzie would have made if a mysterious Providence had not seen fit to reserve him for these times. Can it be that he is a reincarnation of King George's Minister?

But we must not treat Mr. McKenzie's escapade too seriously. To vary the words of Marcellus,

*We do it wrong, being so ridiculous,  
To offer it the show of gravity.*

It will be interesting to see what the Ministerialist press has to say about the Bill, but meanwhile let us forget that the Minister's proposals have not the remotest chance of becoming law: let us imagine, rather, that they are certain to find their way to the Statute Book. Let us go with Alice into Wonderland for a few minutes. And impute it not to an undue egotism if I bethink myself of the future of "By the Way." When I remember all the good advice and kindly attention which I have unstintedly bestowed on the Minister of Lands, I am precluded from supposing that he would wish to abolish this column: it would be an instance of black ingratitude at which the angels would weep. Still, by a careless oversight, he has omitted to make a special exception in my favour, consequently (unless that exception is inserted in Committee) I shall be obliged to adopt one out of three alternatives:—1. I might retire into private life, and leave the world (Mr. McKenzie included) to its sins. I might fold my tent and silently steal away, leaving behind me the shadow of a name—a mysterious "Nemo," coming men knew not whence, gone they know not whither. In short, "By the Way" might cease to appear. Methinks I hear a deep-voiced shout of "Never" from the collective throat of Dunedin. I thank my honourable friend for that cheer, and pass my word of honour that alternative number 1 shall not be adopted. Seedtime and harvest may fail, but "By the Way" shall appear in due season. I will never, never desert Mr. Micawber.

Then there is the second alternative: I might satisfy Mr. McKenzie's curiosity by putting my full name and address at the end of "By the Way." But, as you all know, I am a very modest man, ill-suited to sustain the consequences of such publicity. The *monstrari digito* has no charms for me, and I have no time to spare for deputations. Why, if I gave my actual name and address, who knows but that people would be inducing me to stand for the Council, or the Licensing Committee, or (worse still) the Mayoralty. I might even descend to Parliament in the bitter end, and a nice fate that would be for a respectable note-writer. No, I fear the second alternative must be put aside in favour of the third. When the Bill passes no Note must exceed 150 words. A newspaper article is defined as meaning "any printed matter (other than letters, commercial reports, and commercial advertisements) appearing in any newspaper, and comprising more than 150 words." And every article or letter is to disclose the name and address of its writer. Hence, I take it, I shall be safe provided I do not exceed 150 words in the course of a single Note. One can get a good deal into 150 words, Mr. McKenzie! I must put a space limit upon myself in order to evade the Old World gags of 19th century Liberalism. But as I shall not fail to strengthen my style at the same time, I warn the manager that the honorarium for a 150 word Note must suffer no diminution. The three-hooped pot must have ten hoops.

We have not come across a single journal, Ministerial, Independent, or Opposition, that has a good word to say for the Hon. John McKenzie's Libel Bill; whilst some of his own friends deal him very hard knocks. The paper which circulates in the hon. gentleman's constituency is unable to compliment the hon. gentleman, and candidly confesses it expected better things of him. It stigmatises his Bill as an attempt "to throttle and stifle the freedom of the press," and says that by introducing it he has made himself "the legitimate target for severe comment and unlimited adverse criticism, for a more injudicious illiberal measure has never been introduced by the most ultra-Conservative in the Parliament of Now Zealand." The proposal to compel every writer of a letter or article to affix his name thereto is voted to be "simply monstrous," and it is asserted that to enforce it would "strike a death-blow to the independence of the press." . . . It strongly recommends the Minister to allow his precious Bill to follow the course of many less ignoble measures that have preceded it, and be classed as amongst the slaughtered innocents of the session, in this instance never to see the light of day again. "Such a magnanimous act on his part, when he finds the measure has been universally denounced, would do much to remove the ridicule which the introduction of such a Bill—the very opposite to what should emanate from a Liberal Government—has to some extent brought upon him." None of those terrible Conservative papers, which are the bane of the hon. gentleman, have been so severe in their condemnation of his gagging measure as his own journalistic supporters.

## ***Nelson Colonist.***

In another column we publish a precis, as supplied by the Press Association, of the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill introduced by the Minister of Lands, and a more objectionable measure it would be difficult to imagine. So far as the proprietors and editors of the daily press are concerned, the passing of this Bill would lead to irritation and annoyance rather than to any serious check, but to the people at large it would be more than annoying, for it would probably prevent many from making a complaint or offering fair criticism through the open columns of the press, where such complaint or criticism could only lead to good. In this way we look upon the measure in question as an unworthy attempt to apply the gag, and we are sorry to say the effort is being made by a professing Liberal. That the press of a free people should have complete liberty cannot be gainsaid, but the word liberty must not be taken to include license. No man because he is a journalist should have a special dispensation for blackening the characters of the innocent, but on the other hand a newspaper writer or proprietor should when endeavouring to warn the people against fraud, be protected from mere blackmailers, and in the publication of fair reports of local bodies, a newspaper should be safe-guarded. The late Mr. Justice Johnston, over twenty years ago, was asked by the foreman of the jury before which a libel action was being heard whether it was libel if a journalist in exposing irregularities in a Government department used language stronger than the circumstances warranted. His Honor in reply said, the only duty of a journalist was to tell the truth, and defend the truth. If he used language beyond the truth, he was certainly guilty of libel, and he went on to say, "Are you justified in making accusations against a man which his acts do not fully warrant. If so, libel of the very worst kind could be justified on this ground. . . . Where publishers are evidently actuated only by motives of public welfare, we must not put too narrow a construction upon their expressions; but they are bound not to vituperate nor calumniate; and where there is mere irregularity, for them to accuse of fraud and trickery may be very gross libel." It would unquestionably be a bad thing for the colony if license were given to vituperate and calumniate, but under Mr. McKenzie's Bill it is proposed to place needless restrictions on journalists. Hereafter it is to be a privilege to publish an article or a letter commenting on public affairs, but the small privilege is only to be given provided that the publication is without malice, and the name

of the writer is printed at the end of such article or letter, and the privilege is not to protect the printer or the publisher from libel. Under the provisions of this Bill it would seem that nearly every newspaper paragraph and many telegrams would need to be signed, for even a record of facts may be held to be an indirect comment, and a fine of not less than five pounds or more than fifty pounds is to be the penalty for publishing any comment or any letter without the name of the writer, and the proprietor, the editor, the printer, and the publisher are to be severally liable. Then, as if this were not sufficient, the fact of publishing without the name of the writer is to be taken as evidence of malice in any civil or criminal proceedings. A man who attains to the position of a Cabinet Minister ought to recognise that some dignity should be exercised by anyone holding such a post, but unfortunately the author of this Bill has made himself supremely ridiculous. The whole thing is a mere waste of time, for unless we are much mistaken, there is no chance of the Bill becoming law, and if it were by any means to pass, a repeal would assuredly be demanded next year—unless means were devised by which the provisions were to some extent evaded, and the probabilities are that this would not be difficult.

## ***Nelson Mail.***

According to a telegram published yesterday from our Parliamentary correspondent, the Minister of Lands has fulfilled his promise to bring down a Libel Bill, and this is amply confirmed by a message published to-day. It will be remembered that he undertook to produce a measure which would effectually prevent libels in the future. His scheme to do this is to force writers of leading articles and letters in newspapers to sign their names. Mr. McKenzie is not fond of accepting suggestions, but if he were someone might well propose that the Bill should apply only to newspapers unfriendly to the Government, and that a Board consisting of the Minister of Lands and two officers of his Department should be set up to decide the question as to which papers should be regarded as friendly and which unfriendly. The practice of signing leading articles is common enough in France, and certainly has its advantages, especially for clever writers. Under the anonymous system a man may write like Macaulay all his life without earning personal fame. Everything goes to the reputation of the paper and nothing to that of the individual. On the other hand if all articles were signed with the real names of the writers, papers would be deprived of services of many of their present contributors whom it would not suit to make known their connection with the press. Writing would also be judged rather by the reputation of the author than by its own merit. At present everything that appears in the leading columns of a newspaper has weight according to its real worth, but if everything were signed the first thing looked at would generally be the name at the foot, and the article would be judged accordingly. In the case of ordinary newspaper correspondence it would nearly come to an end if all the writers were obliged to disclose themselves. There are numerous subjects on which people who do not like to sign their names for publication can write to great advantage, and it would be a public loss to put a stop to so useful a means of stating grievances or making suggestions. If Mr. McKenzie's Bill were made law there would not be the least difficulty in evading it without danger. In every town the names of the editors of the newspapers are well known. If the editor of each paper were to sign every article with his own name, whoever might be the writer, there would be no possibility of punishing him. The worst that could be said would be that the editor was guilty of using other people's thoughts and work which is not an offence at law. Publicity would be given to the names of a number of editors who are at present little known outside their own towns, but it is doubtful whether that would gratify Mr. McKenzie. It is impossible to help admiring the versatility of the genius of the Minister of Lands. Nothing is too great or too small for him. His mind is like the elephant's trunk, which can pick up a pin or tear down a tree. Mr. McKenzie can produce a Bill to enable him to turn any landowner out of his estate, and he can also introduce one, which he knows will never pass, to annoy newspaper proprietors and newspaper writers, because all the journals of the colony do not join in singing his praise.

## ***Southland News.***

Quite a flutter has been caused in journalistic and other dove-cots by the announcement that the Hon. John McKenzie's Newspaper Libel Bill contains, among other provisions, one making the "signed article" compulsory. The clause reads that "if in any newspaper there be published any article or letter which does not disclose at its foot the name and address of its writer, the proprietor of such newspaper is liable to a penalty of not less than £5, nor more than £50." It is further provided that no penalty under this clause is in any way an answer to proceedings for libel. In any proceedings for libel the fact that the libellous matter is contained in an article or letter which does not disclose the name and address of its writer is evidence of express malice. Speaking some days ago of the (this) Bill he intended to introduce, Mr. McKenzie is said to have expressed the

belief that it would give general satisfaction, but there are already unmistakable indications to the contrary. The Wellington gentleman who does the "political notes and comments" for our Dunedin and Invercargill morning contemporaries, for instance, is evidently rendered unhappy by the prospect of having to disclose his identity. In accents at once plaintive, deprecatory and denunciatory, he says:—"There has been no public man in the country, perhaps, who *upon his merits* has been treated by the press of New Zealand with more fairness and consideration than the Hon. John McKenzie, and it seems like the irony of fate that he should find himself the proud political father of such a bastard brat as the Newspaper Libel Limitation Bill, which, like all bastard progeny, is the offspring of undisciplined passion." The italics are our own—they emphasise a delicate qualification of the assertion that "no public man has been treated with more fairness and consideration than the Hon. John McKenzie"—"on his merits." But then you see so much depends upon the writer's conception of what are the merits of the "shepherd from the hills." It may be only another way of saying that what he got served him right. He certainly has a good claim to the title of the best abused politician in the colony in so far as the Tory press—of which the Wellington correspondent under notice is a myrmidon—is concerned. "It is argued," says this angry critic, "that as the Bill has passed the Cabinet it must necessarily be treated as a Government measure, the rejection of which will be tantamount to a substantive adverse motion. But this surely cannot be, for it is impossible to suppose that the Minister for Education, himself a democratic journalist, intends to support a Bill that will emasculate journalism and incidentally compel him to sign every leader he may write." "Emasculate journalism" sounds well. Inferentially it claims for the press as it is to-day virility, masculine strength, vigour, honesty, and out-spokenness. Taking the journalism of the colony as a whole, are these its attributes? Is it not rather—we will not insult the sex by saying feminine—suggestive of the neuter gender? Instead of emasculating, may not Mr. McKenzie's Bill have the effect of imparting to journalism a vigour of which it is at present deficient? One good thing, at any rate, it is calculated to do—it will shut out or relegate to their proper sphere the reptilian writers whose pens are, like those of free lances, at the service of the best paymasters. Their occupation would be gone, and nobody would be sorry except those who believe that journalists and lawyers should be classed in the same category, and sell their powers of intellect to the highest bidder. The question, on the fringe only of which we have touched, has been of late years a good deal under discussion in the parent country—the trend of opinion being distinctly in favour of the signed article. In France it has been for long the practice, and has decidedly not tended to bring journalism into disrepute. On the contrary, the profession is a leading avenue to political distinction. "In a British community," it has been well said, "a man may be a politician in spite of being a journalist. In a French one he is a politician because he is a journalist." As to whether the Ministry regard the measure as one upon which they are prepared to stand or fall, or simply as a tentative essay, we are not in a position to determine. Probably on the second reading its sponsor will make this clear. Considering that the colony has adopted female franchise, and thus gone beyond the most advanced of European communities, it will not be surprising to find its Government prepared to make a lesser innovation part of its policy.

## ***Southland Times.***

Even if we could persuade ourselves that the Honourable John McKenzie was the heaven-born lands administrator that he believes himself to be, the wonder would remain how he had ever stepped so far beyond his province as to become the designer of an amendment of the libel law. There is within the Cabinet the Hon. Mr. Reeves, a scholar, a journalist, and a man of letters, who may be supposed to have studied the bearings of the present statute on journalism, and to be capable of saying how far it is defective and in what direction capable of improvement. But that the Minister of Lands should have left his domain of the plough and the shepherd's crook, and should have assumed, on such a subject, to think and devise for his colleagues, is, we repeat, a phenomenon that requires explanation. The best solution would seem to be that the whole thing is a pleasant farce, and that the burly Minister is being allowed his swing in an enterprise that will hurt nobody and that will end in nothing. That the origin of the wretched little Bill is a personal one nobody will be disposed to doubt. There has been no call for it from the outside. No public opinion has been pronounced on the subject. Not a word has been said in Parliament on the particular aim of the Bill so as to make it a living question in politics. Even the Premier, who will make an *excursus* into any region of discussion under the sun—whatever he may know about it—even he, as far as we are aware, has never indicated that he thinks that press writing should cease to be anonymous. Yet with all this quietude and contentment with things as they are, a solitary individual rushes into the arena and, with whatever authority belongs to him as a Minister, insists that in an essential point our whole journalistic system shall be overturned. We all know the motive. Mr. McKenzie has been hit hard by the press, and no one has more amply deserved the castigation which that instrument can so sharply inflict, and of which only tyrants and wrong-doers are afraid. He has felt the stings and wincings under

them, and he wants at least the paltry gratification of knowing who it is that has stung him. Mr. McKenzie has made a good many men afraid of him, and he wishes to increase the circle of those who may be deterred from crossing his path, and hence his little Bill. No doubt he would go a good deal further if he dared. It seems almost a mistake that he was not born in Russia, with the knout ready to his hand and Siberia at his back. But seeing that Providence has ordered otherwise, we might be willing to make easy terms with the Czar for his tranference, although he himself, when he bangs over us the threat of his resignation, seems to regard that as the greatest calamity that could overtake the colony . . . .

We are not on this occasion going to discuss the merits or demerits of the present system. It is enough to say that it exists probably to the satisfaction of everyone who is not, like Mr. McKenzie, anxious, on personal grounds, to penetrate the secrets of the press. Several advantages are obvious in the anonymous method as an optional one to writers whether of letters or articles; and it is plain that discussion of matters of interest to the public would often be injuriously restricted if men and women could write only on condition of declaring their identity. The proof that the privilege of anonymity is valued is to be found in the extent to which it is availed of wherever a newspaper is published. It will be quite time enough to do away with such a privilege when its advantages and disadvantages have been fully canvassed, and when the balance of public opinion has been declared against it. It is not yet clear what attitude the Government will take in regard to Mr. McKenzie's Bill, but it would be most unfair and unwise if party strength were invoked to carry such a measure. The main point of the Bill is not one that falls to be decided by political feeling, and members should be allowed to give or withhold their support according to individual conviction. Should party pressure be absent, we have little fear of the measure becoming law; and even if the whip were applied, it is just possible that the new revolt might operate to its defeat.

## ***Auckland Star.***

Having perpetrated his little joke and caused dismay in the camp of his traducers, Mr. McKenzie will act wisely in withdrawing his Bill. The right of the people to criticise the acts of public men fearlessly is, after all, scarcely a proper subject for joking. It is too closely bound up with our liberties; and, now that the power of the State is rapidly growing, and its functions and influence extending into every department of commercial life, more than ever is it necessary to preserve that most important of all safeguards against corruption and tyranny, the freedom of the press. In defence of that, the press of all shades of political opinion will stand as one, and will be backed by the unanimous voice of the people.

As we have said, we cannot treat Mr. McKenzie's Bill seriously. A man of less experience in public affairs than the Minister of Lands would know that freedom of speech, which is the birthright of every Briton, won by centuries of fierce struggle, may not be taken away or placed in trammels by a scrappy Bill of a few clauses hastily strung together. We would, however, strongly urge the Government to take up the revision of the existing libel law in earnest. It contains many relics of the dark ages, some of which have been cleared away in England, although retained in New Zealand. The public are still indebted to newspaper proprietors for fearless and impartial reports of the proceedings of their public bodies. There is no privilege attached to them here, although they are privileged in England. This and some other vexatious provisions which tend to make journals the prey of unscrupulous lawyers and adventurers, and which ensure the safety of scoundrels from exposure, ought to be amended.

vignette

Printed by BLUNDELL BROS., at *Evening Post* Office, Willis-street, Wellington, N.Z.

Front Cover

Ground Rent Revenue League, HIGH STREET, AUCKLAND President—E. WITHY, Esq. Hon.

Sec.—Mr. F. M. K. The above League is formed for the purp advocating freedom for the masses, abolition of untary poverty, and the prevention of "But Depression." Those who are interested in the ment of these eids can obtain the following from the Secretary: Progress and Poverty. Henry George .. a Protection or Free Trade? Henry George ..a Social Problems. Henry George .. . . . 1 Perplexed Philosopher. Henry George .. . 1 Ground Rent the true Source of Public Revenue. E. Withy .. . . . 6 How to Nationalise the Ground Rent and introduce the Single Tax by State Purchase. E. Withy ..... . . . 3 The Story of My Dictatorship .. . . . 9 The Story of My Dictatorship.

Dedicated (without Permission) to the National Association.

Price Ninepence.

Auckland Printed by F. W. Harradence, Auckland Chambers, High Street. 1894.

# Contents.

## The Story of My Dictatorship.

### Chapter I.

#### A Political Outing, and What Came of it.

THE legend about Mahomet visiting the celestial regions, wandering all over the seven heavens, encountering countless vicissitudes on his way, and returning to earth in time to pick up a pitcher he had accidentally upset on leaving, and that before a single drop of its contents had time to escape, does not now seem to me so incredible a feat as when I first read the story. My own adventure may not be quite so marvelous as that of the great prophet, but at any rate it would come in as a good second. To be "wafted by a fav'ring gale" from the humble station of a retiring taxpayer to the exalted office of Lord Protector; to hold that office for a full twelve months; to crowd into this short span of time the work of a whole and possibly of several generations; and to accomplish all this between sunset and sunrise is a performance unparalleled by anything in history, and is comparable only to the miraculous journey of Islam's renowned prophet.

But I had better tell my tale from the beginning.

Fine weather, good company, and the prospect of a much-needed rest enticed me away from my work to join the members of the local Democratic Club on a pleasure excursion. As a means of recreation the outing was, as far as myself was concerned, a complete failure. There can be no *mental* rest, as I have discovered to my cost, among a crowd of earnest, enthusiastic politicians, especially at a time when the industries of a country are paralyzed by a great strike, and a great constitutional measure is being the subject of animated debate both in and out of Parliament. I might have known as much. Yet now, after the event, I am not quite sure but that the prospect of being able to listen to a discussion of the politics of the day may have been—unconsciously—one of the motives which made me respond to the invitation. Be this as it ma[unclear: y], went; and it was not long before we were in the very thick of the social problem, and the pleasure party soon constituted itself into a kind of debating society.

There was no lack of speakers. Everyone present had something important to say, and almost everybody wanted to speak at the same time. This, however, proved impracticable, inasmuch as it is somewhat difficult to follow a dozen or so speeches if delivered "concurrently." So the necessity for parliamentary methods soon made itself felt. We abandoned our original project of a tramp over the moors, and settled down under a group of trees, with myself as Chairman of our impromptu Parliament. Needless to say that every conceivable phrase of the social problem was discussed, and that there were as many remedies proposed as there were speakers. My task as chairman was not always an easy one; at times I had great difficulty in curbing the impatience of those whose dissent from the views propounded manifested itself in a manner not strictly parliamentary. But on the whole, things passed off very well; and an animated, though not altogether profitless discussion was carried on, until we were reminded by the setting sun that it was time to return.

By the time I returned home that evening my head was whirling. Although I had not joined in the discussion itself, I was an attentive listener to the several views that had been propounded, some of them with great ability. There was plenty to stimulate thought notwithstanding, and I should rather say *because of*, the irreconcilable inferences drawn by several speakers, and with equal skill and plausibility, from the same group of facts.

Against my will, I could not but try to harmonize in my mind these conflicting statements, and to separate facts from inferences. But the more I thought, the greater became my confusion. One thing, however, struck me very forcibly, and that was that each of the various schools of political thought had a certain substratum of truth not to be ignored. I recognized that each of them saw the same truth, but saw part of it only, and that from this partial recognition arose all the confusion. As is usual in such discussions, they all paid more attention to their points of disagreement than to those on which they agreed, and so the latter were overlooked, while the former were accentuated. And I could not but feel how detrimental this was to their common aim, and how far better it

would be for the cause of humanity if, instead of uncompromisingly opposing one another, the members of all the different schools would seek to ascertain how far they could honestly support each other's plans.

As I sat in my easy-chair that evening, reflecting over the day's proceedings, my thoughts became more and more confused. Time and space seemed annihilated. Scene after scene passed before my vision in rapid succession, until at last I found myself in Trafalgar Square, in the midst of a surging, noisy crowd, and then all became again clear and natural.

I knew what had happened. There had been a General Election, Democracy had been triumphant, and the people had assembled here to determine the kind of reform that was needed to secure equal rights and duties to all. All kinds of proposals were being made, but none met with universal approval; and the people began in despair to exclaim that Democracy was a failure, since its leaders could not agree on a workable plan. I trembled, for I saw that unless some agreement between the different factions could be brought about, the cause of Democracy might be discredited for all future time. With the intention of bringing about such a reconciliation, I forced myself on to the platform, and spoke as follows;

*"Friends, do not despair; your differences are not so great as you seem to think, for are not your aims identical? Your only differences are as to the means to be adopted for carrying them into effect."*

Here I was interrupted by shouts—"That's just the trouble. and if we don't know what means to adopt, how can we govern the country?"

"That's very simple," I said.

"Do it, then!" they all shouted at once.

"But I have not the power. I only intended to make suggestions." The latter part of my remark was drowned in the noise.

"Let's give him the power!"

"If he says he can do it, let him do it!"

"Let us elect him Lord Protector!" and other such cries reached my ears.

I waved my hands, trying to restore silence, and to explain that I did not intend to be Lord Protector; that such a course would be contrary to the spirit of Democracy; that, instead of Democracy, it would be establishing a Dictatorship, which would be undesirable. But I could not make myself heard by the crowd, while the leaders on the platform, as if glad to be relieved of a responsibility, said, in a menacing manner, "You are not going to back out of this." And the Chairman, telling me to sit down, rose and read from a paper in his hand as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Democracy of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, that Citizen"—here there were shouts of joy, and I only caught the concluding sentence, "be Lord Protector—"

I interrupted indignantly—"Say, rather, Dictator."

But the Chairman took no notice of my remark, and repeated, "Be Lord Protector of the Realm." And he then added, "All those in favor of same, please signify in the usual manner."

A forest of hands, such as I have seen on one or two occasions in Trafalgar Square, went up.

Thus I was unexpectedly, and against my wish, made absolute Dictator of the United Kingdom.

vignette

## Chapter II.

### The New Constitution.

MY sudden elevation to the exalted office of Lord Protector displeased me as much as it seemed to give general satisfaction.

"What mockery," I thought to myself, that the triumphs of Democracy should end in a Dictatorship; and I, above all men, to be Dictator!"

How often had I not inveighed against Monarchical institutions and "one-man worship" of any kind, as being of the essence of despotism. And how often had I not wished to be absolute Monarch for a few hours only, so that I might have power to resign for myself, heirs, and successors, and make Monarchical rule impossible for all future times. My wishes were now fulfilled, and now was my opportunity to redeem my promise.

My first thought was to jump up, and, in virtue of my new office, declare the Republic for all future time. The next moment I hesitated. How is a Republic possible with such discordant elements, trained for centuries in a school inimical to Republican institutions? No! that would mean a return to confusion. My first duty was to

make of the people Republicans. If I should succeed in *this*, then the Republic would follow as a matter of course.

"A speech! A speech!" shouted the impatient masses. There was no escape, and but little time for reflection. I had boasted that I could establish happiness, prosperity, and, above all things, unanimity: and this promise must be made good. I rose and said:

"I am willing to be your servant and manage the affairs of State for you, but not as a Tzar of Russia. To this end it is not enough that you invest me with power to act; you must also define my duties. In other words, you must frame a Constitution of which I am to be the executor."

Shouts of approbation came from all sides. They actually were all agreed.

"A Constitution"—"Frame one"—"Suggest one," and so forth, came from the crowd.

"There is no need to frame one, as the only Constitution worthy of the name and worthy of a Democracy is indelibly written in every heart. See whether I am speaking the truth—whether your hearts will respond. *You all desire to be [unclear: fr]* Is that so?"

There never was a more hearty response made by a crowd than the one with which these words were greeted.

"Well then," I continued, our Constitution will be very brief and one with the wording of which you are already familiar though not with its spirit. It runs as follows:

"Every individual to have equal and inalienable rights to life liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!"

Again all agreed, and cheered lustily.

"This, then, shall be our Constitution, and all the law there is or shall be. It clearly defines the rights and duties of every, citizen, and at the same time marks out the duties Which you have delegated to me."

This last sentence was received in profound silence. I saw that it was not quite clear to them how these few words could have all the meaning I attributed to them. Therefore, without appearing to notice their embarrassment, I continued:

"If *all* have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness, then it is clear that no one must be interfered with in the exercise of this right. Therefore, while free to do as you please, you must allow equal liberty to every one of your neighbors."

"Hear, hear," from all sides.

"So that your *duties* consist in respecting these rights of your neighbors. And my duty consists in guarding these rights, and to secure them, without exception, to every individual member of the State."

Once more I had the assembly with me.

"This Constitution shall not only be our only and valid law but the touchstone of right and wrong. Any enactment of the Executive, or any private act, by whomsoever committed, that runs counter to this Constitution, shall be deemed an offense, not to be tolerated. This shall be my first official proclamation. My second is, that all men shall have free access to all the opportunities of Nature, and that because without such access to the sources of Nature the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness is impossible. My third proclamation prohibits, as a matter of course, any person or persons to take from any other person or persons the fruits of their exertions under any pretense what ever, except it be the voluntary gift of him to whom such things rightfully belong. Therefore, from this hour I abolish all taxes whatever, direct or indirect."

This announcement created surprise and a good deal of dissatisfaction.

"You can't govern a State without revenue," came from all sides.

"No," I replied. "But the State is not without revenue. For, inasmuch as the opportunities of Nature belong to all alike; and inasmuch as, in the nature of things, these opportunities cannot be enjoyed by several at the same time"

"Speak plain!" "We do not understand your riddles," and like protests reached me from several sides at the same time.

"Well, then," I said, "what are called 'the opportunities of Nature' consist in soil, climate, locality, water, etc., in short, the forces of Nature, all of which appertain to land. But the same locality cannot, obviously, be occupied by more than one person or family. Such person or family, therefore, in order to secure to them the harvest of their labors, would have to have the monopoly of such locality. But inasmuch as thereby they enjoy a monopoly of such lands, each occupier would have to pay to the community whatever natural advantages accrue to him from such exclusive possession."

"This is very confusing," remonstrated several.

"Plainly then it means this, that all former taxes are abolished, and in their stead is substituted a tax on *land-values*, irrespective of improvements, at the rate of twenty shillings in the pound. This tax, belonging to the community, will be used for communal purposes. All former contracts, unless conflicting with our Constitution, shall be respected as heretofore; and no one to be disturbed in his present possessions. This is all for the present."

This announcement produced general dissatisfaction, and the crowd became very noisy.

"What! Tax the poor farmer, and allow the capitalist to escape?"

"And allow the workers to be ground down by the rich?"

"Not even a property or income tax?"

These and many other objections were raised, to reply to which, amid such a tumult, was clearly out of the question. I had to make use, therefore, of the authority with which I had been invested. After the noise had somewhat subsided I said:

"You have imposed upon me the duty to secure to all equal rights and equal duties. This is, to my mind, the only way in which this can be done. If I am wrong, the remedy lies in your own hands. Anyone who can show that he does not possess the liberties guaranteed to him by the Constitution shall have his grievance removed. For this purpose I shall now retire into my office and listen, one by one, to all those who have cause to complain."

Whereupon I left the platform, followed by the surging crowd.

## Chapter III.

### A Loafer.

THE next instant I found myself seated in my audience chamber, with the whole crowd pressing in upon me, each eager to be first. Foremost among them was a man whom, for brevity' sake, I will describe as a Loafer. The guards tried to push him back to make room for others more respectably dressed. But I interposed, saying, "Under the New Constitution all have equal rights by virtue of their citizenship, and nor, by virtue of the kind of coat they wear. First come, first served."

With this it seemed as if I had recovered a little of my loss ground. The man himself seemed delighted, and thanked me warmly.

"You are the true working man's friend, after all," he said "I have come, governor, for my bit of land."

"Explain yourself," I replied. "To what bit of land do you refer?"

"Well, I mean my share of the division."

"But there is to be no division, neither of land nor anything else. The Constitution says nothing of division."

"No, but it does speak of equal opportunities; and how can I have equal opportunities with the Duke owning his thousands of acres and I having none?"

"You have equal opportunities with any Duke. For every penny that accrues to them by virtue of the mere ownership of land, they have to hand over to the State. If you owned it you would have to hand it over. The real owner, therefore, is the community, of which Dukes and yourself are equal citizens."

"Then you still allow Dukes to own land?"

"Certainly, if they like to. What does it matter to you who has possession of the land, provided that your share of the land values, or rent, is secured to you?"

"All right; hand me over my share of the rent."

"Not quite so quickly, if you please. You have equal rights with every other citizen, but also equal *duties*, and therefore have to pay taxes the same as everyone else. Your share of the rent is appropriated by the State as your share of the taxes."

"What good do I get out of that?"

"Every good that a well-organized State can secure you. You will receive every facility to produce wealth, and the fullest protection for what you do produce; together with all such conveniences, in the shape of roads, railways, facilities for education, etc., as are best provided by the State."

"But did you not say that we should all have equal access to land

"Oh! if it is merely access to land you want, you can be easily supplied. See here, the columns of the *Times* are already full of 'Lands to let.' So you can make your choice."

"And pay rent to them, I suppose, as before."

"No, you'll pay rent to the State; for whatever the ground value is, you would have to pay the State in any case, whether you were the nominal owner of it or not."

"Oh, that's fine talk. If there is no advantage in owning land, then why do not these people who don't want the land for their own use give it up altogether?"

"Because they have improvements upon it, which are theirs. Whatever is paid for the use of these will go to the owner, the rest goes to the State. If you want land without any improvements upon it, we have now plenty

belonging to the State, which the former owners have relinquished rather than pay the tax for land which to them was useless. Among these lands are some very fine deer parks; that is, which formerly were deer parks. You can pick and choose where you like, and take as much of it as you please."

The applicant's face brightened. "And would it be mine, then?"

"Yours as long as you care to keep it. Your children's after you, or to whomsoever you may choose to transfer your rights of possession."

"And what have I to pay for it?"

"If there are no improvements on it belonging to former owners, nothing at all."

"And as much as I like?"

"As much as you care to take, subject to paying its annual value to the State."

"Oh, that's all right! I don't mind that; because, you see, I shall let it to tenants at a higher rate, and so make at last a comfortable living. It is right that the working man should at last have his turn."

"Stop, you are under a misapprehension," I said. "If you take land with such an intention it will be of little use to you, since all the rent would accrue to the State, leaving you only the trouble of collecting it, and the responsibilities connected therewith. It is for this very reason that its former possessors have relinquished it, because they did not care to incur risk and trouble for land for which they had no use."

"Yes, but I intend to put the tax on to my tenants in addition to the rent."

"That will help you but very little, as the tax is not a fixed sum, but twenty shillings in the pound on its annual rental value. If you can let the land at a higher value than it was let formerly, this of course would show that it is worth more, and you would still have to hand over to the State fully twenty shillings for every pound you receive."

The applicant pulled a long face. "What good is the land to me, then?"

"It gives you *free access to the opportunities of Nature*; and whatsoever you can make it yield is yours. Whatsoever others your tenants, as you say, can make it yield is theirs. This is the spirit of the Constitution."

"So this is the kind of working men's friend you are, is it?"

"Yes, I am a *working men's* friend, but not the friend of those who wish to live by the labor of others," I replied. "You can have land in plenty, together with every opportunity and facility to labor, and full security of the fruits of your toil, sacred not only as against every fellow-citizen, but sacred even against the power of the State. It is yours exclusively and absolutely. You are free from all manner of taxation and all vexatious laws and restrictions that formerly used to hamper trade and industry. In short, you have now every inducement offered to become a *working* man, if you really wish to work."

My first visitor, being disappointed in his expectations, assumed a defiant attitude.

"But I don't wish to work. I have not been used to work for so long that I don't care to take to it now."

"Then I fear you will have to starve."

"I can beg, can't I?"

"Yes, you are at perfect liberty to do so; but you will be disappointed, I fear. So long as people were starving from necessity, and from no fault of their own, there were always kindly-disposed people—to the honor of mankind be it said—who were willing to assist their unfortunate brethren. But even then these kindly people endeavored to discriminate between the loafer and the necessitous. But as it was difficult to discriminate, the former often participated in what was intended for the honest poor. In the present state this difficulty no longer exists. Everybody knows that whosoever is willing to work can do so equally with everybody else. Under these circumstances no one will be disposed to support idleness and foster vice."

I delivered these words with deliberation and emphasis, and I could see that their meaning was not lost upon my applicant. He saw at once how difficult it would be for him to practice in future his former habits, and half-plaintively asked me to give him an order for the workhouse.

"There are none," I replied. "Those disgraceful institutions have been closed, and this blot on humanity and civilization has at last been wiped out."

"What! actually turned all the poor helpless folks out into the street?"

"Not so. Most of its occupants were there because they had no home to go to—old helpless folks or cripples. But now that their children and other relatives can earn good livings and have comfortable homes, they would no longer tolerate those dear to them branded as State paupers, but took them home—now no longer a burthen to them, but a source of pleasure. Some few there were helpless and friendless, victims of former social conditions. To these we have granted pensions to enable them to live where they like and as they like—as Citizens of the State, not as its paupers."

"Can't you grant me a pension?"

"Certainly not; you are not helpless."

"No, I am not helpless. You are right," he said defiantly. "If you have closed your workhouses you have not yet closed your prisons. I shall find ways and means to get there, and then you will have to keep me."

"If you do violence to the liberty or property of your fellow-citizens, of course it will be my duty to protect them; and if you cannot otherwise be prevailed upon to keep the peace and respect the equal rights of others, we shall have to restrain you. But you will not be cast into prison and fed at the expense of your fellow-men. You will find a nice clean cottage ready for you, comfortably furnished, with a garden plot and spade, or a workshop and such other tools by which you may prefer to earn your living, but isolated from the rest of the community, so that you cannot interfere with their liberties. You will be charged a certain rent for the house and tools supplied you, and you will have to pay, of course, the Ground Tax just the same as the others; in addition to which you would have to pay your share of the salaries of the Governor, Guardians, and Doctors, whom the State would have to employ to watch you and others like yourself."

"Doctors?" he asked.

"Yes, Doctors. We have replaced Lawyers by Doctors, because such cases as your own do not call for quibbles about precedents and abstraction, but demand medical skill and judgment. Our Judges only decide whether there is any necessity to put people under restraint or not. In this they are guided by the fact whether the accused's being at large would interfere with the liberties of other citizens. For how long this restraint is to last is for medical men to decide, and not for lawyers."

"Then would you treat me as if I were insane?"

"What else is a man who has every opportunity offered to be free, independent, and happy, and yet prefers to work harder and be deprived of his liberty? For while under restraint you would have to work for your living as if you were free, and, in addition to that, would have to pay the expenses of officials."

"But I tell you I am not going to work."

"In that case, of course you will starve while under restraint; and if you do not pay the rent of the cottage provided for you, you will be turned out of it and allowed to starve in the fields."

"What! and would you actually let me starve?"

"If you choose to, why not? I do not see in what manner I have a right to interfere with your liberties; and, truth to tell if you would rather starve than be an honest man, I think it would be a blessing for mankind to be rid of such as you."

My visitor stared at me with profound astonishment, and for some time seemed as if he could not find speech. I watched him carefully, as if studying the effect of a drastic remedy on a patient. At last he said:

"I have, it seems, to work or to starve. The only choice you give me is to do either of these two things as a prisoner or as a free man. If prisoner, I have not only to work for myself, but also for your police-troopers and doctors, and besides am stigmatized as a lunatic. Under these circumstances, it will pay me much better to become an honest man."

Here a deep sigh followed. "I can see through your plan," he continued. "Circumstances made a Loafer of me, and you now wish to employ the same means to make me honest again Sir, I may be bad and wicked, but I am not a fool. Your methods are very drastic, but I think your plan is good. You shall hear of me again, but no more as a Loafer. I shall try and retrieve my lost dignity and manhood, and see whether I cannot be as good a citizen as I might have been had society but allowed me."

## Chapter IV.

### The Shopkeeper.

THE next petitioner, from whom I learnt that he was a small shopkeeper in Cheapside, was much agitated, and bore a worried look.

"Sir," he said, in a trembling voice, "I hope you will relax your sternness a little in my case. I am hard hit. I am a hard-working, honest man, and have been all my life. After fighting the battle for life for so many weary years, I have at last succeeded in scraping enough together to buy a small piece of land and build a house on it. What am I to do now?"

"Why, keep it, good sir, and make the best of it."

My answer seemed to electrify the man into life again.

"Then you are not going to take it from me?" he inquired eagerly.

"Certainly not. I could not if I would. The Constitution would not allow me."

"But I understood that you were to confiscate all the land."

"You mean, perhaps, *nationalize*?"

"Well, is not that the same thing?"

"No, not by a long way. To confiscate means to take away. But the object of the Constitution is not to *take* the land from the people, but to open it up to them, since without access to it they cannot live—save, of course, by permission, and on the terms of those who can debar them from it."

"And—and—has everybody a right to it now?"

"Yes; everybody has an equal right with yourself to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and therefore to the *means of life*, that is, the land and the elements of Nature."

"Then anybody might come and turn me off the land—out of my home?"

"Oh, no. No one can do that so long as you care to stay. You are only expected to share with the others the advantages that accrue to you from the exclusive possession of that particular spot; and in return, all the other people have to share with you whatever similar advantages they may enjoy by monopolizing portions of the country."

"And how are you going to adjust what I am to give and what I am to receive in return?"

"Very easily. Whatever the rental value of your plot of land may be, is the measure of the advantages you enjoy to the exclusion of all others. Therefore you will be required to hand over to the State a sum equal thereto. That is, you will pay a tax of twenty shillings in the pound on the *unimproved value* of your land. Others will do the same, and thus provide the funds necessary for public purposes. Your returns will consist in the enjoyment of those conveniences which the money will provide."

"If you tax my land to its full value, is it not the same as if you took it away?"

"Certainly not. You can still use it the same as before, But if I took it away you could not."

"But is not its value gone?"

"Surely not its utility. You can live on it, trade on it, and grow on it whatever it could yield, as before. These values it will still possess undiminished, and yours will be the exclusive right to enjoy them so long as you pay the tax—or rent."

He shook his head a You leave me in possession of the land, certainly, but you tax me, and that heavily."

"No more than what you receive in return. And not so much, I think, as you paid formerly for less. You are a business man. Let me put a few common-sense questions to you. Suppose you sold goods to a customer of yours and sent them home by another man's cart, would you claim the money for the cartage as well as for the goods?"

"The cartage money would go, of course, to the man to whom the cart belongs."

"Twenty shillings in the pound?"

"Of course."

"That is precisely your case. If you withhold portions of the country, with all its natural advantages, from your fellow-citizens, you have to pay to them for the privilege; while what-ever you create on the land by your toil is yours. Others have to do the same. Those who would contribute less must be content with monopolizing less. Everybody is treated alike, and each has to pay, not according to what he possesses, but *according to value received* "

"I do not dispute the correctness or even the justice of your principles," he said with a sigh, "but it falls heavily on me. You see, sir, I have bought my land with honest, hard-earned money, and now am as good as losing it—every penny."

"What is the value of your land?"

"I paid for it £240. It is assessed now at an annual value of £10."

"Then your taxes will amount to £10. Have you not paid as much before?"

"No, certainly not. My tax did not amount to more than nine shillings."

"Yes, the land tax. But I mean altogether, taxes and rates. Surely you have paid as much before?"

"Oh, altogether, I have paid, let me see—inhabited house duty, 10s.; property tax I believe as much; and rates and poor law, £15; that is about £16."

"And on your shop—is that your own too?"

"I have built it, but it's mine only for another eighty years."

"What rates and taxes did you pay for that?"

"About £60. It is assessed at £300 per annum."

"Income-tax?"

"That's not much, something like £6."

"Stamp duties on cheques and receipts?"

"Say two shillings a week."

"Customs duties on tea, coffee, currants, etc.?"

"Yes. I dare say it comes to something like £4 a year, although I neither smoke nor drink. But I have six children, and they make up for it in tea and currants."

"Let us see now. You have paid altogether, in rates and something like £91, of which burden you are now

entirely relieved. You are asked to pay instead £10 on your land only. Are you really so hardly done by?"

"If you put it that way, perhaps not."

"And for these ten pounds," I continued, "the community puts at your disposal postal and telegraph service, roads, railways, protection of life, liberty, and property; education for your children, and many other conveniences. Is that so great a hardship?"

"These are very fine promises, truly; but if you are going to reduce my taxes from £91 to £10, as you say, where is the money to come from to carry them out?"

"You say your shop in Cheapside is not on your own land. What is the ground rent of that?"

"I pay £500 in ground rent; of course, besides my shop, there are offices which I sublet."

"Then you see these £500 which you formerly paid into private pockets will now go into the State coffers, as the price of 'natural opportunities withheld.' This will more than compensate the State for the reduction of taxes made to you and your fellow-tenants. The annual value of ground rents amounts to more than 200,000,000, which is far above the total expenditure; that for last year was only £185,000,000. But on this we shall be able to economize a good deal—so that the rent-tax will be sufficient for both imperial and focal needs—and spend it more usefully. What was spent on poor law, police, prisons, hereditary pensions to people who had done nothing to earn them, sinecures, and gewgaws, will now be devoted to more useful purposes. We shall also save a great deal by abolishing custom houses and by the simplification of taxation, which will enable us to do away with much unnecessary machinery; o[unclear: r], any rate, employ it more profitably. In short, instead of hampering trade and industry, we shall try to help it on."

"But for all that you have made a poorer man of me. Yesterday I could have sold my house and land for £1000."

"You can still sell your house!"

"Yes, but I would get nothing for the land."

"No, but you could buy another block for the same price."

"So—I—could," he muttered with amazement, as if this truth had only just dawned upon him.

"And your children won't have to toil and scrape for years before they will be allowed to have a home in their native land"

"That's enough, sir!" he exclaimed. "I was a blockhead to have given you all this trouble for nothing. What a fool Actually wanted to keep up land monopoly because it has made my battle in life hard; and never to think that if kept up it would make it as hard for my children. Good-day, sir. I am more than satisfied with the change."

vignette

## Chapter V.

### A Socialist.

MY conversation with the shopkeeper seemed to have a salutary effect on a good many besides himself; for as he left a large number of those who were waiting their turn left with him, evidently pleased and well satisfied with what they had heard.

As they left one of the crowd rushed eagerly forward. He was excited, but with that kind of excitement which honest men feel when they think wrong has been done to others. He was a rather lean man, well-dressed, with high forehead, and very intelligent looking.

"It is plain that you have given every satisfaction to the middle class, and have earned the gratitude of the whole bourgeoisie," he said, with a bitter sneer. "They are to have their taxes reduced, railways and telegraphs provided, so that they can increase their profits, and have their children educated for nothing; and the working men are to be left to the mercies of the capitalist, with not even a workhouse to go to, lest the bourgeoisie might have to be taxed. Is this your idea of equal rights and equal liberties?"

For this kind of opposition I was scarcely prepared. But there was no mistaking the sincerity of the man, nor his honesty of purpose. To tell him that he was mistaken in thus interpreting my actions, and bid him have patience, that all would come right in the end, and so forth, was clearly out of question. The man was not to be pacified unless he could be satisfied first. And as it was my aim to enlist the sympathies of the people for my reforms, and to avoid as much as possible unnecessary friction, I said, after some moments of reflection:

"I am only enforcing the Constitution, for which, among others, you yourself have voted. If I put a wrong construction on it I sin in ignorance, and shall be thankful to you for putting me right."

This mollified him somewhat, and I could not help thinking at the moment how wrong it was for people who should pull together, to fall out with each other on account of difference of opinion as to the best methods of attaining their common end.

"What are my particular errors of omission or commission I asked.

"In the first place you have established no national work shops."

"On the contrary," I interposed, "the whole country is now one large national workshop, in which each can work to his, heart's content; where, when, and how he likes." But, heedless of my interruption, he continued:

"You have made no laws to restrict the powers of the capitalist, to limit the hours of labor, the rate of wages, or interest."

"But such laws would be against the spirit of the Constitution—our Democratic Constitution—which says that every citizen shall have perfect liberty, limited only by the like liberties of his fellow-citizens. If I should tell a man how many hours he is to work, or what he is to give in exchange for certain services, would this not be a flagrant interference with his personal liberties? Besides, such legislation is absolutely mischievous and could only result in the re-establishment of class rule and class legislation, from the evils of which we are just now trying to escape."

"Not only have you omitted doing all these things," he continued, again disregarding my answer, as if solely intent on his own thoughts, "but you have actually abolished what few taxes the capitalists had to pay—the Income and Property Tax, Probate duties, etc., thus allowing the wealthy to escape scot free."

"But surely you do not wish to abolish the well-to-do? I always was under the impression that you objected to poverty and that the object of good government was to extirpate *this* root and branch."

"Oh, certainly, if you put it that way! But how do you set about it?"

"By encouraging industry, in the first place, thrift in the second. Surely, it is good that the nation should possess as much as possible of all the good things which add to its comfort. Can it be that you regard wealthy citizens as an evil, and there fore wish to put a tax on them?"

"Come, sir, you evade the question. Is it not a fact that the few have piled up their millions at the expense of the many! And if they are not checked by taxation, what is to stop them from continuing the same thing?"

"They *are* ducked from getting what belongs to others, since all have now equal opportunities; but there is no check on anyone to prevent him from producing wealth, or from accumulating it, if he so choose. A person should not be fined for building a house or planting a tree; nor should a premium be offered for indolence or improvidence."

"Fined for building a house or planting a tree? You speak in enigmas."

"Not at all. Every tax levied on industry is of the nature of a fine; that is, even if not intended as such, has the same effect as a fine. A tax on dogs tends to diminish their number. Or, supposing it were thought there were too many bachelors, then a bachelor's tax, if high enough, would encourage matrimony. In the one case you practically fine a man for keeping a dog; in the other for not getting married."

"Well, if dogs and bachelors are objectionable, is it not right to tax them?"

"Yes; and if wealth were objectionable we might tax that, too. But my object is to exterminate poverty, and not wealth."

"That's all very well. But if one man were not allowed to accumulate more than a certain amount, the remainder would be distributed among the others."

"How do you know there would be any remainder? Suppose we did determine that a man should not own more than a certain amount of wealth; is it not possible that he would waste more, or else stop production when he has reached his limit?"

"Well, I don't know. You are trying to theorize. This fact, however, remains, that people with money grind down the poor, and while idlers roll in wealth many workers are starving."

"That *was* a fact; and did but indicate that as a remedy for such a deplorable state of things we should discourage idleness and encourage the worker."

My Socialist visitor remained silent, and so I continued:

"It is for this reason that I spoke to the first applicant, whom you call a working man, as I did. He was not a worker by his own confession, although I hope he is one now. You should not fall into the error of calling every poor man a worker and every rich man an idler. You can find both workers and idlers in all classes"

"Then why not treat them all alike?"

"That is precisely what I am directed to do by our Constitution. There are now equal opportunities to all and favors to none. Whosoever likes to work is now free to do so, and may enjoy the full fruits of his labor. And if any would not work, neither should he eat, be his name Jack or Sir John."

"Then, after all your fine promises, you simply mean to pursue the 'let-it-alone' policy?"

"If by 'let-it-alone' policy you mean that each person is to be allowed to employ himself and enjoy himself as he or she may think fit, without anyone having the right of interference with their liberties, then 'Yes!' that is

indeed the spirit of that principle for which you and the whole Democracy have been fighting for years past."

"Then you mean to allow the capitalist to grind down the workers without affording the latter the protection of the law?"

"I merely substitute freedom for club rule. Under such conditions everybody can look after himself. You wish to rule by whims and fancies; I carry out principles."

"Not by whims and fancies, but by *law*."

"What you call *Laws* are but whims and fancies of people *Laws* are not, and cannot, be made by man, but are as old as the universe itself. All man has to do is to discover them—I mean, of course, the Laws of Nature; but these you ignore entirely, and think that by writing your own opinions—your whims and fancies—on parchment, you have manufactured a 'Law.' If such enactment fails in its intended purpose, you set about amending it; then amend the amendment, and so keep on tinkering from year's end to year's end—call it wisdom statesmanship, legislation. And when anyone points out to you that your enactments run counter to every natural law, then you exclaim, 'Theory, theory!'"

"You are simply a slave to principle."

"Yes, I confess my guilt on that head. I certainly have opinion and haphazard guesses of man. Men have now been tinkering at legislation these many centuries, and with what result you know. Under these circumstances, do you not think it high time to give Nature a trial, were it only to demonstrate the worthlessness of her laws compared with human wisdom?"

There was no reply to this, and so I continued in a more conciliatory tone:

"If this principle, upon which you and I and all schools of political thought are agreed, is a true one, let us have faith in it, and follow out its dictates to the letter. For if the principle is wrong, or if principles are not to be relied on at all, then pray by what can we be guided? Would you have us return to Party Government, with its appeals to ignorance, religious prejudices, and racial animosities, without either reason or principle? Or re-establish the rule of might?"

My visitor was not yet convinced. "That is all very well in theory. I commend your abolition of the land capitalist; but that in itself will be useless, unless you at the same time abolish all other capitalists and establish a system of State-directed production and distribution."

I glanced at the people behind him, whom, up till now, I had somehow regarded as a deputation of workmen on whose behalf he was pleading. But on closer examination I saw, to my surprise, that all those present were well dressed, and betrayed none of the characteristics of workmen. I called my visitor's attention to this fact, and he at once replied that he had not come with *those* people, but had headed a large number of unemployed, and that he could not explain how it was that they had all left. "These gentlemen," he added, "probably came to thank you for your partiality toward them;" this with another sneer.

An idea struck me. I saw plainly that an object lesson would be far more convincing to this man than abstract arguments; and I could read in the looks of those present that they came for other purposes than to express any gratitude toward me. So I said:

"Sir, you are right; we must not allow the laborers to be ground down, if they are really in that helpless condition you represent. If they cannot take care of themselves, we—that is, you and I—will look after them, and nurse them as we would helpless babies. To be honest with you, I myself do not think that your fears are well grounded. I think that in a fair and open field every true working man is able to hold his own, and look after himself. If I am mistaken in this, then I am on your side; for already have I made provision for the maimed and helpless. But first let us see what this influential deputation have come for; perhaps it may throw some side-light on the points which you have raised. So please remain where you are, and listen to their representations. "

vignette

## Chapter VI.

### Deputation of Railway Directors.

MY surmises were correct, and my Socialist opponent had not long to wait before he could see that these people had not come to thank me for anything I had done; but rather to urge upon me the adoption of the same measure as he himself advocated—viz., to tax Capital rather than Land.

They were boisterous, but not very self-confident, and gave me the impression that they intended to overawe and frighten me into submission.

Their spokesman, a rather portly gentleman, commenced in an imperious tone:

"We have come to demand the instant repeal of those disastrous proclamations which are working the ruin of the country. We shall not submit to—"

Here I interposed, reminding him that I represented the Sovereign People, and that I must insist on more respectful language. That while they were free to place before me their complaints, and to expect redress if they could make out a good case, they were not allowed to refuse obedience to the law as it stood.

"If the law is bad," I continued, "you are free to agitate for its repeal; but while it is in force it must be obeyed. You know this doctrine, since you have preached it often enough yourselves. Now you may proceed. What is it you have to say?"

"We have to inform you, then, that since your proclamation has been issued the country has been ruined. Millions of capital have been destroyed, and unless there is a speedy repeal of this in—er—this—er—this disastrous law, bankruptcy is staring the nation in the face."

I was not much alarmed by the statement; for, though there were many of them, they were neither the whole nation nor representatives of the whole nation. So I said calmly:

"Will you please state who you are, and what interest you represent? Clearly you cannot mean the whole nation, since many who have been here before you have expressed their satisfaction with the new administration."

"Yes," replied the spokesman; "those whom you have benefited by plundering us."

I again sternly rebuked the speaker, and warned him against again using such disrespectful language. He then explained that those present were directors of the several railway companies, and that since this new proclamation their companies had been utterly ruined. This was serious news; railways are important industrial undertakings, and I had no intention of hampering their usefulness. I said as much, which seemed to give reassurance and hope to the deputation. "Please explain to me in what manner this change has affected you," I continued.

"It has affected us in a manner," said the speaker, which you could not have foreseen; which only shows how dangerous it is to experiment with old-established institutions. In the first place, you have taxed away all the revenue we have derived from our land, and have taxed in addition all the land over which the lines are running."

"But I have remitted all your other taxes," I said, "and in that respect have placed you on an equality with every other industrial undertaking."

"Yes, yes; but, as I told you, you do not yet understand all the effects which this has had. Our employees demand exorbitant wages, which would not leave a single penny profits."

"Then don't pay the wages, if they are exorbitant."

"But what are we to do? We cannot get enough men as it is, and if we stopped working the lines, how could we afford to pay the tremendous Land Tax? In less than a month or so this would absorb all our rolling stock and buildings; while, thanks to your administration, the value of the land, for which we have paid so dearly, is gone already."

"But if your employees are so extortionate, why not replace them by recruiting from the army of unemployed?"

The speaker waxed indignant, and there was great murmuring among the deputation.

"You are absolutely ignorant of the condition the country is in, and therefore unfit for the position you occupy. Unemployed, indeed, when I tell you that we are unable to get sufficient hands to cope with the tremendous traffic, which has increased to nearly double its amount, and not a man to be had for love or money! We are left entirely to the mercy of our employees."

"That explains why the mass of unemployed have left you. They have evidently learnt already to stand on their own legs, and mean to dispense with their nurses," I whispered to the Socialist. And turning to the speaker, I said aloud:

"But surely the country cannot then be in such a disastrous state as you represented. You really confuse me."

Here one of the deputation stepped forward, a man with a fine head, closely shaven face, and frank and noble countenance. His demeanor was deferential and polite, in pleasing contrast to the angry looks of the majority.

"I think I can explain matters to you, sir, and perhaps [*unclear*: als] to my fellow-Directors, who I think take a somewhat one-sided view of the matter. Under the circumstances this is perhaps natural. Since you have opened the racecourse, allowing everybody to compete on equal terms, those who formerly enjoyed exclusive privileges do not find it so easy to get their accustomed swag. We find that others can run faster than ourselves, and get the prizes. For myself I will not complain, but throw off the old traditions which now are hampering me, and try again my strength under the new conditions."

Instead of explaining, you only puzzle me more and more."

"I will be plain then. You have opened up the natural opportunities to the people, and now everyone is able to make the best of his abilities. At first I too considered your proposals sheer madness, because I thought that, even if you did open up the land, everybody would not be fit to start farming. I don't know why, but the idea of land reform always suggested to me that it meant everybody should be a farmer. But I now see that that is neither necessary nor even possible. You have certainly taught us that railway dividends come as much from land as do potatoes. The farmers, who are now making good profits, employ builders to improve their habitations, buy carpets, furniture, clothing, and all manner of other conveniences. The manufacturers and tradespeople are all busy, and, of course, earning good money. These too try to improve their conditions. Most of them were really out at elbow, barely having been able to provide themselves with the merest necessities of life. But now that they are in a position to do so everybody is buying and sending out orders on one hand, and supplying others with such articles as they themselves produce or deal in. This gave a sudden and great impetus to all trades, and, of course, also to the railways. The army of unemployed vanished as if by magic. Under these conditions everybody naturally demands for his services an equal counter-service. The laborer has no longer to beg for employment, and unless people are willing to pay him what he thinks his labor is worth, he refuses to part with it. I cannot blame him, for we do the same; we have raised our rates on the railways, and people pay cheerfully."

"Yes; but have we anything of it?" asked the former speaker "[unclear: oes t] not all go away again in wages or in taxes?"

"It does, certainly. Those who work the railways get the benefit, leaving to us just about enough to recoup us for the wear and tear of rolling plant, and such return as would be about an equitable return for the rent of our buildings and other plant."

The deputation got a little noisy, each of them attempting to remonstrate at the same time with the last speaker for his frankness, for which they called him a Judas and other coarse names.

I again interfered, and after some difficulty succeeded in restoring quiet. Turning to the first speaker, I said:

"This is a somewhat different picture to what you drew, and is most satisfying and gratifying. Instead of having ruined the nation, I find that the nation is prosperous; and I fail to see what you have come to complain about. If the wages of all those engaged in railway work are higher, surely you, as the managers of the concern, must share in the general prosperity. For if each man is in a position to put his own price on his labor, you, as the most important officials, must be able to command good salaries for your services. I mean your wages of superintendence."

The man whom I addressed bit his lip and was silent, as were the rest, excepting the gentleman who made the former frank statement.

"If you will pardon me, sir, for saying so," he said, "I think my friend was right when he said you were ignorant on many points of railway management. We, as Directors, have nothing to do with the management or superintendence of railway work proper. Our business is, or I should rather say was, to receive the balance-sheet and the earnings of the men and to declare dividends. Of course, there are still earnings, and still dividends to be declared; but now a rent collector could perform the work for us."

"Well, and is that so bad? I should say your rents for buildings, and so on, should be more secure now than formerly; and considering that houses and rolling-stock represent labor, and that labor is well paid, their value, I should think, would be enhanced."

"It is. But railway carriages and buildings don't last for ever, as does the land. Nor was our chief revenue derived from this source. We had a profit on every man we employed; this is now gone. And as population increased and trade improved, so the value of our lands improved. This is now gone too. Our shares formerly went up, whether our carriages and buildings were new or old. Now they go down every day, as our plant depreciates. And if we wanted to keep our plant in the same condition, we could draw no dividends at all, since all we receive would be absorbed for depreciation, to repair or replace the old stock."

"Would you please explain this point a little more clearly I said.

"Certainly. Supposing you built a house, a carriage, or [unclear: an] engine. This would not last for ever."

"Of course not."

"Well, then, supposing an engine to last for twenty years then you would not pay for an engine that has been in work ten years the same price as if it were new. And if you lent that engine on hire, you could not get more for its use than just what would replace another engine of the same kind by the time it is used up, since everybody is in a position to command whatever he needs, and is unwilling to pay usury. The same applies, of course, to our plant and rolling stock. If we could withdraw the money which we earn for its use, the carriages, engines, etc, would depreciate, and would ultimately be all used up. And if we keep things in repair, replacing old stock by new, we could draw no dividends at all."

"But then your plant and stock are left you."

"Indeed!" exclaimed the first speaker. "And you would have us provide the public with convenience for nothing?"]

"But you do not provide it for nothing, if they enable you to replace what they consume. *Would you have more in return than what you give?*"

"Oh! it is no good arguing with him," they said; "we had better stop traffic altogether, and see then whether the people will stand it"

"I will answer for that," I said, rising from my seat. "The plant is yours, and you can do with it whatever you please gentlemen. The land is yours also, so long as you choose to keep it, *and pay the rent for it to the State*. If you do not care to keep it you are allowed to pick up your rails and sleepers and do with them as you please; and the State would have to provide new railway lines for the people."

This deliverance put an end to their bluster. They were terror-stricken. And I considered the moment opportune to make them a proposal, which I thought would be of advantage to the State and convenient to themselves. I said:

"In a country of such general prosperity, where penniless and ignorant people are in apposition to earn comfortable livings, men like yourselves, who have education, abilities, and substance to start with, should not be in despair. Abilities you undoubtedly possess, but hitherto you have wasted them on unholy objects—that is, in finding out ways and means how to make profit at the expense of your fellow-men. I do not blame you for having done so, nor do I reproach you. You were the creatures of circumstances, as were the rest of us. Now a new order has set in. And I doubt not but that your abilities will soon find outlets in more legitimate, and perhaps even more profitable channels. You may not care to continue under the new conditions the worries incidental to company management, and could employ, perhaps, your wealth in other ways more congenial to your tastes under the altered circumstances. If so, the State is willing to relieve you of all your responsibilities, and to pay you for every rail, nail, brick, or sleeper its full price at present valuation."

"In less than five minutes they agreed to my proposals, and I gave instructions to have the plant surveyed and appraised.

Thus the highroads of the country became the property of the nation by voluntary surrender.  
vignette

## Chapter VII.

### The Directors of the New River Company.

THINGS happen strangely and oddly in dreams, and [*unclear: ye*] everything seems perfectly natural. The Directors of the [*unclear: Ra*] way Company had not left my presence, nor do I remember anyone having entered the room while they were there. But notwithstanding this, I had before me another deputation. The men were the same, but not the interest—or concern, rather which they represented. This time it was on behalf of the New River Company that one of their number addressed me. Faring his eyes upon me, he said:

"I hear that you are very fond of facts, and that you will not believe anything that cannot be demonstrated to you. Here then, are some hard facts for you to digest." And he held up to me two copies of Stock Exchange quotations. "Look of this picture, and on that."

I did so, and read in one "New River Company, £138,000. And in the other u New River Company, £"13 10s.; no business done." I also noticed great reductions in other stock, though not to the same extent; and opposite many of the companies there were either no quotations at all or the legend, "In Liquidation."

"Are you convinced now that we are putting facts before you?" he asked.

"I am; and most surprising facts they are," I replied.

"Most surprising!" echoed the Socialist.

"Within the last few months," continued the spokesman "over five hundred thousand million pounds' worth of capital has been destroyed."

The allusion to the last few months astonished me more than the amount of capital destroyed. "Dear me!" I exclaimed "have I been in office so long? How the time does fly?"

"Over half a million millions of pounds, if a penny," he continued. "I am prepared to make good my statement."

"Oh, I take your word for the amount," I said smilingly. But would you be good enough to tell me what kind of 'capital has been destroyed, and in what manner?"

"If you will come with me to my office I will show you a whole strong-room full of what was once most

valuable 'stock,' but which is now so much waste paper—or very nearly so."

"Dear me! have the moths got into them, or mice, or rats?"

"Neither of these, but the blight and canker of your cursed government," he said, with ill-suppressed anger.

"I fail to see how I could have done anything to spoil goods locked up in your strong-room."

He gazed at me with angry amazement. "I verily believe," he said, after a while, "that you are utterly ignorant of what 'stock' means."

"Not at all," I said. "I myself keep oxen, horses, pigs, poultry. But these should be safe, one would think, locked up in strong-rooms."

"I am not speaking of live stock," he exclaimed indignantly, "but of SHARES. Have I not shown you that the shares of the New River Company alone have come down from over a hundred thousand pounds to a paltry £13 10s., and no buyers at that?"

"Perhaps they are not worth more," I suggested.

"No; not while you are at the helm of State, and allow us to be plundered in this shameful and outrageous fashion. For that, sir, is the cause of this tremendous fall, that we are being plundered, and that by your authority."

"Plundered!" I said. "No; that I will not allow. I will stop that at once." And I rang the bell sharply, and ordered the Commissioner of Police to be sent. No sooner had I said so than that functionary stood before me.

"Have I not given strict orders," I thundered, "that the liberty and property of every citizen should be protected, and that without any distinction whatever? How is it that these gentlemen here complain of having been plundered of several millions?"

But the Commissioner of Police neither quaked nor trembled at my thundering; and as I looked at him more closely he turned out to be no other than my friend Verinder, who, with the familiar twinkle in his eye, said:

"Your instructions have been carried out to the letter, and that is just the complaint of these gentlemen. What they have been 'plundered' of is the right to plunder others. I believe the figures to be right, for I always thought theirs was a lucrative business."

"But they also speak of destruction of capital."

"Nothing of the kind, I assure you. They are still in possession of all they had—their works, pumps, pipes, and taps. Their 'shares' or 'stock' are as fresh and crisp as ever, and I doubt not that with proper care and in strong-rooms they will keep so for many years."

"But you have made waste-paper of them," exclaimed the spokesman of the deputation. Whereupon Police Commissions Verinder explained as follows:

"These gentlemen were lords of the clouds; that is, the water that was showered down by our Heavenly Father upon the just and unjust alike was claimed by them as their exclusive property. They erected large filters and pumps, laid down pipes in all directions, and supplied the water to the inhabitants at so much per gallon. The inhabitants complained, demanded a reduction in price, and threatened to take possession of their works."

"And have they done so?" I asked.

"No, but they have done *worse*; that is, as far as these gentlemen are concerned. They have left them their works and pipes, and have erected a new plant, belonging to the community; and now, of course, the people will no longer buy their water at a higher rate than that at which they can be supplied by the parish pumps."

"You do not give all the facts," interrupted the complainant "Nor do you mention that you acted as an agitator against our interests."

"Oh, if you wish me to go into details I will do so with pleasure," replied the acute Police Commissioner.

"There was as I said, a perfect revolution. The people wanted to take possession of the waterworks, and pay the present owners at valuation. I drew a cordon of police around the works to protect the property of the company. I then explained to the people that they had no right to force people to surrender aught against their will, nor fix the price of their service, any more than the company could force people to work for them at *their* price. But I advised them, certainly, that if they were dissatisfied with the company's prices they could erect a plant of their own. They decided to do so, and were about to tap the river, when the directors of the company came to me with a parchment claiming the sole right to the whole river. Now, sir, your proclamation was that no one should be disturbed in his present possessions, and I again promised the company full protection, but pointed out that, *inasmuch as the river itself is a natural opportunity*, if they wished to have exclusive possession of it, they would have to pay for the privilege."

"And we made a liberal offer."

"You did; but it did not come up to the liberality of the Constitution, which demands twenty shillings in the pound on the full value of all natural advantages. I said to them that so long as everybody can have free access, and there is water enough for all, the rent or tax would be *nil*, since in that case there would be no monopoly. But if there should be competition for the water, the tax would be the full value which this competition would give it. They refused to pay the tax, and so the local authority tapped the river. Under these

circumstances—there being no monopoly—of course there is no rent for either party. Nor need I say that the company is not paying now any other taxes, since they have all been abolished, excepting only, of course, the ground rent for land occupied by their buildings, reservoirs, etc."

"And no capital has been destroyed

"None whatever. What these people call 'capital' was a certificate which gave them the right to levy a tribute from the citizens of the district, before they allowed them to quench their thirst or have a bath. The enormous value of their 'shares' or 'scrip' only shows the extent to which this blackmailing has been carried on. Now that the people have access to the natural opportunities, they no longer pay for what they can get for nothing. The company are still supplying a large area, and that because they have lowered their rates to those charged by the corporation, whereupon the latter desisted from extending the new pipes. These rates are just sufficient to pay for the filtration and distribution, and the expenses connected therewith."

"That is to say," I remarked, "that, whereas they were formerly water-*lords*, they now are water-*carriers*."

"Precisely. And instead of having taken any capital from them, we have actually removed all former taxes—much to their regret. They volunteered to treble their income tax, and to have their *machinery* rated to any extent the people liked, provided they were left in possession of the river. This was the 'liberal' offer referred to. But by this time the people saw the cat, and—"

"Enough, sir," I said. And, turning toward the deputation, I added:

"Your petition is dismissed. You are free to pump water from the river, and sell it at whatever price you can get for it. But I cannot prevent other people from doing the same thing, since I cannot deny them access to the opportunities of Nature, nor can I force them to pay you more for your services than they think these are worth. But if you don't care to carry on the business of water-carriers under these new conditions, I offer to buy your plant on behalf of the inhabitants of the district at present valuations. Shall we say it is a bargain?"

And a bargain it was, for after a brief consultation among themselves I received the following answer

"We have no other option but to accept."

## Chapter VIII.

### Another Chat with the Socialist.

"WONDERFUL! You must be a magician, exclaimed the Socialist, as soon as the last deputation withdrew.

"I can hardly believe that these people have surrendered their capital so meekly otherwise than under the influence of *[unclear: e]* some magic. Seriously have you hypnotised them?"

"It would almost seem so; but the only magic I have made use of is the application of natural principles in the regulation of the relations between man and man."

"That hardly explains why such a selfish set of people *[unclear: a]* most capitalists are should surrender the power they ha*[unclear: d]* robbing the community of workers."

Because they *are* selfish, and because, having no longer *[unclear: r]* profitable monopoly, they do not care to provide people with water. You speak of them as 'capitalists.' In a sense, they were capitalists; but how much do you think their *real capital* amounted to?"

"Millions. Many millions. They were kings—water king.

I smiled, and handed him the estimate I had just receive from the surveyor, which gave the total of the waterworks *[unclear: a]*, £36,582. He looked at me in amazement.

"This," I said, "is the full value of their plant, buildings engines, pipes, and meters, all included. For land, including river, you see, we need not pay, because its value—its *marks value*, understand—is gone."

"And what has become of the rest of their capital?" he asked.

"The rest you can get at the price of waste paper, since it is nothing else, and never was anything else. For that which you still call 'capital' consisted of nothing but parchments and papers—the bogies of which you and your school were *[unclear: s]* terribly afraid."

"But these shares represented capital?"

Very little indeed; and so far as shares represented real capital—that is, wealth in some form or other—it was harmless. But such shares as those of the water company, or the title deeds of land, represented no *existing* wealth at all, but weak to be produced in the future. That is, the holders of such deed had a *lien on future production*."

"I do not quite follow your meaning."

"I will explain, then. Supposing I owned yon narrow foot-path leading down to the river or lake, and that

this enabled me to levy a toll on every passer-by before I allowed him to I quench his thirst. You, seeing I am doing a profitable business, propose to buy me out. I agree to sell—but what? Not the toll I have already collected, but the *opportunity of levying toll in the future*. I speak to you thus: My revenue from this river is £100 annually; but the city is growing, and this the only source of water for miles. As people increase, so my toll money must increase. Hence I want you to pay down equal to what I think I might be able to collect in the next twenty-seven or thirty years; or, in round figures, I require £2,700 for 'my property'! This at once constitutes me a 'capitalist' of that amount; yet the only real capital, that is 'wealth' in the shape of human labor, may consist in a gate to lock out the people. In the course of events natural opportunities are declared I common property, and the revenue derived from them goes to the State. What offer would you then make me for my property?"

"None at all; excepting, perhaps, a few shillings for your wooden gate," he said laughingly.

"Precisely. And that explains why the shares of the water company have fallen from £138,000 to £13 10s. You know now what has become of their other capital. In other words, it had no existence except on paper. And once the system which has sanctioned blackmailing is abolished, and the toll-gates which debarred mankind from Nature are pulled down, these papers are powerless, and require no further Act of Parliament to make them harmless. You will clearly understand, of course, that by *real capital* I mean something that is due to human exertion—*accumulated labor*; that is, wealth to which its rightful owner is entitled by virtue of his exertion."

"Well, all wealth is due to labor, for that matter."

"No, it is not. This is a great and fundamental error on your part. So far from this being true, labor has the smallest share in the production of wealth."

"What?" he asked in surprise, "wealth not due entirely to labor, when you yourself admit that capital itself is only accumulated labor?"

"Oh, bother capital! It is a perfect Mrs Harris in Political Economy. The two factors in the production of wealth are *labor* and the *forces or raw products of Nature*. Without the latter the former is absolutely impotent. Without the former but little is to be had. These two factors then—*Nature and human labor*—co-operate everywhere, though in variable proportion in different localities, in the production of these commodities men require. These commodities you may call wealth, or capital, or whatever else you please. Where Nature co-operates [*unclear: m*] freely, men are well off. Where Nature's share is less, [*unclear: me*] are worse off. But in most cases the greater part is don[*unclear: e*] Nature. Woe betide the people who are so situated that [*unclear: la*] has to do the greater part of the work."

"Do you know such a place?"

"Yes. Aden, for instance, which is lying in a desert. Their very firewood has to be fetched in small bundles on [*unclear: came*] from a distance; and their drink-water has to be distilled from sea water, and is sold by hawkers from house to house as [*unclear: m*] is in our streets."

"But how does that bear on our question?"

"It has an important bearing on it. You and many other were always clamoring for 'the fruits of your labor.'"

"Of course, and so we are still."

"Well, if you had 'the fruits of your labor' only, you would be worse off than the people in Aden; for these folks hav[*unclear: e*] least the sea-water for nothing. Wrhat you should have asked for is *free access to Nature* and an *equal share in the bountie*[*unclear: s*] *Nature*. The fruit of your toil would then be yours as a matter of course, since then no one could enslave you."

"And you think you have effected this with the single tax?"

"Certainly, For whatever is due to Nature now goes to the community, and the expenditure of the revenue thus derived benefits all alike. And all having an equal interest in the spending, care is taken that it is usefully employed. All being thus placed on an equality as regards the opportunitie[*unclear: s*] production, no one can lord it over the other. In other words now a truly *free contract* between buyer and seller, employe and employee, is possible."

"But still there will be some more skilful than others, and thus produce more."

"Yes; and these are the very men we wish to encourage to be emulated by the others. What we have achieved by the single tax is this: The road is now open to all, and everyone can run as fast as he pleases. The fastest runner will get the highest prize, but no longer at the expense of those less gifted Nor can he, by being the fastest runner, prevent other from reaching the same goal, though perhaps a little later. He can shut no gate, and erect no barriers. The road is to remain open to all and forever. There is a prize for everyone in the race, and the magnitude of the prize is determined by everyone for himself. Blanks there are for those only who are too lass to take part in the race."

"Answer me another question. Why is it that you hav[*unclear: e*] taxed the Water Company for the use of the river? For according to your view, this is a natural opportunity."

"It is. But we only charge for natural opportunities that are monopolized. These people do not now monopolize the water, but supply it to whosoever wants it. They simply act as *carriers*, and anybody else can do the same. If we charged them for the water, would we not tax those who use it?"

"Yes. And since the water is used by a portion of the nation only, whereas it belongs to the whole, should not those who enjoy it pay for it?"

"Oh, that is what you mean. There you are right. But then the people do pay for that already; since whatever advantage there is in being near a river attaches to the value of the ground occupied."

"I hardly see your point."

"And yet it is plain enough. Suppose there are two blocks; of land in every respect alike, save that the one is near the river, whereas to the other water has to be conveyed by some means. Say now that this would mean an annual expense of Would you not, in that case, esteem the former block of land worth by so much more than the latter?"

"That is my point."

"So that you would agree to take the latter block at £5 less rent only?"

"Yes."

"But the water being supplied, it will now be of equal value. So that if we charged for water in outlying districts the ground rent would be by so much less. But both water and ground rents belonging to the State, there is no need for separate charges, while it simplifies and cheapens the collection."

"Yes, you are right. It is very much the same as if one hotel charges half a crown for bedroom and eighteen pence for service, while another hotel charges four shillings inclusive. So far, then, theory is entirely in favor of the capitalists."

"In favor of the capitalists?"

"Very much so. You have remitted all their other taxes, and now do not even tax them for the use of the river. I must confess, however, that I am very confused about the whole matter, and not the least as regards yourself. I will be frank with you. At first I suspected you of collusion with the capitalists; but somehow they do not seem to be very grateful to you. And yet——"

"And yet?"

"I hardly know what to say. I am now satisfied as to your good intentions; but yet why are you so strenuously opposed to a Property or Income Tax?"

"For various reasons. In the first place because it is against the principle of our Constitution—that is, it is a direct interference with the liberties of the citizens. In the second, because such taxes fall on industry, and to that extent check or, at all events, hamper production."

"These cannot be your only reasons, nor even the weightier. You cannot mean to say that by taxing the millionaire, who has acquired his wealth at the expense of the workers, you would check production. Why not recover at least a part of what they have stolen from others?"

"By a property tax?"

"Yes."

"Listen, and I will try to clear up the matter for you. But first I would draw your attention to the essential difference between the production of industry and the raw products of Nature—or, briefly, *land*. Suppose I owned a piece of land which yielded me an annual income of say £5, and that the current rate of interest was five per cent. You know that the selling value of such a piece of land would then be £100."

"Of course."

"Next we will suppose that a tax of ten shillings in the pound is imposed on ground values; so that, after paying this tax, the next revenue from the said land would only be £2 10s, then——"

"Then your land would be worth at the outside £50. And if the tax is twenty shillings in the pound, its capital value would be gone entirely. That you have already demonstrated whole sale; but it does not bear on my contention."

"I'll show you that it does, if you will be but patient. Let us now see how a property tax would work. Instead of one hundred pounds' worth of land, say that I possessed one hundred pounds' worth of coal, or bread, or any other industrial product, and that you imposed an all-round property tax of ten shillings in the pound. What would be the result of that? You are silent. Well, then, I will answer the question myself. My coal would at once be worth £150. But that is not all. In selling the coal, I put on my profit of say ten per cent. This, before the tax, would have amounted to £10; but after the imposition of the tax I would get ten per cent, profit on £150 instead of on £100, or £15 instead of £10. Who do you think would gain most by this transaction—the workers on the capitalist?"

"Go on!"

"This, then, is one of the reasons why I am opposed to taxing the products of human labor under any pretense whatever. Before giving you any of the others, I want you to realize and commit to memory this stern

fact: *A tax on produce always falls ultimately on the consumer, and that because a tax on any artificial commodity always enhances the price of that commodity.*"

"That's true enough. The Custom Duties always increased the price of commodities, and their burden fell upon those who consumed them. But is not the same true of taxes on the raw product?"

"Confining the term raw product to the raw material of Nature—*i.e.*, land—No. For if you tax land, people are bound to produce in order to be able to pay the tax, or else they must give up the land to others to use. And since a tax on land values absorbs only the difference of the values of the different natural opportunities in use, its effect is simply to place the occupants of land of different qualities on an equality. That is, the opportunities of production would be the same to all, no matter what may be the difference in the quality of the land each occupies. But the value of commodities produced will be determined by their cost of production; that is, by the amount of labor expended. Hence, if you tax the manufactured article, you will thereby enhance the cost of the commodity; and if intending purchasers refuse to pay the increased price, any such commodity will cease to be produced."

"And your other points?"

"We have not yet finished with the first. You object to 'capital.' Now I have already drawn a distinction between real and fictitious capital: the former being represented by accumulated labor, the latter by parchments. In the one case you pay to recoup past labor—as when you pay for the use of a spade, a plane, or a house; in the other you pay for access to Nature."

"I understand that distinction."

"Well, then, let the plow represent ten days' labor (or its equivalent in gold), and the tax on it one day's labor—"

"I see your point. The return would then have to be altogether eleven day's labor."

"Exactly. Then note well the second economic principle. *A tax on land values destroys fictitious capital, while a tax on industry creates it.* This may help you to understand why those gentlemen would prefer to have their property taxed rather than the land, and why the land tax has made waste paper of their scrip. There is yet another well-ascertained economic principle bearing on this point. *Every tax that falls on industry, no matter in what form imposed, can be, and always is, shifted on to the ultimate consumer.* But a tax on land values cannot be shifted, because, as above explained, it only places the occupants of different quantities or qualities of land on a footing of equality."

"I don't quite see that."

"And yet it is plain enough; but let me give you a concrete case. Supposing two farmers, *A* and *B*; the one possessing land that yields say 20 bushels of wheat, while the other land, with an equal outlay of labor and capital, yields 30 bushels. Now if we taxed the latter 10 bushels, this would simply equalise their respective gains. Each would now retain a net produce of 20 bushels. And manifestly the taxed farmer could not put an extra price on his wheat, because no one would pay him more for his wheat than they would to the other. But supposing we impose a tax of *is* per bushel of wheat—"

"That will do; I can see it now."

"Then we can pass on to the next point. My object being to prevent people reaping where they had not sown, I have, of course, to destroy all fictitious capital; for then they could only demand service for service and value for value. But had I only imposed half the present amount of land tax, I should have abolished half only of this fictitious capital, leaving the lucky owners still in possession of half of their privileges. And if, to supplement the revenue, I had imposed an equivalent tax upon property, I should have re-created thereby as much fictitious capital as the land tax had destroyed; that is, things would have remained pretty much as they were before."

"Good! You have now made it impossible for people to rob their fellows in the future. But how about the millions they possess already?"

"Good Heavens, man! Millions of nonsense! Have I not already made clear to you that these millions existed on paper only? That the wealth of these millionaires did not consist of what they actually possessed, but *in the share of the annus produce they could command?* Take any millionaire you please, and make an inventory of his present possessions. Two or three costly palaces, now rather expensive luxuries, with no rents coming in and a heavy ground tax to pay. Some fine furniture, a few ornaments, a few pounds of gold and silver, and a cellar full of scrip. How long can these perishable things last at best? And what harm can they do to anyone while they do last? What better means of 'getting at them' could you possibly devise than preventing them from plundering, and make thee pay the full value of any privileges they wish to retain—so long as the few gimcracks in their possession will enable them to defray the expense thereof?"

vignette

# Chapter IX.

## The Liberty and Property Defense League.

"THEY were long in coming, but they have come at last. I thought they would."

This I whispered to my Socialist friend, as our conversation was interrupted by a large and "influential" deputation, which entered the audience chamber in procession, and with much ceremony. They consisted of Dukes, Lords, Lawyers, Bishops, and Stock-jobbers. There was some confusion among them about the order in which they should follow each other, and it was some time before they could settle the delicate point of "precedence" between lawyers, bishops, and "financiers"—as they euphemistically called those who knew how to make ducats breed. But at last they agreed that each bishop should be supported by a lawyer on one side, and a financier on the other, himself turning his face toward the ceiling, as if unconscious of the presence of either—as I heard the M. C. of the deputation arrange.

One of their number, oddly dressed, and, "supported" by still more odd-looking creatures (carrying sticks, coronets, coats-of-arms, gold keys, etc., evidently designed to impress me with the speaker's importance—so it appeared in my dream) stepped forward and addressed me in a haughty manner. He said:

"I have not deemed it necessary to interfere sooner, because I felt sure that you would see the folly, if not the wickedness, of your doings. But it seems that, like the class to which you belong, it is hopeless to expect that you would be guided by any moral considerations and so—"

I cut short his oration by asking him on whose behalf he was speaking and what business brought him and his comrades here.

"I am speaking on behalf of the following influential organizations, of all of which I am a prominent functionary—president of one, vice-president or chairman of another, as the case may be."

And with these words he handed me a card, on which were printed a long list of various organizations, but of which I will mention a few only:

- "The Property and Liberty Defense League."
- "The National Association."
- "The Farmers' Protection Association."
- "The London Ratepayers' Defense League."
- "The United Empire Trade League."
- "The Imperial Extension Committee."
- "The Working Men's Block League."
- "The Society for Promoting the Interests of Farm Laborers."
- "The Religious Tract Society."
- "The League for Spreading Morals and Religion among the Working Classes."

A cold shudder came over me as I looked from the card to the speaker and his allies, and from them to the list of cunningly worded titles of leagues and associations; for the "Councils-of these various organizations consisted of a long list of dukes, earls, lords, and baronets, with just a few "esquires" at the tail-end, but not a single farmer, laborer, or "commoner" undent status of £ with six figures to it. I could not help thinking of some of Æsop's fables, especially that of the wolf and the lamb.

"Poor fellows," I sighed involuntarily. "Fancy the mice appointing a council of cats, hedgehogs, and ferrets to plead their cause and guard their interests!" But I endeavored to suppress my prejudices as much as I could, and resolved to treat their case on its merits.

"Well, then," I said, in what capacity and on whose behalf are you speaking now?"

"In my capacity as chairman of *The Liberty and Property Defense League*, since this is the parent institution of all the others; that is, if the principles of this League were fully carried out, there would be no need for further agitation."

"In that case your language simply surprises me." I replied, I since I am only putting into practice and am enforcing those very principles which the said League have taken so much pains to disseminate. Allow me to read to you from your own *Liberty Annual* for 1892. There you say:

"What are human rights? They depend, as we *Libert* people are constantly pointing out, in the frank recognition that every man or woman is the one true owner of his or her own body and mind; that, as a consequence, we have no right to limit or to restrict the use by any person of their own faculties (*always excepting those cases falling under the Spencerian limit, where persons employ their faculties to interfere by*

*force or fraud with others in the equal use of their faculties*); that each person must be free to employ his faculties, or the product or gain of his faculties, according to his own choice, and to his own best advantage; that he must be free to acquire or possess, to contract and exchange, to sell and to buy, to hire and to let, just as he himself, and those with whom he enters into free relations, think right."

"So you think your actions are in accordance with these true political principles?" he asked haughtily.

"I do, indeed; in strict accordance therewith."

"But, sir, it is this very principle of individual liberty you are violating."

"Indeed! I was not aware of it. Please enlighten my ignorance; and if your due liberties are in any way being encroached upon, your grievances shall receive prompt redress."

"I will state then, emphatically, that you *are* interfering with our liberties to dispose of our possessions in any way we like. You seem ignorant of the real meaning of true freedom. You have quoted one portion of our publication, but have ignored the other, which I will now read to you. We there say:

"This freedom in the use of faculties not only means free labor in the widest sense, but it means free exchange. It not only means that no man is to prevent my producing the articles of my own industry in my own way—whether they are farthing match boxes or the highest works of art; but it also means that no man is to limit or restrict my exchanging what I can produce or acquire through my faculties, in return for what my fellow-men produce or acquire through their faculties."

"Sir," I interposed, "I heartily concur with every word. Why, these principles are the very essence of our Constitution."

"You admit all this?"

"Yes, heartily and entirely."

"Well, then,"—here he raised his voice—"I will finish the quotation, which goes on to say:

How does this apply to the case of land? It means that no person has the right to obstruct the free market for land—to do anything which prevents another man from acquiring land by exchanging against it the products or gain of his own faculties. In a word, it means that no man, or body of men, has the *moral* right to prevent any fellow-men from buying in an open market such land as he wishes to buy. The open market for land is a human right, just as sacred as the open market for bread or corn, and no person has the right to close it against his fellow-men. The buying of land is an integral part of the right of exchanging all articles of use one against another, which is derived from the primary right of exercising our faculties as we will. Whoever restricts that right of exchange makes war upon the ownership of each person of his own faculties—makes war upon the primary right of the human race."

I knew that paragraph; it was heavily scored in my own copy of that sophistical publication. I also knew the difficulty of briefly exposing the many sophistries it contained. It would, I recognized, be absurd to try and convince such men of the essential difference between the claims of the individual to the fullest possession and control of such things as were due to human exertions, and of the claims to control the *sources* of all such things. I might succeed in convincing the *ignorant*, but not the titled members of a Liberty and Property Defense League. Whatever else may be true of them, I did not consider them ignorant people. So I said:

"Be it so; but if it is a human right to own land, is it not a right of *all* human beings?"

"It is; for those who happen to possess it, or who have acquired it through their faculties."

"Pray, by what faculties have you acquired your land?"

"That has nothing to do with the question."

"Excuse me, but it has a good deal to do with it, my lord. I have had a man here, the first applicant on my assuming office, now known as the reformed loafer, who possessed special faculties for acquiring land, and also other things for that matter. And had I not restrained his liberties he might have measured his faculties against those of your lordship."

"Then you *have* restrained a man? You have violated the liberties of man? By your own confession you have committed such an iniquity?"

"Yes, because it was one of those cases falling under the Spencerian limit, '*where persons employ their faculties to interfere by force or fraud with others in the equal use of their faculties.*' The liberty which that man claimed was to knock your lordship down, so that he might acquire by his own faculties the right of buying or selling land in the open market"

At this my oponent changed color and altered his tone.

"Oh, that, of course, alters the case! In that case you were quite right to interfere. But you have no right to prevent me doing with my land and my property as I please."

"None whatever, my ford. You may do with yours just as you please. Who prevents you from doing so?"

"Who? Why you, of course. What business of yours is it whether I care to keep a deer park or not?"

"None, whatever, as far as I can see. You may keep as many deer as you like, and I even think you might thus render a good service to the community by supplying the people with good venison, and so make a

handsome profit for yourself."

"I am not a trader," he said indignantly. "And under your unrighteous rule I could not afford to keep deer for sport."

"Very well; then your lordship is at perfect liberty to dispose of your estate as you please. No doubt there are plenty of people ready to take it."

"But no one wants to pay for it."

"Well, if they do not want to, I have, according to your own doctrines, no power to compel them."

"It will do no good for you to assume this innocent ignorance. You know perfectly well that you have taxed away all the value of my land."

"No, not all the value; none of it which is due to the 'human faculties,' but only that which falls under the *Spencerian limit*. I have not taxed away the yielding power of the land; on the contrary, I have removed every tax and incumbrance whatever from industry, and any crop your lordship may raise from the land is free from every burden, save that of producing it."

"But I do not raise crops. I leave such pursuits to my tenants."

"In that case, as your lordship is also President of the Farmers' Protection Association, you will be glad to learn that *their* crops are free from every encumbrance. And the fact that you can leave the farming to your tenants is evidence that your liberties are not interfered with."

"But they are, because all the crops that are raised on my estate are retained by the farmers, while I get nothing, or next to nothing."

"Probably because you do next to nothing. But I fear that we have wandered from the subject. You came here on behalf of farmer, artisan, working man, liberty, justice, and so on. I do not see on your card anything about landlords, or landlordism. Yet clearly you are advocating your own cause all this time."

"And am I not at liberty to do so?"

"Clearly. Only in that case we should get nearer to our purpose by plain sailing. Let us drop our masks, my lord, and speak plainly and to the point. I have abolished all taxes, direct and indirect, and have imposed a tax on unimproved land values. That is, I have resumed, on behalf of the community, that which belongs to the community, and which in a free State must belong to the community, or else equal liberties are impossible."

"Why so? Explain yourself."

"Because all men cannot be said to enjoy equal rights to life or liberty, while some of them have to pay to the others for permission to use the soil to breathe the fresh air, or to bask in the light and sunshine. These things have not been produced by human faculties. They are essential to life, and to deprive others of them restricts them from employing their own faculties according to their choice and best advantage. Such acts clearly and pre-eminently fall within *the Spencerian limit*. See here what your present champion and chosen authority, Mr Spencer, wrote on this subject."

And picking up a paper from the table, I read as follows:

"Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land. For if *one* portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his [unclear: so] use and benefit as a thing to which he has an exclusive right then *other* portions of the earth's surface may be so held, [unclear: an] our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands. Observe now the dilemma to which this leads. Supposing the [unclear: enti] habitable globe to be so enclosed, it follows that if the land-owners have a valid right to its surface all who are not land-owners have no right at all to its surface. Hence such can [unclear: exist] on the earth by sufferance only. They are all [unclear: trespasses] *Save by the permission of the lords of the soil, they can hav[unclear: e] room for the soles of their feet.* Nay, should the others thin[unclear: k] to deny them a resting place, these landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether. If, then, the assumption that land can be held as property involves that the whole globe may become the private domain of a part of its inhabitants, and if, by consequence, the rest of its inhabitants can then [unclear: exercise] their faculties—*can then exist even—only by consent of the land owners*, it is manifest that an exclusive possession of the [unclear: s] necessitates *an infringement of the law of equal freedom*. For men who cannot live and move and have their being without the leave of others, cannot be equally free with these others."

"But Mr Spencer himself has renounced this utterance of his," said his lordship.

"He may have *renounced*, but he has not *disproved* it," I [unclear: torted.]

At this moment the noble lord turned round, as if looking for someone, and I noticed an elderly person gliding out of the room, shielding his face behind his hat.

"The land I own has been in my family since the [unclear: Conquest] No one has ever claimed it or could claim it."

"Ah," said I; there was no Liberty League in existence, [unclear: you] see, to teach people their inalienable rights."

"With your abstract morals I have no concern," he bursty indignantly.

"So it seems, my lord; yet you came here burdened [unclear: wi] moral duties and moral indignation. But I suppose you find morals distasteful when you are required to observe them yourself."

"None of your impudence, sir. Are we to have our ancient rights thus interfered with?"

"Time, my lord, may be a great legalizer, but it cannot make a wrong into a right. Nay, the longer a wrong endures, the greater does the wrong become. You say your family [unclear: owned] certain lands for centuries. That means that your family has plundered the people, and deprived them of all their natural rights, for centuries. Do you not think it were time that this practice were discontinued?"

"But what compensation do you offer?"

"Compensation for what? For ceasing to take from the farmer the best part of his crop? Compensation for allowing Britons to live on British soil? For allowing them to use their faculties for the satisfaction of their own needs? Be advised by me, and mention that word 'compensation' no more. Consider what you and yours have taken from the people since the time of the Conqueror. The buildings and other improvements on your estate are still secured to you as being due to human labor. You are aware, however, that it was not *your* labor which built them. You are left in their possession because we do not wish to legislate retrospectively, and because we wish to bury the past. Though unrighteously gotten, we leave you in possession of *past plunder*, and simply enjoin on you to sin no more. I would not, therefore, advise you to start the cry of *compensation*, lest those who have been your victims may take it up. Verily, you would find it hard to give adequate compensation to those over whom your family has lorded it for these many centuries, and for the many broken hearts your rule has occasioned. Let the sleeping dog lie, my lord, is my earnest advice to you. Be satisfied with our mercy, and ask not for justice, lest you might receive more justice than is to your liking."

vignette

## Chapter X.

### Lawyers' Quibbles.

HIS lordship looked exceedingly uncomfortable, not to [unclear: s] mortified, and this caused great embarrassment among [unclear: g] *confrères*. He was about to say something, as if anxious [unclear: s] restore his dignity—which seemed to have completely [unclear: desert] him during the lesson I read him about compensation [unclear: n]—could only stammer a few incoherent words about cruelty, [unclear: the] and illegality. His followers, seeing his embarrassment, [unclear: push] a lawyer forward—a little man with a huge wig, under which he almost disappeared.

"We want none of your rhetoric, nor your insolence either but shall insist on having our legal claims recognise [unclear: d]," burst out. To which I quietly replied:

"As for *legal* claims, you have absolutely none. As a [unclear: lawyer] you ought to know so much, that a legal claim can only be [unclear: ma] under existing law, and not under laws that had once existence but have been repealed. You know what the present law [unclear: in] and according to that your claim could not be granted, for [unclear: th] simple reason that it would be contrary to law, and [unclear: hence] *illegal*."

"By what right have all these statutes been annulled?"

"Rather a strange question this for a lawyer. What right does it require to repeal any Act of Parliament save another Act? I repeat it again, if you have nothing better to urge [unclear: i] support of your claim than the *law*, that is the written [unclear: enactments] of the stronger party, then you may as well save yourself further trouble. You are free, however, to appeal against the law on grounds of *equity*—that is, you would have to argue your case by what you call 'rhetoric.'"

"Is sentiment to take the place of law?"

"No; but law must be based on principles of equity, other wise the law is *inequitable*; or, as the same term is spelled [unclear: d] modern times (whereby its true meaning is half hidde [unclear: n]. *iniquitous*. You know perfectly well that 'laws'—that is lawyers' justice—have always been changed and altered, making illegal to-day what was legal yesterday, and *vice versa*. [unclear: Then] is nothing new, therefore, in changing a law, nor in enforcing obedience to it after it has been changed. Indeed, it was always the business of your profession to enforce the law as it stood, whether it was just or unjust. With you lawyers the word 'justice' had but one meaning, namely, the enforcement of the provisions of the law. No matter whether it made awards to scoundrels and crushed the innocent, so long as it could be shown that judgment was in accordance with the written law it passed under the name of justice."

"We want no lecture from you, but our rights."

"I am giving you your 'rights'—your *legal* rights—since you will have it so. You appeal to 'law,' and sneer at the principles of justice and equity as 'rhetoric.' Be it so. My judgment then is that the law is against you. Is not that all you can reasonably expect on those terms?"

"But this law is monstrous, as it benefits some at the expense of others. Is that your idea of equity?"

"No, it is not. If you can show that the law is iniquitous, you have made out a good case; but you decline to discuss principles of justice."

"I decline to recognise any new principles of law or legislation. There is no precedent for such a monstrous iniquity, such wholesale robbery."

"Very well; since you will have it so, I allow you to argue the justice of the law from your own point of view, that is, on grounds of precedent. I have already told you that there is ample precedent for changing a 'law'—more correctly speaking an *enactment*. Our present enactment may be neither just nor wise. What of that? Is there not ample precedent for enforcing such a law, nevertheless?"

"On what ground?"

"On the ground of *expediency*, the leading principle of all past legislation."

"But law has always been held to protect property and liberty, while this law deprives people of both. This is an arbitrary law, which favors some at the expense of others."

"Can you mention a single law you have helped in passing that did not do the same; that was not therefore *arbitrary* in the strictest sense of the word? Since you refuse to discuss principles of equity let us get at your own principles of legislation. You have taxed people—forced them to make certain contributions to the public revenue. Was that not equivalent to taking part of a man's property?"

"But taxation is necessary, as without it Government cannot be carried on. You will say perhaps that you can plead the same thing. But then you are singling out one class only for taxation—landowners."

"Not *landowners*, but *land-values*, and that because we hold that these values belong to all. But of that more when you will condescend to discuss principles. At present, to give you every advantage, I will admit, *for argument's sake*, that it is a [*unclear: class*] tax. What then? Precedence is all in favor of class taxation as I will show you. Have you not singled out people who keep horses or valets for special taxation?"

"That was done because people who can afford such thing can also afford to contribute to the public revenue."

"Good! Then I take it that one of your canons of taxation is that people who have should be made to pay, simply because they have it, and irrespective of how they got it. Is that it?"

"Provided you do not take too much."

"I see. Then you think it would not be *arbitrary*? You have also taxed tea, currants, coffee, chicory, beer, and tobacco. [*unclear: You*] are aware that this tax was not, in the majority of cases, [*unclear: pa*] by well-to-do folks. What was your guiding principle in [*unclear: th*] case?"

"These are very stupid questions. A revenue we must have somehow, and this is about the easiest way of getting [*unclear: it*] Besides, the people who pay it are not even aware of it."

"Oh! we are getting at your principles of justice by degree. Then, according to your moral code, pilfering in the public interest is justifiable, provided it can be done deftly, without [*unclear: th*] people from whom you take it being aware of it?"

"But the taxes which the State collects for public purpose are not pilfering"

"I thank you for this admission, although I do not share you view. If a man is made to pay more than he receives in [*unclear: retur*] for it, it is theft, by whomsoever it is committed. For in [*unclear: th*] case, are not some benefited at the expense of others?"

"The customs tax is levied on every person, without distinction, and is therefore perfectly equitable."

"That is not true. It is not collected on absentee landowners; and even if it were, the tax does not fall equally [*unclear: hea*] on all. For instance, a child in a mill earns four shillings week. Out of this he has to pay, in taxes on tea and [*unclear: currarge*] at least threepence a week, or one-sixteenth of his earning. Do your dukes and lords pay one-sixteenth of their incomes in customs duties? And even if they did, would the takin[*unclear: g*] £100 from a weekly revenue of £1,600 mean the same thin[*unclear: g*] the taking of 3d. from 48d.?"

"We cannot enter into that. We stand here for our rights."

"So do the millions of people to whom you have denied their rights these many centuries. You want law accordin[*unclear: g*] precedent. Well, what precedent is there? This—*might[unclear: t] right*. For your laws, were they not all the enactments of the stronger party made in party interests?"

"Guided by principles of justice."

"Oh, fie, fie on your cowardice to pretend such a thing. Have you not admitted yourself that you got your revenu[*unclear: e*] best you could, and that the only principle by which you were guided was the setting of it—no matter how you got it and what were its consequences?"

"Its consequences were law and order."

"Every brigand who has power to enforce his mandates maintains law and order, according to your view of law. But let us further into the principle of your laws. You have taxed the poor toiler and rich landowner, taking from the former an incomparably larger percentage of his earnings than from the latter. But how did you apportion the benefit bought with these taxes?"

"Every citizen shared alike in the benefits of Government."

"That was a legal fiction, or, in plain English, a gross and palpable falsehood. If a road was made out of this public fund, did the landless toiler benefit as much by the expenditure as the owner of the land? Or did the poor drudges in mill and mine benefit equally with your classes when millions were spent in foreign wars? Was it in the interest of the toilers that you maintained armed forces in Egypt and Ireland, and not rather in the interest of bondholders and landowners? Is it not true that whenever improvements were made out of the public funds, the rents of the landlord and the taxes of the tenants were increased at the same time? Was it not but yesterday that a proposal to assess such increased expenditure on the property, the value of which was enhanced by it, was strenuously opposed by your clients?"

"Because it was against law; an innovation which was resisted by landowners because it was against their interests."

"Just so. And therefore the masses have now so altered the law that it should be in their own interest. Is it not simply a question of which party or class can best serve its own interests? On that score, then, we can cry quits. We might I reply that we tax landowners because taxes are needed, and I they can best afford to pay it—seeing that rents are earned without any effort whatever. But we have much stronger grounds than that to justify our mode of raising revenue. We say that these ground rents are paid by the people, *the whole of the people*, alike, and are due to the presence of the people and the public expenditure; hence in taxing the revenue derived from the presence of the people for public purposes we are taxing all alike. I might also point out to you how differently the well-being of the community is affected by such a substitution of a land tax for other forms of taxation; but I fear that would have no interest for you—that you would call it—"

"Rhetoric and nonsense!"

"Quite so. Therefore I have no more to say to you. You want to hear practical common sense only—legal common sense. Well, it is this: the people do not find it any longer practical or expedient to toil and moil and allow a set of idlers to take *[unclear: all]* their earnings from them, and to be starved both in mind and body. They have been taught by your class that this was *[unclear: b-ing]* done in obedience to 'law,' and that this was your *[unclear: o]* sanction. They have therefore now so altered this law *[unclear: th]* such things shall no longer be legal. This, gentlemen, *[unclear: setting]* the legal aspect of your case. But you are free to appeal *[unclear: l]* higher grounds—on grounds of equity and justice—against the validity of the law itself; for we do not base our claim to *[unclear: t]* land on fictions of the law, but hold that we all have an *[unclear: equ]* and inalienable right to it. Show that we are wrong in *[unclear: th]* and you have won your case—no matter what the *[unclear: consequence]* may be."

"Very well, I will."

vignette

## Chapter XI.

### Some More Legal Legerdemain.

HERE follows the subsequent conversation between the lawyer and myself, to the best of my recollection.

Lawyer: "You have endeavored to prove that on *legal* principles the community have a right to deprive some people of their property. In the same breath, however, you denounced these legal principles as iniquitous. Will you state now a principle that will justify this monstrous law?"

I: "I have done so already. It is the principle that every individual has a right to himself."

L.: "Whence that right? Are you aware that great authorities, both legal and scientific, have not only denied the existence of what are called natural rights, but have actually proved that there are none? I will only mention Maine and Prof. Huxley."

I: "I am aware of the fact, and will admit at once the force of their arguments. They have convinced me that I have no natural rights whatever. But in doing so, they have also convinced me that no one else has, since their arguments apply equally to all human beings."

L.: "And does it not follow from this that, inasmuch as you have no natural rights, that you have no right to

the land either?"

I: "It does. But it also follows that you and others have no right to it either. It amounts to this: If you would press this doctrine as a justification of your claim to the land, because of the absence of any specific 'natural law'—whatever you may mean by that term—you could defend it against others by brute force only. For to say that nobody has a right to it is tantamount to saying that one person has as much (or as little) right to it as anybody else. That is, the party of 'law and order,' who are now preaching this doctrine, are driven to the extremity of proclaiming lynch law as the highest authority of their possessions. For on that theory the land can be yours only until somebody is strong enough to drive you off it, or knocks you on the head."

L.: "A nice doctrine that, is it not?"

I: "Pray, do not saddle me or the people with it. It emanates from your own party. I only admitted the force of the logic by which this new doctrine has been arrived at. [unclear: N] so new, either; as it has been acted on in the past, and is [unclear: st] being acted on in savage communities. Not only were peopled [unclear: di] possessed of land and all forms of property, but themselves have been made into chattel slaves. Under such conditions security to life, liberty, or property was out of the question. Everybody lived in constant dread of robber or assassin. The [unclear: greate] scoundrel, the most cunning, was the most dreaded, and [unclear: homag] was paid to him as the Koning, Konig, or King. We nee [unclear: d] enter into the history of civilization. Sufficient for us to [unclear: kno] that people got tired of this ceaseless strife and feud, and at [unclear: l] agreed to live neighborly together on principles of equity—[unclear: th] is by recognising in each other the right to equal freedom."

L.: "What principle is there in that?"

I: "This, that when A toils, he has the right to enjoy [unclear: th] fruits of his labor, and B has no right to take it forcibly from him; since in that case A would be B's slave to that [unclear: exte]. On the other hand, A is not allowed to prevent B exerting himself in a similar manner. They respect each other's freedom for the simple reason that if A denied the rights of B, he at the same time would deny his own rights, and could henceforth defend his life and liberty by main force only."

L.: "Then you hold that land cannot belong to an individual?"

I: "Not as his exclusive property."

L.: "Does it not follow, then, that if it cannot be owned b[unclear: y] an individual, neither can it by a number of individuals? [unclear: O] you admit it. Then, since the community is made up of individuals, it cannot rightfully belong to the community either."

I: "That is so."

L.: "And what follows *inevitably* from that admission?"

This question was put in a tone of triumphant expectation. Seeing the *Liberty Annual* in his hand, whence he too [unclear: k] inspiration, I knew what answer he expected. In that publication some over-grown, but not over-clever, schoolboy [unclear: argu] from the above premises that since land cannot be rightly owned by the community, therefore it must be left in the possession of a class. I smiled at the silliness of such reasoning. The lawyer mistook this for embarrassment, and so repeated his question with greater emphasis:

L.: "If the land cannot rightfully belong to the community what follows from this admission?"

I: "This: *That the community has no right to dispose of it* and that if at any time the community did take upon itself [unclear: f] say how or by whom the land shall be owned in the future, [unclear: su] an act would have no greater validity than if I now trie [unclear: d] dispose, without your authority, of your watch or your own person."

L.: "Oh!—h'm! But suppose I gave you that authority, would you have the right or power to dispose?"

I: "Then neither would be required. Then practically it would be yourself who disposed of yourself."

L.: "And cannot a whole nation do the same?"

I: "Each for himself—yes! But not one for another. You could become my servant or my slave if you liked. But you could not barter away the liberties of your descendants. Of course you might sign me a paper promising that your descendants shall be the slaves of my descendants for ever and ever. Whether your descendants will be fools enough to obey such instructions, or whether they will simply laugh at the idiocy or villainy of their grandsire is another matter."

L.: "To whom does the land belong then?"

I: "To nobody. I have already told you that the people can do one of two things. Either fight and devour each other, or agree to live peaceably together on *equal* terms. From this we derive our principle of *equality* or 'Equity'; perfect Equity meaning that no one should enjoy an advantage over his fellows at their cost or to their detriment. The land belonging to no one, they must agree to use it in such a manner only as is consistent with this principle. This at once precludes the possibility of disposing of the land forever. For, even if all the people were agreed at any time on a division of the land among themselves, they could not decide for as yet unborn generations. Hence we contend that the land can never become the exclusive property of any number of

individuals, but can only be held in usufruct."

L.: "So that you deny the right to private property altogether."

I: "No; on the contrary, I contend for the sacredness of that right. Since every individual has a right to himself, he has a right to the things which are due to his own exertions. To deny him this right, or to deprive him of the results of his labor, is to deprive him to that extent of his personal liberty."

L.: "I quite understand that. But if you deny private ownership in land, you must also deny private ownership in everything else. For have you not yourself admitted that all things consist chiefly of the raw material of nature—that is, land? You deny us the right to land because, you say, we have not made it. On the other hand you claim a right to your watch because you say you have made it. Have you made the silver also? And if not, have not all an equal claim to the silver of that watch, especially since the quantity of silver is, like that of land, limited?"

I: "You had an equal right to it, and that is the reason I had to compensate you—that is, the community—for it before I could have the exclusive use of it. That is just why we claim that all rents and royalties must go to the community."

L.: "That does not help us over the difficulty. I will [*unclear: state*] to you the objection in the precise words of our *Liberty Annual* 'If in any real sense, as distinguished from a rhetorical send the land belongs of right to everybody, then everybody, without exception, must at all times and at all places be able to have the use of it. We must have a communistic anarchy in the [*unclear: mos*] thorough sense. There must be no plot of land used by A which is not equally open to B or C to use also; for if there were such a plot reserved to A, then everybody who is not A would be defrauded of his rights.' What answer can you give to this?"

I: "A Scotch answer, by asking you another question. [*unclear: Did*] his lordship, in the days of his supremacy, have the use—the *actual use*—of what he then called *his* lands?"

L.: "Well, his tenants used them."

I: "And did then his lordship consider himself defraud of his rights?"

L.: "No; because he reserved to himself the revenue from it."

I: "Then, if A has the exclusive use of a particular plot of land, and for this privilege pays whatever advantages accrued to him therefrom to all those who are not A, how can you make out that they would be defrauded of their rights?"

L.: "Who is to decide? For—to again quote from our *Liberty Annual*—'If the land belong to *everybody*, then it is everybody (minus nobody) who must decide how it shall be disposed of. In such case no majority and no Government can dispose of it, just because neither a majority nor a Government is *everybody*.'"

I: "That is very well reasoned. It is precisely the view we all take of the matter, and hence the Government does not interfere. It does not say this block of land is to be occupied by A, and this by B or C, but lets the people decide that for themselves. All the Government does is to collect from each occupier the surplus value, the 'unearned increment,' or the economic rent.' So long as this is paid, the occupier is lefts in undisturbed possession, since what he produces over and above that is his own. Without such security of tenure it were not possible to insure that those who sow shall reap. All we need do is to take from the harvest on behalf of the community that part which is due to some natural advantage, and therefore belongs equally to all."

L.: "But who is to decide what shall be the rent?"

I: "We all have a word in that, and decide it—mostly unconsciously—as the rent has always been decided, viz., by supply and demand. Sites differ both in position and fertility, as do the tastes and occupations of the people. Some sites are more desirable than others, and it often happens that several people wish to occupy some particular plot; the result is that the rent of such plots goes up. Suppose you wanted to live in Belgravia, and you found the Square already occupied; the Government could do nothing for you, but you yourself could. You could offer to buy someone out, offer a high price. The owner does not move. Others do the same thing; he still remains. Will not that send rents up at once? So that although the possessor of that plot would enjoy an enviable position, he would have to pay for it to the community a little more than the latter think it worth. That is, he would be in possession of that plot because of all applicants for it he deems it worth most."

L.: "How will you set that machinery to work?"

I: "That machinery is already at work, and has been for centuries. For if rent in Belgravia is higher than in Homerton, it is because there are more applicants for it. And if some prefer living elsewhere notwithstanding, it is because they do not set the same value on the privilege of living there as those who consent to pay the high rent. The whole principle is a very simple one, and I will illustrate it to you. A man left to his five sons five cottages, one to each, without stipulating which should belong to this or that man. But inasmuch as the cottages differed in size and quality, he provided that whoever should choose one of the better cottages should make adequate compensation to the others, the sons to decide among themselves both how the cottages were to be divided, and what compensation there should be paid, and to whom."

L.: "And each of the sons, of course, wanted the best cottage, and tried to make out it was the worst."

I: "It came to that, and not being able to come to an understanding—"

L.: "They went to law."

I: "They would have done so had they been fools. But not having a taste for lawyers' justice, and, without being necessarily bad or unduly selfish, desiring to possess what was willed to them by their father, they put up the cottages to auction among themselves. You perceive what followed. There was bidding against each other, until one or two of the brothers thought that they preferred the price offered to the privilege of living in that particular cottage, and so dropped out of the competition. Then the three continued bidding against each other, and so on, until the last bid was higher than either of the others thought it was worth."

L.: (grumbling): "Such practices, were they to become common, would be the ruin of the legal profession."

I: "This is the principle by which rents are determined. You see, it was 'everybody minus nobody' of those concerned who determined who should possess each of the cottages, and also fixed the amount of compensation. For I need hardly tell you that the money which the five brothers paid for the cottages was equally divided among them."

## Chapter XII.

### Legal Ethics.

TRUTH compels me to record that the lawyer made me lose my patience, a circumstance which will surprise nobody acquainted with legal methods. His object was clearly to confuse rather than to argue. Instead of endeavoring to show that the people behind him had a right to the soil, he insisted on raising side issues. He argued either that others had no better right to the land—a point on which I heartily concurred with him—or that the administration would not be perfect—and so forth; matters which, however important, have nothing whatever to do with the right claimed by a few individuals to own the sources of nature.

"What you have to show," I said rather impatiently, "is that your clients have a right to own the land, and not that others have not. On this point we are agreed, of course. It is not our intention to take the land from Lord Rigmarole and [*unclear*: the] give it to Patrick O'Mahony, as some semi-idiots used to propose. If private ownership in land is wrong, as we contend then it is wrong in all cases, no matter who may be the owner. If, on the other hand, it is right, then I grant you not only the we have no right to tax away all its value, as we now are doing, but that the State has no right whatever to interfere with landowners in the disposal of *their* land—if theirs it is—nor to dictate to them on what terms they are to let it, or to whom. The question is not one of expediency or arbitrary force, but of right. Either the land is yours by right, or it is not."

L.: "That is the question."

I: "But this question cannot be decided in the way you argue. Your contention is that the proposed administration is faulty—is, in short, not absolutely perfect. Granted it is not; does it follow from that that you have a right to the soil[*unclear*: 1]. If you intend to suggest better methods of administration, with the object of more thoroughly securing to every individual his jointure, we shall be glad to listen to you. But surely you cannot fail to see that in doing so you practically abandon all your claims to exclusive ownership."

L.: "How so?"

I: "Because when you urge that under the new system everybody would not get his full rights to the land, the inference is that more thorough nationalisation is required; but it does not establish your claim."

L.: "Our contention is this: You object to private ownership in land because some people are thereby deprived of what you call their natural rights. We now prove to you that even under State ownership—for your Single Tax amounts to State ownership of the land—everybody will not get a full equivalent of his share in it."

I: "From which you argue that inasmuch as our system is not the best conceivable, therefore we should continue the worst possible. This conclusion does not follow from the premises, and certainly does not make good your claim. At best you might submit such a proposal as an alternative method of disposing of the land, which the community may accept or refuse. But then again you would practically abandon your claims to the soil."

L.: "But that we have not admitted yet."

I: "Then it is no business of yours to discuss how the land should be dealt with, by those who, you contend, have no right to it. The raising of such side issues can then have one meaning only, viz., to avert attention from the main point by throwing dust into people's eyes. Confine yourself to proving that you have a valid title to the land, and not that you are good landlords or the community bad administrators. If you cannot do this the land belongs to the community to use."

L.: "And if we can?"

I: "Then we must abide by the consequences. The people stand up for their *rights* and not the law. If the land is yours, then you have a good *legal* right, if you choose, to give notice to all your tenants to quit, and turn the land into deer parks or sheep walks. *If the land is yours*, then you are legally entitled to say that you will not let your land to Baptists or to Methodists, nor allow people who vote Radical or Liberal to settle on *your* land. You may then decree when, where, whom, and how people should marry—"

"That would be an interference with the rights of liberty," suggested someone behind me sarcastically.

I: "So it would; and these gentlemen are all members of the Liberty and Property Defense League. But could they not say, 'I don't let *my land* to Baptists or Radicals or to carrot people,' nevertheless? Thus, for instance, you are *free* to be this and that, and I am *free* to do with *my* land as I please. Have not such things been done? Nay, are not the very objects of this sophistical league to secure to a comparatively few individuals the power to do with the rest of the community as they pleased? Is not that the kind of liberty for which they are fighting?"

L.: "Is not that remark beside the question?"

I: "I fear it is. Well, let us come to the point. Have [*unclear: y*] anything to support your claims?"

L.: "Yes, I am coming to the point as you desire it. [*unclear: You*] have yourself admitted that there are no natural rights Hence, the only existing right is that which the law gives Here then are *our* titles" (throwing a bundle of parchments [*unclear: a*] me), "where are *yours*? Can you show a better title tha[*unclear: n*] do?"

I: "Oh, oh! That is your little game. To that end [*unclear: the*] have you employed philosophers to show there are no natural rights. But, good sir, your philosophy falls somewhat short [*unclear: of*] common sense; for if there are no *natural* rights, then [*unclear: th*] 'rights' on which you rely might be suspected as bein[*unclear: g*] *natural*. Can I not make you understand that this is a great question of equity, of. *right* or *wrong*, and that such questions cannot be decided by cunning word conjurings? You want a better title than your parchments. In yonder field a man's l digging up potatoes. He tilled the field and planted the potatoes and now thinks he has a right to the result. We both say to the man that he has not a right to the *whole* crop. Honest man that he is, he declares himself willing to give up part or the whole of his crop, but before doing so would fain know if he, the tiller, has no right to those potatoes, who has? Is it not right and natural that the man who claims part of the crop should be required to show a better right to it than the man who raised it. This is the real issue. Show what better right you have tod produce, than the man who produced it?"

L.: "Nay, I put that question to you. Our right is here secured to us by these deeds."

I: "Signed by whom? By the original owner—the *producer*—of the soil?"

L.: "Signed by kings, in the name of the nation, and ratified by the common consent of the people."

I: "If that were true, it would not establish the validity of these deeds, since no generation has the right to command to future generations how they shall live on this globe. But it is not even true. When has this *common consent* been given, or even asked for? When the Romans butchered the ancient Britons? When the Danish hordes devastated the countr[*unclear: y*] Or when the Norman bastard and his fellow-robbers invaded these islands? Or when some king handed over whole tracts of country to his paramours or his bastard sons?"

L.: "The kings have acted in the name of the people, and these have not protested, which is equal to common consent."

I: "Another of your legal fictions, and one of which you ought to be heartily ashamed. Is it not true rather that the people have continually protested against the tyranny of [*unclear: arb-*] trary rule, but have been answered by dungeon or the gallows? Look down the list of your statutes, the penalties that were imposed on free speech, on 'sedition,' as every kind of protest against tyranny has been called, and you will find in the laws that have been passed to suppress these *protests* ample evidence of their reality. What were all the popular risings but protests? What, even in more recent times, were the meetings of the people in parks and squares but loud protests against tyranny and arbitrary rule, which you have suppressed whenever you could by main force?"

L.: "You refer to illegal assemblies."

I: "Because, after having robbed the people of their birthrights, their protests have been declared illegal. So that even granted that the people, either from inability or from ignorance—it is immaterial which—have not protested sooner, they are protesting now. Let it be granted that the validity of these deeds is now questioned for the first time. Is it a good answer to say that because you have exacted tribute by false deeds for so long, therefore you have a right to continue the practice?"

L.: "You do not put the case fairly. We say that our legal claims have always been held to be good."

I: Never! All you can say is that they have not been scrutinized before too closely. Let me read to you what Black-stone, your legal authority, has written on the subject:

"There is nothing which so generally strikes the imaginations, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property; or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external

things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. *And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the origin and foundation of this right.* Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as *if fearful of some defect in our title*; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favor, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestor, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow-creatures from a determinate spot of ground because his father has done so before him; or why the occupier of a particular field, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them shall enjoy it after him. These inquiries, it must be owned, would be useless and even troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of [unclear: mankind] will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons for making them—"

The lawyer coughed and wiped his spectacles, but mad[unclear: e] reply. I continued:

"Nor has the land ever been regarded as your absolute property, even by the law, bad as it was. What did the fixation of judicial rents and compulsory expropriation mean bu[unclear: t] denial of that exclusive right which you claim? If the land had been held to be yours in the same sense as you may claim ownership of a watch or table, why this interference? And why did you submit to it so meekly? I will answer this last questions for you. Because your title was bad, and you were afraid[unclear: d] urge your claims to extremities lest the fraud might be discovered."

L.: "The law—"

I: "The law, as it stood, right up to 1893, imposed a tax on ground rents of four shillings in the pound. But though this was *law*, the tax had nevertheless not been paid."

L.: "But it has been paid according to assessment."

I: "That is, in Latin, a *suppressio veri*, or, in English, a and you know it well. The four shillings were on an assessment made about two hundred years ago, but the rent was collected on present values; so that in parts of London, instead of four shillings in the pound, as required by the said law, the tax did not amount to more than a fraction of a penny. Time and again a return has been moved for in the Commons, with a view of showing this fraudulent evasion of the tax, but has been *arbitrarily* refused by the House of Landlords. These four shillings meant only one-fifth of what the people were defrauded annually, and should, *according to law*, have been paid, and was yet withheld—*withheld contrary to statute law*. Was this, too, by *common consent*?"

L.: "We cannot enter into that; nor can we reopen thing; of the past. It is a novel thing to come down on people to day for acts committed, or supposed to have been committed, centuries ago."

I: "Now it is you who states the case unfairly. We claim no restitution for acts committed in the past; but, on the other hand, do not allow that a wrong may be continued to-day because it has originated long ago. Let me illustrate the case. His lordship there told us that his family has been in possession of certain estates since the Norman invasion. A goodly long time indeed. Supposing now, that he discovered the steward of his estate had defrauded him of so much of his revenue annually, would it be a good defense if the steward pleaded that these frauds have been in vogue by his predecessors ever since the Conquest, and therefore claimed to be allowed to continue in abstracting a certain sum annually forever? This is precisely your case. You can show no valid title to the land; indeed, you have hardly attempted it. All you say is that this tribute has been collected by your predecessors for centuries."

L.: "And that we are not responsible for past actions."

I: "True. Nor was the steward responsible for what his predecessors had stolen. That is not the point. The question is, whether his lordship, on hearing his steward's defense, will say to him, 'Ah, that is all right then. Had you been thieving from me for a few years only, I would have sent you to the treadmill. But since you say this thieving has been going on for centuries, and that you actually paid my former steward a large sum for the privilege of stealing from me, as he and others have done before, I recognize your right to continue the theft for ever and ever;' or whether his lordship would not rather put a summary stop to the practice as soon as he discovered the fraud."

vignette

## Chapter XIII.

### Priest and Peasant.

MY last utterance provoked the Bishops. Not that they needed much provocation; for all through the interview I could [unclear: plain] see their eagerness to interfere, and that they were only waiting for some plausible excuse that would enable them to veil [unclear: they] partisanship under the cloak of spiritual duty. My simile of the dishonest steward afforded them a splendid opportunity, and they did not miss it. About half a dozen of them "nudged" the one who had the broadest phylactery, and whom I therefore regarded as their chief. But how I came to know his nam[unclear: e], why he should have been known to me as the Right Reverence Caiaphas, D.D., LL.D., I am unable to tell, since I d[unclear: o] remember anybody having introduced him by that or any other name. With a solemn, but not angry face, he said:

"I protest against your likening landlords to thieves. Such language should not be used of honest men, however humble their station, still less of gentlemen who occupy the [unclear: forem] places in Church and State, and who on every occasion [unclear: whe] Christian work is to be done—"

"Your indignation, sir," I interrupted, "would be perfectly justified had I done so. I did not liken landowners to thieves but only wished to illustrate that land monopoly was not single wrong act, which might be forgiven and forgotten, bu[unclear: t] a perpetual wrong, and that the monopolist is in a positio[unclear: n] exacting tribute *in continuity*, so long as his monopol[unclear: y] allowed to exist."

"Still there is no need for using such offensive language,"

"I am sorry if my words have given offense. But, although aware of the unsavoriness of the simile, it was not mean[unclear: t] apply to persons, but to the *institution of landownership*. [unclear: Act] this being in my opinion morally indefensible, I naturally—and as I think, legitimately—am endeavoring to present it in [unclear: its] native ugliness. The simile was, perhaps, an unfortunate one and I hasten to substitute another for it. We will suppose then, a village community living on what they produce from woods, fields, and meadows, and that the only road which lead from the said woods and fields to their habitations was *owner* by an individual, and that this individual, by virtue o[unclear: f] exceptionally advantageous position, did—well, did not *take* from the people, but had the power to *make them give* a certain amount of gate-money before they could carry their crops to their homes. Suppose, also, that the amount of this 'toll' was determined by the quantity which the people have raised in the fields; or, worse still, by the quantity which the man on the road thought they *might or could have raised*; taking all from those whose crop did not come up to his expectations, and nearly all from those who did exceptionally well; leaving them just sufficient to support life, so that they might be able to come again that way with fresh supplies, and thereby enable him to take fresh booty—"

"Stop!" exclaimed the Bishop. "Instead of softening down, you only aggravate your offense. Why, you are now actually describing a highwayman."

"That's very unfortunate for your cause," said I; "for I was only describing the functions of landlordism."

"Then you had better leave it alone altogether. Your similes are most objectionable. I know your views, and agree, in the abstract, with much what you say. As for the poor, I need hardly tell you that they have all my sympathies. But—"

"But?"—I asked impatiently, at hearing once more these stale, threadbare platitudes.

"My son," replied the Bishop, with pious emotion, "two wrongs do not make a right. You cannot right past wrongs by committing new ones, perhaps more grievous than the first."

"Good Heavens!" I exclaimed. "Do you call it wrong to *stop* wrong-doing?"

"You are interfering with ancient customs and institutions."

"Would you have us understand that the injunction 'THOU SHALT NOT STEAL,' does not apply where theft can be shown to have been an ancient custom?"

You are again using strong language. These gentlemen here have their documents, which secure to them certain rights. God forbid that the nation should break its moral obligations."

"Obligations! Moral obligations! Where is the morality of the thing? Is it in the fact that millions of people are daily born into this world without a resting place for the soles of their feet?"

"I fear you are too wordly-minded, and think of people's soles before you think of their souls."

"Because they have soles first; and if there is no sure resting-ground for these, the soul cannot healthily develop. We will pass by the untold misery, the starvation, the disappointed hopes, and broken hearts of the millions of disinherited people, occasioned by this confiscation of the soil. I will not reason with you that all this suffering need not have existed but for this monstrously iniquitous institution, which, till now, deprived the masses of their patrimony (for surel[unclear: y], you, right reverend sir, I may speak of the land as the PATRIMONY of the people without fear of being reminded that there are no natural rights!), but will confine my remark[unclear: s] the share this *ancient custom* had in producing crime and vice, Did it never occur to you that fully ninety-nine per cent of all crime and vice may be traced to land monopoly?"

"That is a ridiculous statement to make. Lying and hypocrisy are great vices, but I fail to see any connection between these and land monopoly."

"Because you are blind, reverend leader of the blind Bethink yourself, and see whether most of the crimes

and [*unclear: vice*] are not begotten of poverty or *the fear of poverty*. Burgling stealing, cheating, swindling, forgery, legacy hunting, [*unclear: arson*] child murder, and suicides: are not all these crimes committed out of need or for the sake of pecuniary gain? And is not this eagerness for wealth, where it is not occasioned by actual poverty and want, due to a *fear of poverty*? Even lawyers quibblings, the perjuries in the law courts, and certainly [*unclear: simons*] may be included in the list of sinful acts which spring from this source. Now, I put it to you whether there is any necessity for that fear of poverty; whether, if each pair of hands were free to work, each mouth could not get its loaf of bread; whether, if the people were not denied access to bountiful Nature, there would be that stern necessity for taking thought for their life what they shall eat, or wherewithal they shall clothe themselves?

"Ah! it's perverse human nature."

"You libel human nature, which is capable of greatness and nobility, were it not stunted by unnatural conditions. Human nature is prompted by the natural instinct of self-preservation. Put no impediment in the way of their existence, and men are kind and noble. Threaten their existence, and they become fierce and ferocious. When you are sitting at your sumptuous table, with full knowledge that there will be more than enough to satisfy the appetites of all those present, you are kind and attentive to your neighbor. The soup that has been placed before you, you pass courteously to him, because you know you will not lose by your politeness. But fancy yourself on a desolate island in company with several thousand fellow-beings with just a few ship-biscuits, barely sufficient for a day's provisions, and with no hope of immediate relief. It is under conditions like these that human nature becomes perverse. There is a general stampede and rush for the means of life—a struggle for existence, in which the bestial instincts gain mastery over the finer qualities of man. And if some of the nobler souls escape becoming murderers of their fellow-men for the sake of a morsel, it is only because they have hearts stout enough to take their own lives by preference."

"That's a horrid picture"

"It is the picture you have beheld all your life, and the loss of which you are now lamenting *on moral grounds*. I repeat my challenge. Excepting the crimes due to the jealousies of the sexes, or occasioned by mental aberrations, could you name me a single crime that is not traceable, directly or indirectly, to poverty or the fear of poverty? Add to that the thousands of poor wretches who, under the shadow of your own palace and cathedral, walk the streets in shame, forced to it mostly by poverty—or ignorance, the result of poverty—and then tell me where the *moral obligation* comes in to perpetuate the institution which is the primary cause of all this."

"You introduce a lot of irrelevant matter. These deeds," pointing to the parchments, "secure to their owners certain rights, which can be withheld only by the committal of an immoral act."

"You argue more like a lawyer than a bishop. That is, you are pleading morality as a justification for perpetuating the grossest of all immoralities."

"Sir!"

"Oh! you need not be outraged! Maybe you are doing so in ignorance. But the fact remains, nevertheless, as I will show you. Suppose I owe a man a sum of money, but that he has neither a note from me nor any witnesses to prove me his debtor. Would it then be *moral* in me to refuse payment because the creditor could not prove my indebtedness?"

"That would be grossly immoral, indeed."

"Or suppose that a man did possess a writing which set out that I was his debtor, but that I had paid the debt or never received the loan, or that the writing was a forgery. Indeed, I allow you to suppose any explanation you please, the facts being that I did not owe any money to Jones, although he possessed a deed to the contrary. Would Jones, under such circumstances, still have a *moral* claim on me? And would it be my *moral* duty to thrust those dependent on me into hopeless poverty, and pay Jones the amount set forth in the document?"

"Certainly not."

"Then your moral argument, based on the fact that these people possess parchments, falls to the ground if you cannot show the *justice* of the claim. You would have to show first, *what none of your clique has as yet attempted*, that the earth belongs *of right* to the parchment lairds."

"You travesty the Bible."

"No; it is you who travesty it. The verse in question reads, 'The Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.' Show me a parchment signed by *this* Lord, and its provisions shall be carried out. Of course," I added, as a precaution, remembering the great talent for "interpretations" which Bishops sometimes display, "you would have to convince us first of the genuineness of the signature."

There must have been a sting in my last remark, for the Bishop, hitherto full of meekness and humility, suddenly flared up.

"The Lord you speak of has given us certain commandments, he said in a severe tone, "which it is my duty to see should not be broken. You have the masses with you because you appeal to their sordid natures, and

tempt them with filthy lucre. Its for this reason that we are here, to remind you and the people of the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet."

This piece of ecclesiastical strategy took me by surprise, i had no immediate reply ready, and had no time to think of out For before the Bishop had finished his little impromptu [*unclear: sermo*], a brawny man with an honest sunburnt face, wearing a smock and slouched hat, sprang forward, like a lion suddenly roused on hearing the words, "Thou shalt not covet." His appearand was so sudden and unexpected, his countenance so earnest and determined, that it froze the rest of the sentence in the Bishop's throat.

"Thou—shalt—not—covet," he repeated with great deliberation, making a short pause after each word. "That's me Bishop. It's I who am so covetous as to want a loaf—a *whole loaf*, mind you—for every one of my children. Each of the: has been sent by God, and every one of them has a mouth and you have told me that God never sends a mouth but what He sends a loaf. I want delivery of what has been sent for my children. I will not stand by any longer and see them robbed of their share. I am covetous, you see. I covet what is their's and will not see them starving, and give them cause to curse the hour that has made them see the light of life, while the gifts our All-Father intended for them, are taken from them under the authority and with the sanction of the Church."

"There, there!" said the Bishop. "Do you see now the fruits of your doings?"

"The fruits of *his* doings?" continued the farmer. "Let me tell you first the fruits of *your* doings."

And turning toward myself—"You spoke of a man owing the road that leads from the fields to the village. I have passed that road, and had to unload many and many a time. But it's not quite correct as you told the story. The landlord not only owned the high-road, but the fields and huts as well. And he didn't keep watch on the road to plunder the wayfarer, as you said he did, but spent his time in France and Italy, while I had to toil from day to day, until I could barely rest my wearied bones for pain. Had he been on the high-road when I carted home my crop, and robbed me there of it, it would have been a mercy compared to the agony I had sometimes to endure."

And after a pause, broken only by the sobs of a few women and children behind him, he continued:

"No; my landlord has never stopped me on the road. I was allowed to cart the crop home; I had it under my roof, with the children crying for food, and I durst not touch it—dared not take a handful of grain to make them a porridge—because I was backward with my rent. The crop I had gathered was not sufficient to make it up, and I under notice to quit if I could not pay up within twenty-four hours. This is far more cruel than being robbed by a highwayman—to stand between one's own hungry children and the food, warding them off lest they might be turned out of doors. I am telling you nothing but a fact, sir. The wife cut up carefully the last crust she had, divided it among our hungry children, moistened—aye, literally drenched—with her tears. Ah, my Lord Bishop, had you seen the children that night eagerly snatching the bits of crust from their mothers trembling hands, while their father was guarding his lordship's *rent* against their hunger, you would have seen what a covetous lot they were. Yet of such is the kingdom of heaven—of children who, before they had yet learnt the Sacred Rights of Property, are already conscious of the *Sacred Rights of Life*. I drove to market, sold the loaves which God had sent for my bairns, and took the money to his lordship's agent."

"You have then acted as an honest man," interposed the Bishop.

"No; I acted as a thief to my own children, and may God forgive me the sin. For when I came home one of my children, the youngest, was dead, because the mother had no milk for it; and the wife died the next day of a broken heart. And in all this misery I was threatened to be turned out of my home because I could not pay up the whole of my arrears."

"You are ungrateful, John," remonstrated the Bishop, who seemed to know him well; "for at the time, your case having been a very hard one, a collection was made for you."

"Yes, to pay his lordship with. It is he who received every penny of what the kind folks—Heaven bless them for it—have given me. It was for *him* I was begging, so that we should not be turned out of our home in the midst of winter. I say *our* home," he added, after wiping away a tear, "for it was *we* who built it, the children helping to carry the stones; but it has been stolen from us under cover of law. You did not then preach of covetousness to his lordship."

"How ungrateful of you, John, to speak thus of his lordship, after all the kindness and forbearance he had shown you. Only last Christmas he gave all the poor of the parish a free dinner, and you and your children had a good feed."

The poor farmer, overcome by grief or shame, or both, made no reply, but buried his head in his hands. The Socialist answered for him:

"They would not have been in need of his degrading charity, had he not first robbed them of the fruits of their toil."

"Oh, what wicked language!" remonstrated the Bishop; "to say this of one of the kindest landlords. Only a few yeans ago he granted a plot of land, and to Dissenters too, for a chapel—"

"How kind! Actually permitted Englishmen to worship their God in England!"

"And granted two acres of land to the parish at half-price for a cemetery."

"And you think it wise to remind us of the fact that the people could not even rot in their native land without his lordship's sanction?"

"What wicked language! And that of one who did the bidding of his Master by giving to the poor—"

"Who was it that made them poor?"

"Alas! it is the inscrutable will of the Lord. 'The poor ye have always with you,' and He made some poor and some rich, so that the latter should manifest their charity toward the former."

*Vide* a sermon by the Bishop of Salisbury some time back.

"It is a lie and libel; it's rank blasphemy!" exclaimed John, who was stung by this remark. And had I not interfered in time, it might have gone hard with the Bishop. There was considerable confusion for some time, and I had great difficulty in restraining John's sinewy arm. At last I succeeded. And in the meantime all the Bishops had disappeared, and with them, as I thought, the last plea of landlordism—namely, the plea on moral grounds.

vignette

## Chapter XIV.

### Capital's Last Threat.

THE influential deputation now withdrew somewhat abruptly and without ceremony. The Bishops were the first to leave; next followed the Lawyers, who, prior to their departure, intimated to their several clients their desire for a prompt settlement of their accounts. The Financiers had already withdrawn to one corner of the room, evidently awaiting an opportunity of speaking to me on their own separate business. The bond that had held nobles, bishops, lawyers, and financiers together was broken; each was now only solicitous for his own individual welfare, and the class interest of each group asserted itself.

It was almost piteous to see the once haughty and insolent members of "Our Old Nobility" slinking as unsuccessful suitors out of the hall in which they had once reigned supreme. Farmer John, as they filed past him, not daring to meet his eyes, seemed quite moved by their dejected demeanor; and as soon as the door had closed on the last of them, the kind, honest, simple-hearted man, forgetful of his own past sufferings, commenced to plead for them.

"Poor fellows!" he said; "they were great sinners, it is true. But, sir, were they not as much sinned against as sinning? I mean, Were they not as much the products of false institutions as were the rest of us? And what are they going to do now? They are not used to work, as I am; and my joy, and that of all my fellows, would be marred if we thought they were now to be condemned to undergo the pangs and sufferings from which we have just escaped. You should do something for them to reconcile them to their lot."

"My dear, good, honest John," I replied, much moved by this evidence of his noble nature; "your sympathy for them does you credit. But they really neither need nor deserve it. No hardship has been done them, and certainly no injustice. They have been deprived of nothing to which they have any right; on the contrary, they have been left in possession of much to which others—yourself, for instance—could show a much better claim."

"They are welcome to it, I am sure, for now I and men like me can soon acquire as much as we want."

"To be sure you can. Nor need you be troubled on their account. The majority of them have more than sufficient to enable them to live in ease and comfort; and as for their children—"

"It is of them that I was thinking."

"As for their children, they will grow up under new conditions, and learn to adapt themselves to the new order of things. They will enter into the new world—a world into which none need be afraid to enter; a world in which no one willing to work shall suffer from poverty, or be haunted by the fear of it; a world in which the struggle will be between man and Nature, and not between man and man; a world in which each will enjoy the fruits of his own toil, in which none will be secured privileges at the expense of his fellows, in which work will not be only the only passport to life, but also to true nobility."

"Nobility!" interrupted the Socialist. "We have hail more than enough of nobilities and aristocracies."

"Nay, we have heard too little of true nobility, too few real aristocrats. The better worker is always the better man, and the best worker the best citizen—the *first*, the foremost, the *aristos* or *aristocrat* in the true sense. The more self-made or Nature's aristocrats we have, the better for all. The Newtons, Shakespeares, and

Nightingales; the Watts, Cartwrights, and Darwins, such are the real aristocrats, the leaders and torch-bearers of civilization. 'Our old nobility,' like your 'capital, was made up of sheepskins and paper. *True nobles*, like real, *capital*, can only benefit, and not injure, and should be encouraged instead of being feared or fought."

"I am ready to agree with you on the first point; but as to capital—"

"What!" I exclaimed in surprise. "Not yet cured of your madness? What harm has *real capital* ever done to anyone! Or, at any rate, what harm *can* it do to anyone where the opportunities of Nature are alike free to all? Across the street is a big plowshare maker. Is he not a laborer, and are not his plows—the *type of real capital*—accumulated labor? you say he may demand exorbitant prices. But you forget that the iron and coal mines are open, and the forests free. Have you ever known a trader sulking with his goods by demanding exorbitant prices unless he had a monopoly of some sort? Is not quite the contrary true? *Were not your great and standing grievances keen competition and low prices?*"

"Yes, for manufactured articles, but not for capital."

"*But now we have no other capital in the market except what is manufactured.*, and that is precisely *real capital*. Not, indeed, because there is any necessity for the term 'capital' at all, For a plow, a saw, or a plane might be just as well called a 'commodity' as a shirt or a loaf of bread. *And anything which is not of the nature of an artificial commodity is no longer vendible*"

"Hold hard! Let me digest this fact. It is only that I begin to see your meaning, and—by Jove! Why capital is—"

Nothing but a name; an abstraction which sometimes means a plow or a mill, sometimes lands and slaves, rivers and houses; and sometimes—or, rather, mostly—parchments and [papers, *the bonds on future production*. Once let land, rivers, land mines be free, and then these bonds are gone. The only wealth, or 'capital'—I hate to hear the stupid word—a person can then own is that which he has created. Machinery? Yes; and, as you say, he could withhold it from use; and if he is a fool would certainly do so. But if he is not he will, instead of withholding his machinery until the rust has eaten it up, send out travellers and circulars, and tempt the people to buy or to hire, by offering all manner of easy terms. Do you not think so?"

The Socialist sank back into his chair, elbows on the table, and rested his head in his two hands. He looked bewildered, as if a new light had suddenly broken in upon him.

"What need the people care now," I continued, "if any man likes to dress himself in velvet and ermine, and to call himself a lord, and the parchments in his pockets 'capital,' so long as the land with all that is in and on it—that is, with all its potentialities—is free. All that man requires comes from land; the 'capital' that was required for production was simply a permit to make use of the natural resources. The road to the land was through the bank, and that road was open but to few. The check that was necessary to make production possible was a *permit, or the price of a permit*, to use the forces of Nature. But now that the land is free—"

Here our conversation was interrupted by a short, stout, vulgar, self-satisfied-looking man; one of the fore-mentioned financiers, whose presence I had forgotten for the moment.

"I am sorry to interrupt you," he commenced, "but your time may not be wasted in listening to what I have to say. I am a practical man, and as such have been consulted on many questions of importance by those in almost as exalted positions I as yours. I have not come to discuss with you abstract theories about justice, morality, liberty, and all that kind of thing; that's not in my line; I don't deal in sentiment. Doubtless you want to do something for the poor. Now I don't object to that in moderation, and might even render you valuable assistance if I approve of the means. But I deem it right to warn you of what must inevitably follow if you should kill off all enterprise."

"Our object is to encourage enterprise, not to kill it; provided, of course, that the enterprise is not of a mischievous character."

"But your legislation, sir, will kill out all enterprise, and drive all the capital, upon which the workers are entirely dependent, out of the country."

I involuntarily burst out laughing. Here was a man—a *capitalist*, as my Socialist friend would call him—threatening to [*unclear: run*] away unless I taxed his capital rather than land; while the Socialist thought of driving him out of the country by a property tax. I exchanged glances with the Socialist, and said:

"Pray be a little more explicit. In the first place, how [*unclear: will*] it stifle enterprise?"

"Well, you see, it's like this: A man desirous of making provision for the future accumulates his money instead of spending it; but, in the hope of future gain, instead of letting it lie idle may start some useful enterprise. Such actions ought to receive every encouragement."

"Yes; industry, energy, and enterprise ought to be encouraged; and since now every citizen is secured the full possessive of all that is due to his industry and enterprise—"

That's just what you do not do, and I will prove it to Let me give you a typical case. Supposing I took up some useless waste land—say a plot on some out-of-the-way moor—and; built a hotel or hydropathic establishment, trying to make it into a health resort. You could not call that an illegitimate enterprise. Now,

how would you tax me?"

"You would be taxed according to the unimproved value of your land. That is, you would not be taxed according to the use you were making of the land; nor according to the value of your buildings; nor the trade you may be doing; but according to the value of the bare land, irrespective of improvements. In the case you have supposed, you would at first be taxed according to its value as moor land. Surely that is more encouragement to enterprise than when, as in old times, which you seem to regret, you were threatened with property taxes, local rates on the value of the property you have built, in addition to a ground rent, and that whether your business paid or not."

"So far so good. But supposing my venture turned out a great success, and that people are attracted in large numbers, buildings springing up all around me, until my hotel forms the centre of a thriving town. This, of course, would send land values up, and my plot, I will presume, is the most valuable. Would you then still tax away all the 'unearned increment,' as you call it?"

"Certainly, and much to your own advantage. For in that case there would be required a local fund for roads, lighting drainage, etc., which would add to your comfort as well as improve your business prospects. You could not in common fairness, be exempt from contributing your quota of public expenditure."

"But to tax away all the value of my land under such circumstances would be unjust, since it is I who gave it the value."

"How so? You do not create land values by building hotels on it. So long as your hotel remains planted in the midst of a desolate moor you would pay a tax for moor lands. But when the moor passes into a city you will pay a tax for city land, and that because you have not made the city."

"And suppose I built a whole township on the spot on speculation, and people then came to live in my houses?"

"That would not alter the case. The principle is the same. Why should you be exempt from its operations?"

"Because I have risked my money. If my speculation failed would you compensate me?"

"If it failed? Will you please tell me what elements of failure and success you are thinking of?"

"Why, suppose I erected a thousand houses, and nobody came to live in them?"

"In that case there would be no increased value, and hence no increased tax. But if the people did come to live in your houses, then any increased value of the land would be due to *their* presence, and hence they are entitled to share in its benefits."

"And what reward have I for my enterprise?"

"A successful business; and, if your foresight was really a good one, the most envied position in the town."

Here followed a short pause, after which the enterprising spokesman of the financiers resumed:

"In that case you'll drive all the capital out of the country."

"But why?"

"Because there is no outlet for it. Nobody will care to invest his money on such terms. You simply put an end to all legitimate means of investment."

"Not at all. *Legitimate means* of investment are now more plentiful than ever, since you may do with your 'capital' what you please without let or hindrance."

"That's just it. Now, if you don't know anything else about business, surely you will understand the law of supply and demand, and that this law regulates the money market as every other market. There was a time in this country when the money market was so brisk that it was thought necessary to limit by law the rate of interest to twenty per cent. That was, of course, because capital was scarce, and the demand for it great. Since then, however, as you know, the rate of interest came down, and at times was as low as two per cent. Do you know why?"

"I suppose because there was a greater proportion of lenders to borrowers."

"That is so. And now that you have made land free—that, in consequence thereof, people earn high wages, and the wealth is distributed throughout the community—nearly everybody is in a position to lend, but no one willing to borrow, and money is literally *below par*. You look surprised at that. Well, I have a few thousand pounds. So have my friends here. What [unclear: t] we to do with them? Will you have the money as a loa [unclear: n] behalf of the State?"

"We do not need it. Our revenue is not only sufficien [unclear: t] meet current expenses, but leaves us a balance wherewith [unclear: h] wipe off our national debt; so that future generations should not be saddled with burdens imposed by the folly and wickedness of their ancestors."

"There you are. This is the answer we meet with everywhere."

"In that case," I said, chiefly for the benefit of my Socialis [unclear: t] friend, "we evidently do not need any laws against usury; [unclear: b] such a 'glut of capital' should stimulate rather than stifl [unclear: e] enterprise. There are plenty of means for safe investments. For instance, by building more substantial homes for your children; by giving them a better education; by planting orchards and flower gardens. And if you think of

creating more than you need in order to give your children a start in life, you could build hotels, warehouses, theatres or pleasure resorts, [*unclear*: th] revenue of which—while it lasts—

"That's just it, *while it lasts*. If I put £10,000 into i[*unclear*: t], children might get perhaps £8,000 back. They certainly could get no profit on the money invested. Buildings want looking after, and so does every other form of wealth, and nobody [*unclear*: wi] look after it without pay. And so we have come to a pretty pass, that capital, instead of commanding interest, has to [*unclear*: pa] to people for accepting it."

"Not so. You would in that case pay for the *conservation* [*unclear*: p]reservation of wealth. And if a man looks after your good for you, it is only right that you should compensate him for the trouble."

"Then is capital to have nothing at all?" he asked, in an injured tone.

"Capital? Who is *he*, and what has he done?"

"Well, then, since you are so particular, I'll put it this ways Am *I* to have nothing for my capital? *True capital*, as you [*unclear*: c] it, is the reward of abstinence and industry; and am I to have no reward for my abstinence and industry?"

"You have your reward in the undisturbed possession of your savings. Is not that reward enough? Or do you, perhaps think that because you may have saved a little more than your neighbors, that this should entitle you to claim their savin in addition to your own?"

"We never claimed; the people who wanted accommodate from us, who wanted our money, were always glad to pay interests. But now, under your rule, nobody seems to want any loans."

"So you think, perhaps, that we should make paupers in order to keep up the ancient and noble institution of usury? I have heard similar talk in the old days, when people objected to general prosperity, on the grounds that then the masses would no longer work for a mere subsistence, or starvation wages, and hence leave no 'profit' or 'interest' for 'capital.'"

"That's just the case now, and the nation will be ruined."

"Ruined, forsooth! When, according to your own showing, nobody wants to borrow, and nearly everybody is in a position to lend. Ruined, because no one is now able to get the whip hand over his fellows, and because a few usurers cannot command interest on their money! The only interest of a nation is the well-being of its members; and the only reward, the only 'profit' of one's labor and capital, is the ability to support life in comparative ease and comfort."

"That's all very fine talk; but what good is my capital to me?"

"If you have no use for it yourself, offer it to your neighbors. And if they have no use for it either, then it is clear that that particular form of wealth is not wanted at all—that, in fact, there is an *over-production*. And this will demonstrate to you that over-production does not mean want, as you have been taught, but profusion."

"That may be all very well in theory, but, as I told you, we are practical men, and did not come here to theorize. We now know what to expect under your legislation, and we intend to leave this country at once, taking all our capital with us."

"Take *what* with you?"

"All our capital."

"Yes, yes; but what? The land?"

"N-o-o-o. Not the land."

"The mines, rivers, air, sunshine, or perhaps the rain?"

"N-o-o-o; but our capital."

"That's just what I am trying to get at. What are you going to take? Roads, harbors, docks, buildings, mills?"

"We own many of these."

"But will you take them with you, or pull them down, so as to take the material with you?"

"No! neither."

"Well, what will you take, then? Spades, plows, sewing land other machines, or the mining and manufacturing plants, which now, indeed, are as fully employed as they can be?"

"Well, they are ours."

"Not quite all of them; and even if all the existing machinery did belong to you and your friends; as our forest and mines are now open to the people, they would soon make as many more as may be required. But, as practical men, do you seriously propose taking such things with you?"

He hesitated, and I saw he was commencing to recognize the hollowness of his threats.

He then said: "If we withdrew all our machinery, have you considered what the consequences would be?"

"No; I have not thought much about it; but, [*unclear*: neverthe] I can imagine what would happen. America, Germany, [*unclear*: Fram] and other countries would probably be glad to learn that [*unclear*: the] is a country of over thirty million inhabitants in want of kinds of implements, and would glut our market—the seven nations competing with each other. Have *you* consider what effect that would have on the value of your

old spades are plows?"

"But with what will you purchase these things if we tak[unclear: e] capital away?"

"With the grain and wool, and iron and coal, and al[unclear: l] kinds of produce, of which you and your ilk used to depriv[unclear: e] Talk about what thirty-five million workers in one of the [unclear: ric] countries on the face of the globe are going to buy wit[unclear: h]! you must have studied your Political Economy at Oxford Cambridge, else you could not possibly ask such [unclear: sta] questions."

"That's all very well, but by withdrawing our capita[unclear: l] could throw the people out of employment, and thus *force* then to come to our terms."

"No, no, my good sir, that you cannot do, and you know. The position is simply this: You possess certain houses, [unclear: m] and machinery. On leaving the country you can choose between taking with you so much old iron and timber as you may [unclear: f] convenient, or else sell it prior to your departure for what [unclear: y] can get for it. And having a rather high opinion of your [unclear: b-ness] abilities, I have no doubt in my mind as to which [unclear: cou] you will prefer. The only loss we shall sustain is that of [unclear: y] presence."

"You will then have to close the Stock Exchange, as [unclear: the] will not be an individual left to frequent it."

"Even in that you are mistaken. Instead of closin[unclear: g] building we shall make a true *Exchange* of it; a place [unclear: wh] people shall exchange their several products and conduct [unclear: leg] mate business; and then the inscription above its portal [unclear: w] have more meaning than at present. So if you think of leaving the country, all we can say to you is—"

"Good riddance," interposed the Socialist; and Farme[unclear: r] added, "Amen!"

## Chapter XV.

### The Beginning of the End.

"GOOD riddance!" was echoed by a thousand voices outside, as the small band of capitalists left the hall, folding up their parchments. And, truth to tell, even I felt my spirits revive when relieved of the presence of this most objectionable class; people who, at their best, are but human magpies, and at their worst vultures and hyenas. Still greater was my delight when presently I saw a small band of earnest, intellectual-looking men enter the hall, headed by one whom I recognized as the chairman of that memorable meeting in Trafalgar Square, at which I was elected to the high office I now held.

"Why, it's Neighbor William," I exclaimed cheerily, stretching out my hand to greet him. "You are indeed a most welcome guest."

"I hope I may prove so," he said, not coldly nor unkindly, yet with a certain reserve. "But that will depend on how far we shall be able to agree on certain points."

"What!" I exclaimed, somewhat taken back at this rejoinder; surely you, of all men, have now come here as an opponent of the new order of things?"

"By no means. We come as friends to assist you to complete the good work you have so well begun. But whether our help will be welcome to you, is a question on which I have some misgivings."

"Will you then please tell me at once the points of possible disagreement?"

"Yes, certainly. You have purged the national hive of the drones, the national temple of the money-changers. The country now belongs to the nation in its fullest and truest sense. The people have plenty of all they desire. But man liveth not by bread alone. *Our* ideal of a model State does not consist of an assemblage of so many million human cattle with plenty of fodder and good shelter."

"Nor mine either, good neighbor. I know your ideal, and share it. I have read that charming book of yours, *News from Nowhere*, with its fascinating and beautiful picture of the England that is to be. And as I too set a greater value on the development of the spiritual, or purely human, as distinguished from the mere animal qualities of the race, I would fain see it realized."

"Then why in the name of duty did you not use the absolute power at your command to abolish a system that has reduced mankind below the beasts of the field? Why champion individualism and competition with all the force of a keen, could blooded logic? Is not *individualism* but a euphemism in *egotism*? Does it not involve a struggle between brother in individual advantages? Is it not, both in name and [unclear: esseasidentical] with selfishness?"

"It is, good neighbor," I replied. "I understand the cause of your indignation. I am anxious myself to see mankind [unclear: e] that beautiful land you have described to us. But I wish t[unclear: o] there by a safer and

surer road. Even the delights of [*unclear: Para*] itself would be dearly purchased if we had to travel thither [*unclear: o*] the murdered bodies of our brother-men. That shootin[*unclear: g*] Trafalgar Square of which you dreamt was a terrible affair."

He looked serious, sad, almost in despair; his noble [*unclear: countenance*] fell, and his eyes filled with tears. "Cruel evil[*unclear: s*] require cruel remedies," he replied. "Anything rather [*unclear: the*] the perpetuation of a system which continuously demands [*unclear: fre*] human sacrifice. Rather a sudden death for a few tha[*unclear: n*] perpetual damnation of the many. Besides, *then* I sa[*unclear: w*] other way out of the slough of despond. But to you there [*unclear: ha*] been another way opened. What we want to know is, why [*unclear: y*] have not used the power with which you have been intruste[*unclear: d*] abolish once and for all this degrading cut-throat syste[*unclear: m*] competition which sets brother against brother; this produc[*unclear: t*] incarnate selfishness."

"*Incarnate* selfishness. Yes, that's just it. You have practically answered your own question. If selfishness were a thing apart from man, and not incarnate in him, you might [*unclear: dema*] that it and its products should be destroyed. But selfishnes[*unclear: s*] inherent and natural to human beings. It springs from the instinct of self-preservation, and can be neither ignored nor eradicated. But still, the evils it produces can be remedied; an[*unclear: d*] is just on this very instinct that I confidently rely to right [*unclear: there*]

"What! on selfishness? Can selfishness ever be a facto[*unclear: r*] anything but evil?"

"There is no property or agency in man or Nature, which cannot be a factor for either good or evil; it all depends upon circumstances. This one fact is patent and immutable [*unclear: sell*] preservation is the strongest instinct both in man and animals. It is a law of Nature, which you cannot repeal at St. Stephen. It has always been, and forever will remain, the main-spring of all human actions. Where people are so conditioned, by their own artificial institutions and regulations, that the struggl[*unclear: e*] existence is everywhere between man and man, and not between man and Nature; where the profit of one necessarily involves the loss of another; where, in short, the interests of the member of a community are, in consequence of bad legislation, antagonistic, instead of being identical; there this principle of self-preservation will always produce just that kind of selfishness—or say rather merciless greed—we are all deploring."

"Again, we ask, and now rather more surprised than at first, seeing that you agree with us on the main point, why you have not put a summary stop to this policy of selfishness?"

"I will tell you, if you will but have a little patience with me, for my answer must necessarily be a long one. In the first place, let us be clear as to what are the points that need reforming. You continually harp on the one string—competitive system. But reflect for a moment, and you will find that what you have been aggrieved by was not the competitive system, but the inequalities in human society and the injustice done to the many. Why you fought against the competitive system was simply because, in *your* opinion, *that* was the cause of all the trouble. Why do not fight against it is because I do not share that opinion. But this only by the way, for I cannot say that I myself am enamored with the commercial competition of to-day. But why I would not meddle with it is because it is but a consequence of a general derangement, and will disappear with the disease, of which it is *not* the cause, but a mere *symptom*. The point at issue, then, is as to what should be the precise polity, which should regulate the conduct of the community. That point we would have to leave to be decided by the community; that is, each member for himself. You would have me coerce their social relations into some prescribed form; that is, prescribe to the people the habits and customs they should follow."

"You're talking nonsense when you talk of prescribing habits and customs."

"I am glad you see it in the same light as I do; it is just the point I wanted to bring home to you. People will behave, whether individually or collectively, according to their habits and customs. But habits and customs are not changed suddenly by Acts of Parliament, but are the result of old wont and usage. You desire that people should live together in love and harmony; I agree. But remember that such results can only be brought about gradually, and by providing the conditions necessary to their development. You cannot force people into such relations against their inclination; and that at the present moment they are not inclined to adopt your ideal, you know very well. After all it is but natural they should not; and it would be disastrous to the very ideal we are aiming at if we tried to force them."

"Why so?"

"Because the people are as yet unfit for such an ideal state. A running train is not brought to a sudden standstill by turning off the steam; and it would be most disastrous if you tried to bring about such a sudden stoppage by main force. Nor can human dispositions be changed at a moment's notice. Communism is a union of love; and love must be voluntary. You cannot force people into harmony against their inclination; you have tried that with single couples, and have framed all [*unclear: man*] of laws whereby to coerce husband and wife to live together [*unclear: in*] loving harmony and union. But wherever that love and harmony was naturally wanting, you have not succeeded; and where you have succeeded it was only because they would have loved each other even in the absence of your laws. Do your hope to be more successful in tying together thirty-five

millions people against their inclinations by the same bond which was not strong enough to hold two people together? You are trying to force Nature; trying to conquer the will of thirty-five millions by your own."

"But it is for their own good."

"Then let them find that out for themselves, and you will [unclear: f] that that selfishness of theirs will be a far more powerful lever to bring about that ideal state than either truncheon bayonet, or any regulations scribbled on paper. [unclear: Communis] if it is to be a real thing and not a mere sham, can only exist where it is voluntary, and therefore can only be inaugurated by common consent. It means a union of love, where the [unclear: bo] of reciprocal attachment need not necessarily be personal, [unclear: b] some common interest. That given, and you will soon hav[unclear: e] communistic society; without it, never. Had you ever so many armed legions at your command, you could not make the people love each other, nor establish peace with drawn swords."

"But is the general welfare not sufficient common interest?"

"It would be, if the people were already alive to their true interests. But to most people the 'common interest' is [unclear: a] sentiment, and as such would not be sufficient for the people [unclear: a] they are. It might be sufficient for you, and such as you; and that not because you are, strictly speaking, less selfish, [unclear: but] because you are more enlightened; because you know that all would be happier for it; and your happiness consists in the consummation of that ideal. But the masses, the [unclear: ignorance] masses, trained through centuries under a system of 'each[unclear: h] himself and the devil take the hindmost'; under a system of grabbing, legalized stealing, swindling, and gambling; in an atmosphere of hypocrisy and cant, where lying, under the name of diplomacy and business, was a much-esteemed art; [unclear: when] the dissemination of religion and morality became a business the post of the moralist, called by its occupant a 'living,' being bought and sold by auction, and considered as 'good' or 'bad,' according to the number of pieces of silver it brought in; to the masses to whom brotherly love is an empty phrase, and the fighting for their daily bread has for so long been the mas object of their solicitude: to them what you ask would [unclear: appea] as a great sacrifice, in the eyes of many of the best among them a dangerous experiment—or, in nineteenth century language, 'a bad spec.' They must first be educated into the new order; you have to approach them as you would a shy and hungry dog who, on so many previous occasions, when expecting a bone or a piece of bread, have received the whip instead. In short, these people, just as they are, with all their high talents for spinning, digging, weaving and—betting; and notwithstanding their undoubted good qualities—both actual and potential—are as yet unfit for forming a community such as you desire."

"But, then, why will you not help on its development?"

"I am helping it on, and that in the best way. For all we can do is to prepare the soil and rely on Nature to do the rest. You would have me stop competition by law, and tell each of the thirty-five millions of people what to do and how to do it. Do you not see how impossible it would be for one man, or a dozen of men, to devise a system that should have the approval of all? and if you were to exact their submission and obedience by force, would that be a Communistic State? Why, you would have resistance and friction without end. But leave them to themselves, your only interference being to prevent one individual obstructing another, and they will soon find what is best for them; they will soon discover the true meaning of the old saw, 'Union is strength,' and that the co-operation of several in an undertaking of whatever kind is to the best interest of all."

"We are agreed on that. But then your interference should also extend to where one man tries to take away the living of another by underselling him; where one soapmaker, for instance, tries to concentrate the whole industry into his own hands, and to push others out of the market. In short, if you are to protect the liberties of the individuals, you will have to stop competition."

"You are mistaken, and that because you are forgetting that man's actions are modified by altered circumstances."

"But have you not yourself said that people's dispositions are not changed at a moment's notice? And if they were greedy yesterday, will they not be so to-day?"

"Yes; but the conditions under which this greed can be satisfied are different. If Brown, for instance, strove to get the control of the soap market into his own hands, it was not out of consideration for the cleanliness or health of his fellows; nor because he could or would, by his own individual labor, supply them all with soap. He did it because he could make a profit on every man he employed. But this profit—or, 'surplus value'—is only possible while there is a surplus population; or, as learned economists and able editors expressed it, a free labor market. But when there are no longer any unemployed, excepting those who no longer require employment; when Dick, Tom, and Harry are no longer dependent for their existence on the favor of soapmaker Brown, or landlord Jones, such surplus profits are no longer possible. This is not mere theory; for you remember that an increase of wages was always fear[unclear: ed] capitalists, because it might cut profits so fine as to mak[unclear: e] unprofitable for them to continue their works. You remember how greedy Brown threatened to give up being a task master as soon as he found that his slaves no longer yielded hi[unclear: m] 2½per cent."

"And so you think that now he will shut up his factor[unclear: y] cease competing?"

"I don't know. What I do know for certain is, that he will cease to fleece his workers; and that because the latter won't[unclear: t] him; because, in short, the workers are as selfish and as greedy [unclear: as] the master. Now that they are independent they will [unclear: as] higher wages than they earn, and the employer will offer them less than they are worth. But they will soon find their level."

"And is this system of ultra-individualism and keen competition to be the be-all and end-all of everything?"

"No; it is but the beginning of everything. Selfish people will seek their own self-interests; and under such conditions can you doubt for a moment as to where they will find it?"

"In combination!"

"Yes, most assuredly. And it is not such a new discovery either. Men have found it out long ago. The natural tendency has always been toward united action. It was not man's natural depravity that made him fight his brother, but necessity, the instinct of self-preservation, drove him to it. There was not room for all in this world under the old forms of government. Only few could be accommodated in comfort. The large body of the people had to scramble for the means of life, and many had to succumb altogether. Under such circumstances each had to scramble for himself. But this was not because they did not see the benefits of united action, but because all could not be saved and nobody wished to be the one to be sacrificed. Once this fear done away with—"

"And you think they will act more in unison?"

"Of course they will; their self-interest will prompt them. One hundred men, each tilling a small plot of land, would soon find out the advantage of working together, which will make possible the employment of machinery and more permanence works at a lesser expense to each. Again, plenty of everything and no fear of poverty, will gradually heal them of the disease of insatiable greed. People never hoard things of which they are assured there will always be plenty. Water is treasured only in countries where it is scarce."

"And is that to establish Communism?"

"If Communism is good and natural, then it will. I myself think it is, and that it will be the ultimate form of social bond. But it can only thrive under natural conditions. The seeds and germs of it we could behold sprouting everywhere, even under that old and pernicious system to which we have put an end. People entered into partnerships and worked together for each other's good through life, the only bond that kept them faithful to each other being their common interest. Joint-stock companies and co-operative societies, to say nothing of municipal and district councils and state undertakings: were not all of these evidence that the tendency of man is not to live in reciprocal fear and enmity, but to co-operate for mutual advantages? But the plant could not develop, for the soil was inimical to such fruits."

"It was indeed. And so you think that the natural tendency is toward Communism; and that in the midst of plenty men will cease to be greedy."

"What makes man greedy, but the fear of want? What makes man chary of helping another, but the fear of parting with what he might need for himself? In the past, to look after one's brother often meant the neglect of one's children. And yet men were kind to one another, still assisted each other, when they could do so without endangering their own existence or that of those dependent upon them. Greedy of material things! Why, of what can they be greedy, when they know that their labors will always command sufficient of everything and to spare?"

"To make man good, kind, and noble you must first satisfy his material needs. When one's whole time and energy are needed to tight for the bare necessities of life, what opportunities can there be for cultivating those higher qualities which distinguish man from the brute? Poverty is not a genial soil for culture. Only the weeds of ignorance can thrive on it. There can be no moral considerations side by side with starvation and ignorance, nor intellectual needs while the material wants remain unsatisfied."

"True, very true. We find this exemplified all over the world. Poverty, ignorance, and crime always go together."

"That is so. Therefore let us banish poverty and the fear of poverty. This once accomplished, you may rely on human nature for the rest. You will not transform the ignorant and vulgar peasant into a cultured man all at once. Such miracles are possible on paper only. But you will rouse his ambition to be 'as good as his neighbor.' Thus you may turn another propensity of man, generally counted among his vices, to good account, by making use of his vanity to lead him on the path to knowledge and culture, which, in the end, are the death of vanity."

"Their vanity?"

"Yes, that propensity which impels men to those whom they regard as superior to themselves. You have seen this all your life. The costermonger who, by some lucky windfall, came suddenly into a fortune, dressed and lived as near as possibl[unclear: e] a 'gentleman.' True, it did not make a gentleman of him; [unclear: b] the ambition was there, and, having the money, he trie[unclear: d] secure to his children what he felt he lacked himself. He dressed them like guys, but gave them a good education; [unclear: infact,] would have gladly

crammed whole universities down their throats if they could but have digested them. And although he himself died a vulgar rich man, he left more cultured children behind him to take his place. Every one of your cultured [unclear: men] of to-day, be he ever so refined, has risen to his position owing to the working of this self-same principle, straight from [unclear: his] savage ancestors. Now that people have their material wants satisfied, you will find them more ready to attend to the cultivation of their higher faculties. Do you doubt these conclusions?

"No; for while you have been engaged with deputations we have been busy outside, and have proved their truth. We were dissatisfied with your individualism, and thought to counteract it by awakening the people to the benefits of co-operatio[unclear: n], the beauties of art and science, and to the possibilities of a more perfect social life. You are right; we did find them more ready than of yore to listen to us, and even anxious to adopt [unclear: one] proposals. We have already done much, and should have sought your co-operation, but were afraid you would disapprove of our activities."

"I? Not I. My sole object was to clear away the rubbish, and to prepare the ground for your actions. Go on, and make as many cultured men as you can, and you will find that your have made just as many Communists. And having done so what more is there required to tell them to act in their own interests?"

"That being so, there is but one other point to complete the regeneration of society."

"And that is?"

"That there should be perfect equality among all citizens."

"Have you not got that already.?"

Not while you are Boss. Now that your work is done, of course you will resign. What! you hesitate?"

I did hesitate; and gladly would I suppress this part of my dream, were it not that duty compels me to record the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I hesitated, because I was thinking for excuses to urge why I should not be required to resign. Yes, I actually thought of excuses that would enable me to stick to the office to which I had all my life most objected. Perhaps it was Puck, who was sporting with me. Perhaps it was human nature, which, while reason was dormant, asserted itself. But I did object to resign, and made a strong stand against any such proposal. There is something alluring in being a ruler of men; to be able to say to this man "Come," and he cometh; and to that man "Go," and he goeth. And, therefore, perhaps, it is so dangerous to put such a mighty weapon in the hands of any single individual, be he ever so well-intentioned. Put not your trust in princes is a sound advice, but it did not occur to me in my dream, while in the full enjoyment of my absolute power. I refused to resign, and they threatened to expel me by main force, William foremost among them.

"Get up, get up!" he called to me. And somebody actually put his hands on my shoulders. I was speechless. I tried to resent the insolence, to shake off the rude hands, but could not move a muscle. "Get up," I heard a second time. And somebody hit me right in the face. For the moment I thought I had been shot at, and I made a quick motion with my hand toward my nose, when I felt a second assault and heard cheerful laughter, and as I opened my eyes and looked up, it was my child, who was just raising her rattle to repeat her assault, laughing cheerily; while her mother was calling out the third time, "Get up, my dear; get up. You must be quite stiff, sleeping all night on that hard chair."

.....

I have told my dream, and everybody can put on it his own interpretation. To myself it was a revelation, a beacon light illuminating the road along which reformers will have to travel if they would speedily and safely reach the desired goal. It has shown me the many pitfalls in the way of the pilgrims, and the dangers of the many fair, but delusive, promises by which many of our earnest leaders are diverted from the one true path. To me the whole dream has but one meaning and but one moral. It is this: Let all the various sections in charge of the van of progress cease their internecine feuds, their petty differences and jealousies, and, instead of pulling in so many different directions, unite their efforts toward one common aim. Nor is there any doubt in my mind as to the direction in which they should proceed. They all wish to reform the institutions of the land. Then let them conquer the land first, and, if it be found necessary, quarrel about the methods of governing it after the enemy has been driven out. To do this they should make common cause against the common foe, and inscribe high on their banners the legend:

*"The Land for the People,"*

which can be obtained by taking Ground Rent for Public Revenue.

THE BEST POLIC TO PURSUE, IS TO GET YOUR TAILORING DONE BY RUSHBR00K and Co. This Department is under the Management Mr. F. M. KING, who has had extensive experience in London and America. RUSHBROOK & CO Clothiers and Dutfitters, 104 and 106, QUEEN STREET, AUCKLAND ARE SELLING Men's New Zealand Tweed Suits, at 2 Boys' Washing Suits - - from 2s 3 Boys' Serge Sailor Suits - from 4s 5 Orders Carefully and Promptly Executed. Parcels forwarded to all parts of the North Island 5 per cent, discount for Cash on all parcels of 20s, and upwards.

How to Nationalise Ground-Rent Introduce the Single Tax  
By State Purchase.  
Ground Rent Revenue League of New Zealand  
(Auckland Branch).  
1894.  
Price Threepence.

## How to.

## To the Reader.

SHOULD you be desirous of promoting the reform herein advocated, and willing to assist in spreading literature in connection therewith, please fill up the Inclosed slip, and send to

F. M. King,  
Hon. Sec.  
GROUND RENT REVENUE LEAGUE,

High Street,  
Auckland.

*Name* .....  
*Address* .....

## How to Nationalise Ground-Rent

## Introduce the Single Tax

By State Purchase.

At Present Round-Rent is Enjoyed Only

By Private Individuals, Known as Freeholders.

The Proposal is to buy the future right to charge very owner with ground-rent.

This would not be buying Land and nationalising it.

It would be purchasing the right to levy Ground Rent in order to nationalise that.

The Special Facilities for the Use of which

Ground-Rent

is the payment, are created, maintained, and continually increased by the community. The

Privilege of Enjoying

these ever-growing advantages in the future, without an equivalent annual payment, has, since the Colony's infancy, when it was of little value,

Been Sold to Freeholders.

These may sell or bequeath their privilege, at its increased value, to other owners, or rent it to landless people. Thus, to quote the words of John Stuart Mill, "an accession of wealth created by circumstances"—has been allowed to—" become

An Unearned Appendage

to the riches of a particular class." This pamphlet proposes to show

How to Nationalise all Existing and Future Ground-Rent and Introduce

The Single Tax

As the Only Public Revenue

By State Purchase

of the present custom, by which

All Landowners Hold Land Rent Free.

It is proposed to effect this by the issue to all freeholders and mortgagees of Transferable and Redeemable Debentures, bearing an annual interest equal to their present estimated ground-rent.

OUR MOTTO IS—

"Community-created values for community purposes; individually-created values for individual possession."

## What is Ground-Rent?

GROUND-RENT is the name given to the payment made by tenants to landlords, or by leaseholders to the State, for the use of bare land, apart from improvements. If a tenant hires the use of buildings, or other improvements also, he makes a further payment that combines the charges of interest, depreciation, and insurance.

Ground-rent is not, as some of our opponents suggest, determined by the net value of the produce. Mill defines the ground-rent of land as "the excess of its produce beyond what would be returned to the same capital if employed on the worst land in cultivation." It is not the measure of the *whole* using value of land, but of that *part only* which arises from the use of certain *specially desirable* lands. *All* lands do not possess this distinction. Extra fertility confers it upon some lands and extra facilities confer it upon others. It is this extra desirability that makes tenants willing to pay ground-rent for the lands possessing it rather than settle on those that, through not possessing it, can be got for *less* rent, or even *free* of rent. The same consideration makes other men willing to pay a sum of money to purchase these special advantages in fee simple, and so to commute the annual payment. The purchasers enjoy henceforth, without annual payment, the special benefits for which tenants pay ground-rent.

Ground-rent increases in all progressive communities where public monies are spent in providing and maintaining roads and other useful services, as, for instance, by the addition of

- a railway station,
- a post office,
- a money order office,
- a telegraph or telephone office,
- a school, or
- a water supply.

It rises also where population grows, where private enterprise increases, or labour is economised by sub-division. These developments show themselves in the addition of such facilities as

- a blacksmith's shop,
- a store,
- a dairy factory,
- a public hall,
- a branch bank, or
- a coach service.

Any reduction of fares or freights on the railway, or of the charges made by any conveyance plying for public hire, acts in the same way to increase the ground-rent value of the lands so served. The existence of public and private enterprises is the only reason for higher land values arising in towns and cities than in country districts.

From the foregoing facts it will be readily seen that ground-rent is an economic necessity of modern life. It is not, therefore, an element that can be denounced out of existence, as some would appear to suppose. It is not an evil thing. It is a direct payment for advantages received or facilities enjoyed through living in a community. Anyone can escape from ground-rent if he chooses to go further afield until he reaches land that is so far from a community as to possess none of the conveniences for which rent is the payment.

There are quantities of such land in the world upon which a bare, but solitary, existence can be maintained. No rent is obtainable from land so situated, however fertile it may be.

Ground-rent, therefore, being the payment for facilities *conferred* by the *community* should naturally, and of right, *belong to all*, and not to *individuals*.

## What is the Amount of Ground Rent?

It is not possible to say what is the exact amount of the ground-rent now obtained or enjoyed in this

Colony; but, thanks to the Land Tax Act of 1891, we know the assessed *capital value* of all the land that has been sold by the State. Now, these two figures always bear some ratio to each other, and therefore we can, within certain limits, deduce one from the other. The *selling value* of the privilege to holding land *rent free* is equal to so many years' purchase of the annual ground-rent. The number of years' purchase will be determined, from time to time, by the rate of interest then obtaining in this class of investment. If we say 5 per. cent., it will probably be pretty near the mark at the present time.

The capital value given by the 1891 assessment is £75,787,895.

Paper B 20, Appendices to Journals H. of R., 1892.

The ground-rent at 5 per. cent, on this sum would, therefore; amount to £3,789,395, to be received annually by the state.

The progressive growth of this fund, beyond the sum required to pay interest on the debentures, affords the margin upon which the success of the new method is founded. Its future growth can only be estimated, but we may form a good idea of what it has been in the past by referring to official figures. The entire sum which the three holders have paid to the State for lands now valued (as above) at £75,787,895, is £13,372,984,

Paper C 1., 1891, gives 113,133,981; since then £259,003 has been added.

so that in little more than half a century the growth of selling value, and consequently of annual value, has been something like 470 per cent. Whatever increase may accrue in the future will form a surplus revenue, from year to year, beyond the interest charged on the debentures. This ever-increasing sum would be applied as Parliament might determine.

## The Intention of the Proposed Reform.

Having outlined the proposed reform in the title pages, having then shown what our conception of ground-rent is, both in its nature and origin, and having estimated its probable amount, it may be well to repeat that our desire is to secure this fund from its present owners and to transfer it to the State, in order that it may be used as the only revenue for colonial and local purposes. We do so in the belief that if this were done every individual would receive and pay proportionately for the benefits arising from association. He who elected to live at the centre of the community would receive more benefits and pay more ground-rent than he who was content to live at the circumference. In either location each would then retain, as his own, the whole produce arising from his industry. If he had many wants, he would work hard. If his desires were few, he would take it easy.

## Outline of the Proposed Reform.

- To every owner, whose land is unencumbered, debentures shall (subject to the exception in No. 5) be issued to the full amount of his unimproved value.
- To every owner, whose land is mortgaged, debentures shall be issued to the amount of the unimproved value, less the amount due to the mortgagee. In cases where the mortgagee's claim exceeds the unimproved value no debentures will be issued to the owner.
- To every mortgagee debentures shall be issued to the full amount of his loan, provided that they shall in no case be issued in excess of the unimproved value of the land secured.
- Separate debentures shall be issued for each property and, as far as possible, for each title deed, in order to facilitate sub-division and transfer of land as much as possible.
- In cases where the value of the improvements is less than 30 per cent, of the unimproved value of any land the debenture for that section shall not be saleable, but remain in the custody of the Land Tax Department, as security for the ground-rent payment, until such time as the improvement have been increased to the above proportion. (The total improvements in the Colony exceed 62 per cent.)
- The debentures shall be made payable to the present owner of land or the mortgagee, and shall be transferable either by sale, gift, or inheritance A "transfer register" shall be kept, and transfer effected, for a clerical fee. at any Money Order Post Office and at the Land Tax Department in Wellington.
- The debentures may be redeemed at par by the Department, at such times and to such amount as Parliament may decide from year to year.
- Debentures shall bear interest at 5 per cent, per annum, payable half-yearly in New Zealand.
- The State shall, at the outset, charge ground-rent to every owner at 5 per cent, per annum upon the full amount of his unimproved value, payable half-yearly: the value to be that fixed by the assessment of 1891 for the Land Tax, or at the selling price of later transactions. These values would afford a fixed point of

departure; they were not arrived at with any such purpose in view, and their adoption would prevent the delay and cost entailed by a special assessment.

- Future assessments should be on the *annual* and not on the *capital* value, and be made periodical! at such times as Parliament may direct. Appeals against assessments shall be heard in open court, after the valuation lists have been published for sixty days and the objections thereto for thirty days. Objection may be made by any person to the valuation of either his own or any other person's land.
- The entire control and management of the debenture and ground-rent business shall be conducted by the Land Tax Department. No political influence shall be permitted; and to ensure this the department shall be removed from all ministerial control, and be administered under an Act of Parliament.
- The recovery of ground-rent not punctually paid shall be by ordinary process of law. On no account shall the land of a debtor be taken by the department. In the event of an owner's bankruptcy the land shall vest, for disposal, in the Official Assignee, and shall be publicly advertised and dealt with by him. Crown claims to be preferential.
- The titles to land shall continue to be held, conveyed, and bequeathed in the same way as at present.
- All persons desiring to acquire or part with land shall be free to make their own bargains, without reference to any official, and to convey the whole or any part, as they may mutually arrange. From the date of sale the new owner will be liable for the ground-rent of the land he has taken over, and shall pay direct to the department. The former owner's debentures will not be affected by the transfer of his land.
- The existing stamp duty on conveyances shall be abolished, and the charge for registration shall be a clerical one only.

## A Comparison with Current Reforms.

We are not adherents of any political party, and do not desire to make or unmake any Government, but to place before the whole people what we believe to be sound views upon the greatest of all economic questions. The following comparison is offered as an entirely friendly suggestion to all genuine and advanced reformers:—

Our present legislators recognise that, in some sense, the *Land Question* is the one of *greatest importance*; but they aim at *increased settlement* only, and it is evident they do not clearly recognise the other feature of fundamental importance in it—viz., the existence of *private monopoly of ground-rent*, whether by *many* or by *few*. If they clearly perceived this, as we hope they will come to do, they would not buy up estates from a *few* to sell parts of them again to the *many*. Neither would they *let* portions of such lands on *long leases*, at to-day's rental, without any provision for future *re-assessments*. For to do either of these is to maintain, almost intact, the *same legal claim* (on the part of individuals) to the enjoyment (respectively for ever or for a term of years) of the *increment* that the future must bring to all of these lands. This increment is not caused by the expenditure of individual labour and capital upon it, but by the increase around it of the community and its enterprise, on the one hand, and by the constant addition of public works and facilities on the other.

The result of both the selling and leasing plans will be to create a *large* privileged class out of a *small* one. They will enable greater number than formerly to take wealth that others have produced. They keep the same horse running on the course and only *multiply its riders*. It is a change of the *horse* that is required. The new freeholders may not, for many years, blossom out into a class, such as the landed aristocracies of the old world, living *exclusively* upon ground-rents; but this development is only a question of *tint*. Similarly, the earnings of the *new class of leaseholders* will be more and more largely supplemented, as time goes on, by the privilege of reaping that which the *public* has sown.

The system of leasing public lands is open to another objection. This is that the rent is nearly always fixed before any proof of the value of the land has been afforded by actual trial. It follows that those who are fortunate in their selections obtain a special advantage, whilst those who are unfortunate protest and agitate until a Settlers lie-valuation Bill or a Fair Rent Bill is passed. This shows the equity and the necessity of periodical re-valuations of all lands.

One of the proposals made in the financial statement this session will illustrate the existing difficulty, and will show how the extension of all public services works with partiality to individuals. It is suggested that certain specified railway freights from places one hundred miles from the principal centres should be reduced so as to equal those from places only twenty miles distant. The more distant freeholders and leaseholders would benefit by this at the expense of the nearer ones, and the general public would have to make good any resulting deficiency in revenue. Under our system the re-assessment of lands, so benefited or depreciated, would redress any inequality, and cause it to be, at the most, only temporarily felt.

We feel convinced that thoughtful men and women in every department of life, who have taken the trouble

to study the question, are aware that this is an important omission from the present efforts at reform; that they are economically deficient, and, as a consequence, must result in the continuance of a large number of existing evils. *Like causes* will (the conditions remaining the same) produce it *like effects*. *Private monopoly of ground-rent*, perpetuated and conferred upon more people, must work evil at an accelerated pace, whether the efforts of those who brought about the extension were intended benevolently or the reverse.

But this is not all, for under universal suffrage, in the justice of which we are firm believers, there will in future be more voters who are interested in this monopoly and who will therefore uphold its existence, and make its reform or destruction more and more difficult. It is therefore of the utmost importance to the mass of the people that the changes made under a democratic system should be made on correct economic lines. When these have been determined upon, the only safe way to apply them will be to observe strict justice as between private and public claims. The masses have suffered long enough from the application of unsound principles. Their only safety, now that they have got the power, is to invoke the spirit of even-handed justice, and to sternly refuse every bait that may be held out to catch their selfish support. We ask no one to apply a weaker test than this to our proposals. Let them be criticised, firstly, to see if they are *correctly conceived*; secondly, to see whether they are just; and thirdly, whether they are calculated to *effect* their *purpose*. If our contentions are sound, we have no doubt that they will be gladly accepted by the more soundly progressive men both in Parliament and outside of it.

Our plan would promote settlement, while it also aims directly at the root of that evil from which, we believe, arises the artificial distribution of wealth and comfort which produces the alarming discrepancy between the conditions of men to-day. This evil, we contend, is the private holding of the earth's surface, and consequently of the materials and forces of nature, together with the enjoyment of public facilities, *without making an equivalent annual payment*. It is this possession, by descent from sire to son or from one cash purchaser to another, of natural opportunities and social conveniences, without an equivalent payment to the public, that enables the few to appropriate part of the wealth produced by others. It does this by preventing the rest of the people from obtaining access to these advantages, except under the condition of *paying rent* annually to the holders thereof. This power, thus held by the few, enables them also to impose *conditions of tenure*, such as render the operations of their tenants—and therefore the possession of all the proceeds thereof—insecure. This discourages that enterprise and thoroughness without which the best use will never be made of land. It is a fact of universal experience that a *tenant* never cultivates or makes improvements as vigorously as an *owner* does; hence the universal desire for ownership. But existing conditions, by enabling a few to hold a *saleable* privilege, makes ownership impossible except to those who have capital beyond that which is necessary to buy stock, seed, implements, etc. The present system, though nominally a freehold one, really *denies* a freehold to the *majority* of the users of land. It will thus be seen that to the *discouragement* of the operations of *all tenants* is added the absolute *prevention* of most men securing that tenure which is the only one under which they may safely put forth their strength and ability, knowing that all the proceeds will be their own.

We seek to make it necessary that *all should pay*, year by year to the State, just as the many are now obliged to pay to the few, the *equivalent value* of the use of the natural and social opportunities which they personally enjoy. This payment would render the imposition of any taxes or rates unnecessary. At the same time, we wish to destroy all the *uncertain conditions* of tenure that the few now impose upon the many, and to establish *perfect security of tenure for all*. The result would encourage the *best possible use* of all land, and secure the full produce to the producer; If we can bring about this result we may expect every future *user* to work as *vigorously* as every present *owner*,

The next effect of our proposal of requiring an annual payment equivalent to the value of the opportunities enjoyed by each would be to take away the *privilege* which is now *saleable*. This would destroy the *selling value* of all land. After that is done the would-be user of land would not have to part with any capital before he could acquire the right to use it securely. Thus all his capital would be devoted to useful production, and none would be used for securing a privileged possession.

We submit that the adoption of these principles would give logical completeness to the best intentions of our present legislators. In the method by which we propose to give them effect we have endeavoured to show the utmost consideration to existing owners of land. Many of these have made great sacrifices to buy land—not for the sake of obtaining an income from others by becoming their landlords, nor for the sake of making an unearned profit by speculative holding and reselling, but—because purchase afforded their only chance of working without restriction or dictation and of retaining the proceeds of their industry. These owners, in common with the landlord and speculator, have viewed with great alarm our earlier proposal that the State should resume the ground-rent by gradually increasing the taxation upon it. Rapidly as our views are spreading over the world, this fear has always been its greatest hindrance. We are as much delighted as any owners can be at having at last seen the prospect of a better solution of the difficulty, and we have hastened to make the plan widely known as soon as it was possible to work out its details.

Let us now pass to an analysis of the *methods* proposed respectively by Parliament and ourselves. That of the former involves the necessity of borrowing more money from England. This is required for both their operations—viz., that of buying back estates and that of lending cheap money to farmers. The borrowing plan has many disadvantages, of which we may name the following:—

- It involves the Colony in further debt.
- Owing to the cost of floating loans, we do not receive the whole sum for which we become indebted.
- The interest on the whole sum becomes payable at once whereas there will be delay in getting some portions of the money placed here in a revenue-producing position.
- The State has to collect the interest from parties in the Colony, and pay it to others outside.
- The possible default of the State's debtors will not exonerated from paying in full to the foreign bondholders.
- We have to bear the annual cost of remitting money to pay the interest due in England.
- Party feeling, whatever Government may be in power, must lead to taking undue risks in buying from or lending to partisans, while refusing desirable lands or securities offered by opponents. Apart from the demoralising tendency of such actions, they will certainly result in loss of funds, for the repayment of which the whole people is responsible.

Beyond all these, another doubtful element is contained in the Treasurer's proposals. It is this: that both the purchasing and lending schemes involve dealings in *improvements* as well as land. The Treasurer's own words are—"I believe . . . it will be quite safe to . . . advance up to two-thirds of the value of the security." If this suggestion were adopted it would cause some part of the State's security to rest upon *perishable improvements*. This is certainly a most *dangerous* course for the State to embark upon. Again, we must always remember that the buying and lending schemes are to be applied only to *country* properties, and that the improvements upon these are not of such a permanent character as those in towns.

Another important fact about the present schemes, whatever their good points may be, is the very *limited extent* to which they can be realised. They must always be limited in two respects: first, by the extent to which the electors will sanction an increase of debt; and second, by the extent to which the English lenders will be willing to make advances. No doubt the Government is quite as conscious of this as we are, and chafes equally under the restraint. We trust, therefore, that it will carefully consider our proposal, the more so as coming from a body that is favourable to its general policy, and is only anxious to see that policy improved and extended.

In this hope we will now proceed to comment upon the leading features of our *method*. Having just dealt with the financial difficulties presented by the *borrowing* feature of the Government plan, it may be convenient to consider, in this respect, the advantages of issuing *debentures* instead—

- It does not increase the debt of the Colony.
- There will be no loss incurred analagous to that of the cost of floating a loan in London.
- The ground-rent would become payable all over the Colony as soon as the interest on the debentures began to accrue, and thus no gap would occur between the two such as that which must take place during the investment of a loan.
- The State would receive from and pay to the same parties at first, and would in most cases continue to do so. No money, or its equivalent in produce, would be sent out of the Colony.
- With regard to the risk assumed by the State in agreeing to pay interest, it will be seen that is long is the land and its debenture continue to be held by the original owner he could only make default in the event of future re-assessment raising his ground-rent to a greater amount than the interest due on his debenture. But he could only handle and sell his debenture in the event of his improvements amounting to 30 per cent, of his unimproved land value. In this case they would be too valuable to throw away. He would not, therefore, be likely to sell his debenture, desert his land, and leave the Colony.

In the other event, of an owner wishing to sell a property with less than 30 per cent, of improvements upon it, he would be interested in doing so to a *bonâ fide* user, because his debenture would still be withheld until the new owner raised the improvements to the stipulated amount. The State's risk of getting the ground-rent from the new owner would thus be very small, because no one under the new *régime* would hold land out of use for speculative purposes, and he could not use it without laying out something upon it in improvements, and thus acquiring such an interest as would always be worth holding on to and therefore paying rent to conserve.

- The interest would be payable in the Colony, and would, therefore, cost nothing for remittance. We propose to pay the same as the Government proposes to charge—viz., 5 per cent, believing it to be a fair minimum rate for private loans.
- Party feeling could not enter into our plan, because the Government would not acquire the titles to land or exercise control upon it at any point.
- Two of the most important incidental advantages of our proposal are, that it would at one operation (a)

render all existing land value a liquid asset, and (b) destroy its future selling value. The debentures granted to owners and mortgagees would be readily sold, and their proceeds used as capital for assisting production. At the same time, their issue by the State would entitle it to charge ground-rent upon all land, and this would kill its selling value. Thus, intending users, who have sufficient capital to start production upon either a large or small scale, would not be met by the present prohibitive demand of a cash premium before they can obtain perfectly secure tenure of land. Both *convertibility* of present land values and *opportunity* for secure and universal use of land are thus brought into existence by a *single operation*.

- The stimulus which all business operations would receive from the additions of *convertibility* and *opportunity* would have the effect of making the public revenue in every department more buoyant. Thus, the Colonial Treasurer would find his estimates of revenue exceeded at once, and would not have to wait for a surplus until a new assessment of land brought him in an increase of ground-rental.

Another contrast is presented by the fact that we ask the State to accept no responsibility in regard to improvements.

Then our proposal would achieve a universal reform by making present and future ground-rent a *public* instead of a *private* fund.

We are not content to do this merely in country districts, and only here and there even in them; but we wish to carry out our principle *universally*, both in town and country. We wish to remove not only agriculture but every other use of land from the interference of landlords, speculators, mortgagees, or political parties, and from the control of officials. We aim at placing all operations of industry for the future upon a basis that shall secure the produce to the producer, and to bring this change about without introducing, either at the beginning or during the progress of the reform, the slightest dislocation of colonial, local, or individual finance.

It will have been noticed, also, that our plan does not need the control of officials in *parcelling out* land for settlement. It is now assumed, and rightly so, that official help is necessary to obtain land for those who *cannot otherwise* get it. But we take away every inducement which now prompts men to secure land for other purposes than *use*. When this is done, by charging all lands with ground-rent *according to their respective values*, they may be exchanged between individuals, like any form of produce or merchandise, without fear of injustice to any one. When the owning of land ceases to be a saleable privilege, the public interests cannot suffer from private dealings, and it will not be necessary to continue official regulation.

We contend that when the State receives *all* ground-rent, which it will do after it has redeemed the debentures, no landlord will be able, by letting his land, to obtain a margin of income from it over and above the rent he pays for it; no speculator will hold land out of use when it involves him in an annual loss equal to the ground-rent payable for it. Landlordism and speculation will, therefore, cease to exist long before the process of redemption is complete. Investments will after this be sought for only in improvements, or in productive, useful, or pleasure-giving operations.

Amongst the detailed consequences that may reasonably be expected follow will be that—

- *Men* who are not *capitalists* will be able to get *secure possession of land*:
- *building* and *improvement* will no longer be discouraged by in-security of tenure:
- *business* of all kinds will be stimulated:
- *employment* will be *increased*:
- *skilful* and *thrifty* men could more easily start for themselves:
- *less competition* for *employment* will be the result, and *employment* will, therefore, be more *constant*, and *wages* must *rise*?
- The *rise* of *wages*,
- the greater *constancy* of employment,
- the *increase* of employment,
- the increase in the number of men working *for themselves*,
- the growth of *improvements*,
- the *stimulus* given to all *businesses*, and ultimately
- the absence of *interest charge on foreign loans*,
- will increase the *purchasing power* of the community,
- will extinguish the *unemployed difficulty*, and
- will leave only the aged and the afflicted to ask for charitable aid.

Most of the efforts now being made throughout the world are in the direction of State Socialism, whereas ours aim at individuals. Not the individualism of the present, with its admixture of privilege to a section, because that does not by any means afford a fair presents of its possibilities. We are not at all surprised at the widespread dissatisfaction with existing *mixed* conditions, for we fully share it; but we wish to discriminate carefully between the *good* and the *bad* feature which these exhibit. Our contention is, that the evil does not lie with the *individualistic* features, but with certain faults that have *distortion* their true action. The points of

divergence are those at which private monopoly has *superseded* individualism. The presence of monopoly must not be mistaken for a *feature of* individualism, but be looked upon as a *partial denial of* it. Its removal, therefore, will leave the great principle free to develop naturally. We have in the past granted certain concessions to private companies for the carrying on of useful operations that under existing conditions must of necessity become monopolies, and have often grown into very valuable ones railways and tramways for conveying goods or passengers, companies for the production and supply of gas or electricity, and compared for the conveyance of water, are of this nature. They have been allowed exclusive rights to the use of public highway and consequently to exclusive supply of the inhabitants occupying large areas of land. Thus they enjoy, without progressive payment, the increasing benefits for which freeholders obtain, and tenants pay, an ever-increasing ground-rent. Both privileges clearly come into the same category. It would be impossible to alter this allowing an indefinite number of competitors to enter the field, because the highways could not contain the necessary rails or pipes. We consider, therefore, that the only feasible plan of giving the public the advantage of the increasing value which the community attaches in highways and to districts is to conduct all such operations nationally or municipally—call it socially if you will. Our method of dealing with land value might be applied to the purchase of the interests such companies at the present market value of their shares. [unclear: image not readable] this was done they could be taken over and worked by the public authorities. This transfer would end the constant antagonism of public and private interests now existing, and would enable all to pull in the same direction for the general good. Individualism would, by the elimination of landlordism and monopoly, be freed from the complicating interests that now mar its development and lead so many, thinking these are inherent in the system, to look upon it as an effete and objectionable one. The fact is that real individual freedom has never yet been tried.

The proposed reform would, in our opinion, achieve the true and desirable conservation of *individualism* for the supply of *personal* wants, and the fitting introduction of *socialism* for the attainment of *collective* benefits.

## Desirable Objects to be Attained by the Reform.

Mill, in his autobiography, written subsequently to his great work, "The Principles of Political Economy," said that he considered that "the social problem of the future is how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe and an equal participation in all the benefits of combined labour."

A very similar aspiration comes to us from a widely different source, and period of time, in an utterance during the present year by "The Texas Union Workman," to the following effect:—"The problem to be solved by men who aspire to freedom is—what shall be done that one man may not be in the slightest degree dependent on the goodwill of another man for the opportunity to procure a livelihood? Till this problem is solved, freedom will remain a fiction, and slavery a stern reality."

We believe that the following improvements are calculated very largely to secure the above desirable consummation, and that they may be brought about by the adoption of our plan for bringing the Single Tax into operation:—

- To reduce, and ultimately extinguish, the control of the State in the apportionment and management of land.
- To free all land from the control of mortgagees, speculators, and landlords.
- To remove the power of the "dead hand," which now limits the free spread of population according to the desire of the living.
- To ensure that all lands shall be put to the best uses of which they are capable.
- To remove conditions which, by enabling men to hold areas out of use between country settlers, unduly scatter the population, cause premature public expenditure upon roads, make railways less useful, and prevent the supply of many conveniences.
- To remove conditions which, by enabling men to hold suburban lands against the free expansion of city populations tend to unduly concentrate the residents into small areas, and thus produce crowded, and therefore unhealthy, slums.
- To ensure that the possession of land shall not become a privilege in the hands of capitalists; that it shall only be held in return for the annual payment to the State of its ground-rent value; and that the entire ground-rent nationalised, shall be used for public purposes only, instead of being allowed to become the *private* possession of individuals.

- To enable those who are not capitalists to acquire secure possession of land, and by this means, together with the abolition of taxes and rates, to retain the full produce of their industry.
- To bring all land into use as fast as intending users need it, and to do so in the readiest way.
- To gradually remove all taxes and local rates which fall upon buildings, improvements, or other productions of industry within the Colony, or which hinder the freest exchange of our produce with that of other countries.
- To gradually repay all our outside indebtedness.
- To cause the State or the local authority to initiate or acquire all such public undertakings as by enjoying public concession must, with the growth of population, become valuable monopolies.

## Special Effects of the Reform.

On the *Intending* Owner.—All selling value having disappeared from land, an intending user could obtain it without parting with any capital, and would get a secure and permanent title to it at much less expense.

On the *Mortgaged* Owner.—Nearly all control exercised over mortgaged owner by the mortgagee would be removed many cases the 5 per cent, ground-rent required from him would be a relief compared with the former interest charge.

On the *Unencumbered* Owner.—It would guarantee to the no encumbered owner his 1891 land value without uncertainly but would take from him any chance of profit arising from possible future advance in its value. It would give him a negotiable debenture, the sale of which would afford a means of turning his *whole* present land value into floating capital more promptly, and at far less cost, than he can under the present plan raise only a *part* of the amount on mort gage. There would be no disturbance brought about in his present financial position, whether he is now in receipt of ground-rent or not, seeing that the interest to which his debenture entitled him would equal the ground-rent demanded from him. To the extent that he relieved himself of the payment of ground-rent by parting with any of his land, he would acquire a margin of income from his debenture.

On *All* Owners.—Owing to the fact that all ground-rent would be claimed by the State, land would cease to have any selling value, and no capital would be necessary to procure a secure permanent title. Owners would, therefore, be in a better position to get more land if they required it, or to obtain applicants for a portion if they desired to part with some. The cost of conveyance would be reduced by the abolition of stamp duty and the substitution of a merely clerical fee for its registration. There would no longer be any inducement to hold land for any other purpose than use. Thus, no income could be obtained by a landlord, and no profit be secured by a speculative holder. Investors might still put up buildings to let to tenants, as they do now, but their net income, after providing for insurance and depreciation, would simply be the interest of the money laid out in an industrial product. They could not, under a system of periodical reassessment, secure to themselves, in the average of cases, any margin beyond the ground-rent of the allotments occupied by their buildings. They would thus be unable in future to get for their private enjoyment that value which was created by the presence of a growing community and by the supply, at the public expense, of increased conveniences in the vicinity of the sites occupied by their buildings.

On the *Mortgagee*.—It would give to every mortgagee a State guarantee, in a negotiable form, in exchange for the bulk, or the whole, of the security now given by the landowner to him. The interest might not be as high as the mortgagee contracted to get, but the *certainty* of receiving it, the absence of contingent liability and trouble in cases where he had to take possession, and the ease with which he could turn his debenture into cash, would probably be welcomed as a full compensation.

## A Few Words to Single Taxers.

We are quite conscious that the foregoing proposal may come as a great shock to many of our friends. It is undoubtedly a departure, of a very marked character, from our former plan of bringing the Single Tax into operation. We ask you, therefore, to weigh carefully the reasons which have led us to take it. In doing so you will see that it is a change in *method* only, and that we do not propose any alteration in the great *principle* which all Single Taxers wish to introduce, of taking ground-rent for public purposes. At the same time, we do not wish to minimise either the significance or the importance of the change. It amounts to no less than the *buying out* of the existing interests of all who are now receiving ground-rent, or enjoying its equivalent in special facilities, instead of gradually taking it back by *progressive taxation*.

Hitherto no feasible *alternative* to this plan has been suggested. Our opponents have, it is true, demanded

that landowners must be first bought out. But to do this by borrowing a sufficient sum of money was clearly impossible. The people would never take upon themselves the responsibility; and, even if they did, such a loan could not be obtained. This difficulty left us no alternative but to advocate the introduction of the Single Tax gradually and without compensation. Such a time-extension of the privilege of receiving or enjoying ground-rent was an inevitable concession of principle to policy. Our present plan is of the same nature, but political events have moved rapidly of late, and these seem to present a new opening for a plan that avoids many objections which could be urged against the old method.

It is due to you, as fellow-believers and workers, that we should explain the reasons that have influenced us. Whether we approve or not, we must face the fact that Parliament has definitely *decided upon* buying up the interests of some landowners, and that it has made great advances in putting it into *actual practice*. In addition to the Cheviot estate of 84,755 acres, at a cost of £260,220, we bought 1,027 acres in 1892-3, and within the past year another area of 9,113 acres, for £39,117; while Parliament has just sanctioned the borrowing of £250,000 for further purchases. In regard to the last-named sum, the words used by the Minister of Lands during the debate are very significant. He is reported to have said that "an engagement had already been entered into for the greater part of that sum." amendment to reduce the amount was negatived by forty-six votes to sixteen.

Now, whatever our former contentions might be worth as regards resuming the legal lights of owners generally, it is quite evident, from the foregoing facts, that they have obtained but little favour. But if we still continue to urge them in connection with rights so recently obtained, as are those of the purchasers and lessees of these re-purchased lands, we should be still more out of court. Indeed, to do so would be asking more than many of us would consider right. For this fact must be borne in mind: that these recent transactions have not been entered into by a Parliament largely composed of landowner enjoying plural votes in virtue of holding landed property. Last Parliament was elected on a "one man one vote" franchise, and the present one by "one man and one woman one vote each," and it is these which have approved and carried out the new policy,

The adoption of this course by Parliament forms a very real barrier against the acceptance of the Single Tax reform. It must *delay* its commencement, and would *retard* its progress whenever it might be commenced. It has added to the dead-weight resisting power of monopoly and roughened the road by which alone true and permanent reform could proceed.

We are also met on all sides, and in other countries, by proposals to apply *correctives* and *palliatives* to the troubles that exist. Agricultural banks, the multiplication of small holdings, co-operative settlement, co-operative works, profit sharing, old-age pensions, tenement dwellings, and cheap money to farmers, are some of these. Such devices may help a *few people* for a *few years*, but, to the extent that they are effective, they will only add to the collective power of the people to pay ground-rent to landowners. So long as rent is a private perquisite we must continue to levy taxes and rates to maintain public services. So long, also, will owners, and the newspapers they can influence, support such schemes, and do anything and everything but "get off our backs."

What Single Taxers have to decide, therefore, is not whether they approve what is being done, but whether they are prepared to quietly see their more beneficent—and larger—reform postponed by its means. The alternative is, by varying their method, to endeavour to take the tide of existing opinion at the flood, and, by diverting it into a broader channel, aim at achieving a more speedy victory than is possible by persevering in the old method.

We have decided that it is true statesmanship to adopt a new course. One result of doing so will be disputed by no one, and that is that we shall remove the objection, which so many feel, that the killing of selling value by taxation would be an immoral and, therefore a disastrous action. This will greatly strengthen our hands.

But there is another consideration, more important because it involves a question of *principle*, which confirms us in this resolve. It is this: that not only has Parliament adopted a method inferior to ours in its *nature* and *extent*, but one that fails to conserve the *true rights* of the *community*. Its action assumes that the mere extension of *settlement* is the important end, and neglects the fundamental necessity of making *equitable settlement conditions*. This assumption reaches only half of the problem: that half which is more obvious on the surface as a *present* necessity. So far we agree with this policy, but must point out that it does not achieve, or even aim at achieving, the further and—if we would arrive at a *permanent* solution—*absolutely necessary* reform of taking *ground-rent* from *private* hands and placing it at the disposal of the *public*. On the contrary, as we have shown, the present method *strengthens* the hold of individuals upon this vast and ever-increasing fund by replacing *single* owners by *many*, and, therefore, adds very largely to the voting power which will maintain the old abuse.

For what are the facts? Take the action with regard to the Cheviot estate as a fair sample of the rest, It contained 84,755 acres, and belonged to one man. Of this amount 6,498 acres have been sold for cash, and 25,379 acres have been let on lease for 999 years at 4 per cent, upon the present value, with no provision for

re-valuation. In addition to these two classes, who have acquired the right to *all future increase* in ground-rent value, another area of 46,439 acres has been let on twenty-one years' lease, with no revaluation till the end of that term. It is clear that these new owners and lessees will have a more direct appeal in supporting their claims to the right than former ones have, because it has been granted to them so recently by the Legislature. Their votes will of course be cast in the direction of upholding private rights to ground-rent. We need only quote a sentence from the Surveyor-General's last report to show what this voting power *already* is, and to give some idea of what it may *grow* to. He says: "The population in 1891 was about eighty-three, and at the present time is about 650, including unemployed engaged in road works."

Now, we are not alarmed, but delighted, to see efforts being made to extend settlement upon the land. Neither do we wish to add to the hardships of users, but quite the reverse. All that we contend for is that the just interests of the *whole* community must be considered. We say that the transfer of ground-rent from the one owner of Cheviot to any number of owners or "eternal" leaseholders only serves to *continue* the evil, and to entrench it more *strongly*. It does not nationalise its ground-rent, but merely increases the number of these who hold it. It entitles the *new* holders to the same privilege enjoyed by the *old* ones, of retaining all increase of value that may arise from public expenditure and from the increase of population. When we look to the advance of older countries, it does not require a prophet to predict that some parts of this estate may become the sites of towns and cities, and that single acres of it may thus become as valuable as the whole estate is now—viz., over a quarter of a million pounds.

We can see, then, that the public feeling is so strong in favour of more extended settlement, that Parliament is prepared to borrow money to humour this wish by buying back private estates. That, moreover, it is so anxious to do this that it is prepared to push on without much reflection as to whether it is disposing of the land again on sound principles. But we are confident, nevertheless, that the general desire of the people is in accord with ours, and that is to do so without granting, if it can be avoided, any *privileges* to the net holders. In spite of this desire of the people, we assert that their representatives are, in ignorance or carelessness of the ultimate effect of their actions, laying again the foundations of the private monopoly of ground-rent, and even making them stronger than ever.

We are in accord, then, with the desire of the people on the two principal points of *extended settlement* and the *destination of monopoly*. The important point we seek to convince them of is that *both* of these can be secured. We have always contended that they can. In the past our proposal has been to levy a tax on ground-rent, and to steadily increase this until it is all taken. The first object has been to destroy land speculation and to abolish landlordism, by making both unprofitable. The second has been to remove all taxes and rates from every form of industry, and to take ground-rent, which is the creation of the community, for purposes which are for the benefit of the whole community. Our wish is, not simply to *change the incidence* of taxation, but to *destroy* that system *entirely*. We deny that the payment of ground-rent is a *tax* at all, because it is not a deduction from individual earnings. The people, generally, however, have not taken our view of the matter, but have decided to *buy back* certain private estates for the mere purpose of settling more people upon those particular areas.

What is the wise course for Single Taxers to adopt in these circumstances? Shall we, because we cannot see the *whole* of our programme adopted, stand by and see the first step towards the great reform postponed, and, worse still, made more difficult of attainment? We say, Decidedly not. We see the people generally wishing to buy up *estates*. Let us advise them to buy up *ground-rent* instead, and I never to part with it again. The people are applying their method to *small* and *scattered* parcels of *country* land only. Let us advise them to adopt a plan that will release locked-up and partially-used land in the *towns* also, and that will extend its operation over the *whole* Colony. Parliament is *borrowing* money from *England* to carry out its scheme. Let us show the people that our reform can be completed *without* going into *debt*, and by a purely *colonial* operation. Let us recommend them to operate through a *public department*, and not through *party leaders*.

The larger scope that our measure would afford cannot be doubted, but its very magnitude may frighten the timid. We cannot wonder if those who have not studied the Single Tax system have less faith than we possess in the many advantages it would confer on the population generally. Owing to the want of this study, they may think the task of ultimately redeeming the debentures would entirely overtax the strength of the Colony's finances. But *we* need have no such fear, because we can see that the freeing of land-users from the alternative necessities of either paying a premium to become owners, or else working insecurely as tenants, will immensely increase the beneficial use of all land, and will thus lead to a vast and progressively-increasing growth of the ground-rent fund. In the past this growth has gone to the owners, and has produced an increasingly-wealthy class. In the future it would be retained by the whole community, and form an increasing yearly surplus over and above the interest on debentures. To the extent that this expectation was realised, we might expect an increased immigration of people, who would further add to ground-rent, and help us to clear off our present debt and entirely remit all taxes and rates.

# Conclusion.

In proposing this new method of procedure we are largely influenced by the suggestions made by Michael Flürscheim in his book, entitled, "Rent, Interest, and Wages" (Wm. Reeves, London; price 1s.). Mr. F. is an admirer of our leader, Henry George, and differs from him only in the method to be pursued in making ground-rent the only source of colonial and local revenue. We earnestly commend this work to your careful study. He estimates that the new method would completely effect this reform and pay off the debentures in twenty-five years. The most sanguine of us can hardly hope for an earlier success by the old proposal to take ground-rent by taxation.

The main advantages to be expected from our present proposal, as compared with the former one, are:—

- That it would, to use Flürscheim's simile, enclose the existing ground-rent fund as with an iron hoop, and prevent its further growth as a possession of private landowners. The simile of cutting off a dog's tail inch by inch has been used with some effect against the former plan. The dog would squeal at, and resist, each successive operation just as much as the first one. It has been suggested that it would be as well to cut it all off at once. There is much force in the suggestion, and we now propose to adopt it and to make the operation as painless as possible.
- That it would reconcile those who (while fully recognising that the adoption of the Single Tax would produce juster and freer conditions if commenced in a *new community*, yet) are so impressed with the severity of the struggle they have experienced in getting a foothold that they fear lest the introduction of ill *now* would imperil their hard-won savings. Many of these, it may be exacted, will be won over to the reform by the presentation of our new method. This expectation increases the probability of its earlier acceptance.
- That it would do away with the *uncertainty* at present, affecting all dealings with, and use of, land. That it would substitute for this a condition of general stability and confidence.
- That its adoption would involve the immediate and *full* acceptance of our *principle* of using ground-rent as the only public revenue.
- That the further operation of gradually securing ground-rent by redeeming debentures would then proceed steadily with the loyal support of all. Thus the constant agitation and unrest that would attend the former plan, besides the risk of temporary reversal of the reform, would be avoided.
- That it would not, even temporarily, cause any dislocation of colonial, local, or private finance. That it could not be accused, as our former plan was, of reducing the stability of any institutions on which the security of the savings or insurances of the people depend.
- That it would lead owners of all unused, or partially used, land to desire an *immediate* surrender of it to those who would relieve them from the ground-rent charge and make the best use of the land. The former owners would thus secure a State guaranteed income of 5 per cent, upon their 1891 land value.
- That many more of our sympathisers could freely, and even publicly, express their views. This is not safe now owing to the restraint brought to bear upon many by their employers. The latter look upon the Single Tax as endangering their interests, and they, therefore, denounce the plan as confiscatory. This accession of freedom to many individuals would in itself prove a great moral elevator and educator.

We believe, with a confidence that emboldens us to predict, that the colony which first adopts our proposal will solve the greatest social problem of the age, and by doing so produce a hitherto unknown contentment amongst its people; will do much to lay the growing spirit of speculation and its accompaniment, gambling, replacing these unhealthy growths with steady, because hopeful, industry; will enjoy a stable and redundant revenue; will put an end to financial crises; will attract to its shores the best specimens of modern civilised men, and thus build up a great State upon a basis of moral and financial stability such as the world has not yet seen.

On the other hand, we would ask the opponents of reform to consider seriously what is likely to be the alternative. *Do* they imagine that the social strife which is manifest throughout the world can continue indefinitely without producing results disastrous to them as to us? Socialistic ideas are gaining ground daily, and landlordism has no place in the Socialist's theory. Taxation of land values is already a leading idea in all progressive legislation. Is it not evident that a public opinion is arising under which the privilege of appropriating ground-rent will melt like snow in summer? Surely, then, our opponents would be wise to welcome a proposal which at once guarantees existing land values (not because they are just, but because it recognises that the actual owners are not personally culpable) but at the same time effectually prevents the further extension of an unjust system. They may rest assured that if the position were generally understood they could not hope for such easy terms.

The contemplation of the reasonable and moderate expectations foreshadowed herein forces us to the

conclusion that loyalty to our principle leaves us now no option but to advocate a new method, which appears likely to supersede retrograde political movements and to offer an earlier prospect of success to the cause. We therefore venture to; commend it to your earnest consideration.

For the Ground Rent Revenue League,  
Edwd. Withy, PRESIDENT.  
F. M. King, HON. SECRETARY.

*September, 1894.*

## **Wright & Jacques, Print. Auckland.**

### **Ground-Rent Revenue League**

(Auckland Branch),

Under the Honorary Presidency of the  
Rt. Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B.

"He's true to God who's true to man. Where'er a wrong is done

To the humblest, or the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun, That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base; Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.

Rules.

- The name shall be THE GROUND-RENT REVENUE LEAGUE.
- The object of the League shall be to spread by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient, a knowledge of the truth that God has made provision for the needs of all men during-their residence Upon earth, and that involuntary poverty is the result of the human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all; and by every constitutional means to wage an active warfare against the conditions that, in spite of the advance in the powers of productive condemn so many to degrading poverty, and foster vice, crime, and greed.
- The means to be employed in attaining these objects shall be lecture! debates, readings, distribution of tracts and pamphlets, and such other means is may be devised.
- The League shall consist of Members paying a subscription of 2s. 6d., and endorsing the above objects.
- The affairs of the League shall be managed by a Committee, consisting of Hon. President. President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Five Members, with pod to add to their number.
- The League shall meet on the third Tuesday in each month, at 7.30 p.m.; unless otherwise ordered.

Edward Withy President, Parnell.  
F. M. King, Hon. Secretary,

High Street,  
Auckland.

Wright and Jaques, General Printers, Albert Street, Auckland.

## **The Native Land Question.**

[Reprinted from the POVERTY BAY HERALD, Friday, October 6, 1894.]

THIS much vexed question is again occupying the attention of the House of Representatives. The Acts of Parliament previously passed for the purpose of providing for the establishment of Native Land Courts, and governing the conditions under which lands can be acquired from the Natives, have proved faulty and unsatisfactory. In order to improve upon the existing laws, the Hon. Mr Seddon has introduced a new Bill for that purpose. Under its provision the private dealing in Native lands is prohibited, and it is proposed to resume the pre-emptive right of the Crown. A great deal has been kid of the unfair treatment the Natives have suffered through private persons purchasing lands from them, but Mr Hone Heke, the member for the northern Maori district, who is a most capable representative of the Maori race, thinks that the instances of unfair dealing on the

part of Europeans have not been so numerous as to afford grounds for supposing that the Natives are more justly dealt with by the Government agents than by private purchasers. Speaking in the House the other day he maintained that many Maoris had been victimised in the past by Government officers. In years gone by the Native agents, backed by the power of the Government, have inflicted wrongs on the Native race, and even at the present time we cannot see lit the Natives have much to be thankful for to the Government. When purpling laud from them the Government only pay one-third of the value of the land taken, and in a purchase which was completed not long ago a block of a quarter of a million acres of land situated some distance from here was acquired at a cost of 2s per acre. The land taken was estimated at 6s an acre by the Surveyor-General, but only about 5000 acres is suitable for purposes of settlement, while the remainder is of scarcely my value at all, and in consequence of the absence of roads the probability is that a very long period will elapse before the Government will be able to obtain any returns from it. The resumption of the preemptive right of the Crown would not be calculated to benefit the Natives, and would probably result in the cessation of land purchases from them altogether. The Natives, though incapable of understanding sound principles of finance, and living much after the manner of the sparrows, have nevertheless a very good idea of the value of their lands, and under a system by which they only receive a third of the value when selling to the Government, they will not be likely to part with any good land, hut will only consent to sell the worthless portion of their estates. And it would not be by any means an economical way of purchasing land for Government agents to be always journeying from kainga to kainga endeavouring to persuade the Maoris to sell. One plan which has been suggested as being probably acceptable to them, is that the Government should first of all set aside ample reserves of land, of good quality, for their maintenance, and that after all reasonable provision has been made to place them in such a position that they will not necessarily become a burden on the State, that the Government should have power to take from the Natives whatever blocks of land they require, upon payment of a price for it to be mutually agreed upon by valuers appointed to assess the value of the land, both for the Natives and the Government. If native land purchases were conducted upon this basis, the transactions would in all probability be satisfactory to members of both races. On the other hand, if these provisions are not made, there would seem to be bur one other practical course open—to legalise free trade in native land. With respect to the Natives themselves, there can be very little doubt that their numbers are becoming less year by year, and though it is deplorable to contemplate the gradual decadence of an intelligent race, every effort should be made to secure their material welfare by setting aside reserves of land for their special use and benefit.

### New Zealand in the Next Great War

A Note of Warning by Artemidorus

Price Sixpence

Nelson, N.Z. Printed and Published by Alfred G. Betts Hardy Street 1894

## New Zealand in the Next Great War

A Note of Warning by Artemidorus.

"Caesar, beware of Brutus; take heed of Cassius; come not near Casca; have an eye to Cinna; trust not Trebonius; mark well Metellus Cimber; Decius Brutus loves thee not; thou hast wronged Caius Ligarius. There is but one mind in all these men, and it is bent against Caesar. If thou beest not immortal, look about you; security gives way to conspiracy. The mighty gods defend thee! Thy lover.

Artemidorus.'

Here will I stand till Caesar pass along,  
And as a suitor will I give him this.  
My heart laments that virtue cannot live  
Out of the teeth of emulation.  
If thou read this, O Caesar: thou may'st live;  
If not, the Fates with traitors do contrive."

*Julius Cæsar, Act II. Scenc III.*

\* \* \* \*

*We owe it to the memory of our fathers to be in the position to defend the land they have given us.*

\* \* \* \*

*We owe it to the women of our country to be able to protect them from ill-treatment at the hands of invaders.*

\* \* \* \*

*An attempt, on the part of the allied nations of France and Russia, to invade the Australasian Colonies would be, in these dan, no more quixotic than was the descent of the Spanish Armada upon the coasts of England, in the year 1588.*

\* \* \* \*

*To be prepared to meet invasion is one of the most effectual ways of preventing such an undertaking being attempted.*

\* \* \* \*

## **New Zealand in the Next Great War.**

The Continent of Europe is at the present time armed to the teeth. It would appear as though some horrible rumour were abroad which terrifies the nations with unforeseen dangers, the more terrible because arising from sources the least apprehended of, and which cause mutual distrust among the nations from one end of the Continent to the other.

At the present moment there are standing under arms in Europe some 3,690,000 soldiers, whose numbers, should it be deemed necessary, would be immediately raised to 16 millions of trained soldiers, and could be swelled to a figure greater than 17 millions. And these troops are armed with the deadliest weapons the world has ever known.

In the days of Timur the Tartar and of Sultan Bajazet, huge armies existed—armies which fifty years ago were looked upon as stupendous—but their numbers and powers of destruction fade into nothingness when compared with those of the armaments of the present day. Never before in the world's history have such armies existed, neither in point of numbers nor in powers of destruction, as those that terrorise the world in these cultured times—so much so, that, we shrink from contemplating the awful carnage that would occur should war break out—armies which are a burden to the countries which support them; whose ranks are filled with millions of men who would otherwise be swelling the agricultural and commercial wealth of their respective countries or be following the arts of peace, whereas they are a menace to the prosperity of other nations and a hindrance to the people to whom they belong; armies which are the curse of the world.

One naturally asks "How have things come to this pass?" The answer is simple to give. These stupendous armies exist through the mistake of the great German statesmen of 1871, and the pride and hot-headedness of the French nation—and for their awful powers of destruction we have to thank the much-lauded powers of Modern Invention and Science, child and mother, a pretty pair, bringing the means of ease and comfort in one hand and, in the other, holding the menace of death.

What has been described as the greatest political blunder of the nineteenth century—the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany in 1871—caused France to re-organize and develop her military resources, with the object of, one day winning back the lost territory, and thus of healing her wounded pride. To have been conquered is painful enough to France, but to have been conquered by the despised German, the now hated German—the thought is unbearable!

Germany has been forced, in turn, to arm in the same proportion as her dangerous neighbour. And so the two great armies sprang into existence, and the other Powers, feeling uneasy in the presence of such armaments, in turn increased their armies, and perfected their military organisations—all except England, and she has felt that an immense army would be of little service to her in case of war—until the enormous figures which I have quoted have been reached. And, while the armies thus increased, every effort has been made by scientific inventors to perfect the means of destruction to be placed in the hands of these myriads of soldiers—and, truly, those means have been brought to an awful state of perfection; the last invention for destroying life being that of M. Turpin, the inventor of the famous melinite gun, who boasts that he has perfected a weapon capable of discharging a fabulous number of missiles per minute and worked by electricity.

But why, it may be asked, has England abstained from the enormous military extravagance indulged in by the five Great Powers and, to some extent, by the lesser States?

All England's interests are maritime: the sea is her kingdom: her wealth is dependent on her commerce, which is conducted entirely by sea. The British Empire is invulnerable to the huge territorial armies existing, save in India only, so that, while the command of the sea is ours, commerce flourishes and our people, over 300,000,000 in number, are in security and unthreatened by the calamity which territorial war could bring upon them.

The policy of England has ever been to keep off invaders by the establishment of an efficient fleet of warships. King Alfred the Saxon recognized the wisdom of this policy a thousand years ago: it was through the neglect of it that England was conquered by the Normans: Edward the First built and organised a splendid fleet

which was divided into three squadrons: Edward the Third maintained a large fleet: Henry the Fifth owed his conquests in France to the existence of his powerful fleet of 1,600 sail: Henry the Eighth fostered the maritime spirit of the nation, and had ships, constructed solely for warlike purposes, armed with cannons: it was this policy that saved England from the power of Spain and from the threatened invasion of Napoleon: and for the last century our Empire has rested secure under the knowledge that the recognition of this; policy has ever been uppermost in the minds of its rulers. The British Navy has ruled the seas since the days of Benbow, and its victories have given to us the first place

Though our naval heroes of the Elizabethan time and the indomitable Blake did much to make England's fame at sea what it is, yet it is from the year 1674 (the year when peace was concluded with the Dutch who, it must be owned, for a short time had England at their mercy) that in truth our sovereignty of the seas dates. Since that year we have been unquestionably the first naval Power.

amongst maritime nations. Under the security of our man power, our commerce has increased to such an extent during the present century as to be unparalleled in the history any nation; our Colonies have flourished; our sea trade has become enormous, so enormous that seventh-tenths of the commerce of the world across the seas is conducted by British subjects; and our wealth is in consequence very great.

The Ocean is the possession of the British nation, and upon our sovereignty of the seas depends our existence as an Empire—so long as we can hold our possession, we are perfectly safe. And, although the possession of the sea necessitates a large naval equipment, we are justified in spending every penny needful for building the warships that are required to make our sovereignty unquestioned.

Should any foreign power, anxious to wrest this sovereignty from us, increase her Navy to such proportions as to outnumber our own; or should two or more foreign nations suddenly effect an alliance which should give them a combined naval force superior to our own; if either of these two emergencies suddenly occurred, it would be our immediate duty to spare no money or labour in building such a number of warships as should give us once more the necessary superiority. Even the great Cobden, who is said to have established the 'no foreign politics' theory, gave it as his opinion that, if France should by secret means suddenly endeavour to outnumber us in our naval establishment, he would immediately propose the voting of as great a sum of money as £100,000,000, should that sum be required for building the necessary warships.

But, it may be asked, what is the proportion in which our Navy should stand to those of other naval powers so as to give us the unquestioned superiority, which is necessary to the safe conduct of our commerce and to the safety of our Colonies from invasion? This question necessitates an argument.

In order that our merchant-ships may cruise in safety in times of war as well as of peace—and the importance of the inter-communication thus afforded will be understood when it is said that Great Britain, upon whose freedom from Invasion our freedom in these Colonies depends, cannot subsist upon the food produced within its limits, but depends largely upon supplies sent from abroad—in order that the integrity of the Empire may be maintained, it is necessary for us to be in a position to immediately blockade each military port of our enemies with such a naval force, superior to that of the enemy within it, that we could annihilate their ships should they put to sea; and to hold in reserve a sufficient force to sweep from the surface of the the ocean such war-ships, opposed to us, as might remain at large.

This policy was first adopted by Lord St. Vincent in 1803, and was crowned with the greatest success, and it is the policy recommended by the Committee on the Naval Manœuvres of 1888, which Committee consisted of three Admirals of the Navy, and whose opinion it was that we should possess a force of battle-ships sufficient to place five ironclads to watch every three of the enemy's in their harbours, and to hold in reserve a fleet such as is usually-deemed sufficient to defend the English Channel. In other words, to carry out this naval policy we should possess about twice as many ironclads and protected cruisers as are possessed by any foreign Power or combination of foreign Powers that may be, in any way, likely to go to war with us.

Let us see whether we possess such a naval superiority. Compared individually with the great maritime nations, France, Italy, Russia and Germany, Great Britain has the greater number of ironclads. *But France combined with either Italy, Germany, or Russia would outnumber us.*

By reference to the Naval Annual, at the end of 1892 the Naval Armaments of these four great Powers would appear to have been as follows:—

Since then many ships have been added to the above Navies, especially in the case of France. During last year; France launched 4 battle-ships, 6 cruisers, 1 torpedo cruiser 2 torpedo boats, 1 submarine boat; and since 1892 Russia has built 24 torpedo boats, besides other vessels, and will launch this year 3 ironclads, 2 torpedo rams and 8 torpedo boats.

The Austrian Navy consists of 14 ironclads, 12 torpedo gunboats, 62 torpedo boats, besides 62 other vessels.

Last October England possessed:—

To which will be added almost immediately 5 ironclads, 14 cruisers, 7 torpedo gunboats, 1 torpedo catcher.

Besides which 1 ironclad, 2 sloops, 3 torpedo catchers are in course of construction. And large additions are contemplated.

More perfect figures can be obtained when the Naval Annual for 1894 reaches us; however, with additions to the Navies of foreign nations, the above lists give, nearly, the number of ships of war that could be put to sea in case of war.

And, should peace be broken with us, what would most likely be the naval forces opposed to us? One thing is certain, we should have to fight no one of the above Navies by itself. We should have to fight either Germany and Italy and Austria together, or else France and Russia together.

The former emergency is highly improbable, but the latter is considered possible.

At the latter end of last year, France and Russia entered into a secret Alliance—we all remember the telegrams conveying news of the extraordinary antics displayed by the French towards the sailors of the Russian Fleet when in Paris last October. To support my statement as to the secret Alliance between these two Powers, I would quote from the famous article by Admiral Maxse, in the 'National Review':—"As far as appearances go the Russian-Franco Alliance is a *fait accompli* . . . . If the extraordinary fraternization and embracing which took place in the streets of Paris did not mean an alliance, there was no meaning in the demonstration . . . . Although official France would fain reassure England, we know the immediate consequence of the *entente* has been that the Russian and French Chancelleries have been working together wherever there has been a conflict of French and English interests. If France can always rely upon Russia to support her when there is a difference between France and England, that is bad for England; and it is equally bad that in Russian and English disputes the former can rely upon French support. We have thus two Powers always united against us."

Besides this isolated opinion, it is evident that the population of Britain is awake to the danger that exists through the Dual Alliance, or else why the loud demands to sell the Suez Canal Shares in order to at once build sufficient warships that our Navy may outnumber that of the Dual Alliance? Why is the whole of England in a ferment over the question of our Naval superiority?

It is indeed a recognised fact that France and Russia have entered into a secret Alliance. Therefore there is a combined fleet of 97 Ironclads, 104 Cruisers, 131 Sloops and Gunboats, 282 Torpedo Craft, and 1 Submarine Boat (not counting all the recent additions to the French and Russian Navies) which might possibly be opposed to our fleet of 80 Ironclads, 121 Cruisers, 128 Sloops and Gunboats, 167 Torpedo Craft, and 1 Torpedo Ram (counting the ships that will be 1 completed during the present year to March.)

Have we, therefore, a sufficient Naval force to carry out the policy recommended by the three Admirals, the policy pursued by Lord St. Vincent in 1803, the policy which alone insures perfect safety to our trade in time of war?

Have we twice the number of warships that any Naval Power or combination of Naval Powers might bring against us? No.

However, is there any possibility of war being declared between the Dual Alliance and Great Britain?

Truly, there is no likelihood of such a war if England be left to declare it. Our interests demand peace, our commerce is fostered best under conditions of peace, our young Colonies need peace in order to develop their resources. The Englishman does not hate war, but he does not court it. He fights, if it is necessary, and sets to work circumspectly and with a will, and heretofore he has always, save once, come out of the melee successfully. But his instincts incline him to commerce, and therefore to peace.

It will then only be under great provocation that Great Britain will declare war with the Dual Alliance.

Is, however, the Dual Alliance likely to proclaim war against Great Britain? If we shuffle out of Egypt, and so endanger our communication with India; if we disclaim all interest in the welfare of Turkey and the independence of Constantinople; if we sever our lately made treaty with the Ameer of Afghanistan; if we withdraw our fleet from the Mediterranean and surrender the sovereignty of the seas; if we agree to forfeit our position as the greatest commercial nation of the world, then, probably, No. If Lord Cromer's threat to oust the Khedive, should he again prove refractory, be carried out; should the pacific Czar be blown up or be poisoned, as he appears to be afraid may be the case any day: should Russia on the strength of her newly formed Alliance make a step towards Constantinople, or encroach on the Ameer's border; should a score of other things happen, then, possibly, Yes. To quote again from Admiral Maxse:—"Russia is an aggressive Power, and aggressive in a direction which must ultimately force a war upon England. Every good Russian frankly admits that Russia's slumbering ambition is to occupy Constantinople and extend southwards . . . . Should we resist her attack on Turkey in Europe, or the extension of her power in Asia Minor? Over this Great Britain has a Protectorate. It depends rather upon the Government which is in office at the time. Suppose Great Britain declines to defend Turkey, another challenge and occasion for war will arise later, when English prestige has been damaged by her previous inaction: India will be threatened, and, I take it, that at this last ditch of our supremacy as an Oriental Power, we shall stand and employ the whole resources of the Empire to defend India from Russian invasion . . . ."

. To the French people the Alliance (with Russia) means—whensoever the propitious moment may arrive—a war for the recovery of the provinces (Alsace-Lorraine),—or it may mean a war with detestable Albion . . . . Our future relations depend on her own disposition."

But a war with Russia now means a war with France too, and a war with France means a war against Russia.

The 17th of December last was the centenary of the recapture of Toulon by the French. That town had been occupied by the British at the invitation of the Dauphin and a large proportion of the inhabitants, and when we evacuated it on the approach of a force of 60,000 Republican troops, our ships conducted 15,000 of the inhabitants to England for protection. Of the remainder of the inhabitants, nearly one half, 7000 souls, were massacred with the most diabolical cruelty, irrespective of age or sex, by the Republican troops of their own nation.

However, last December the present inhabitants of Toulon celebrated the centenary of the recapture of their city from the British. At the celebration of that centenary, a patriotic Frenchman, M. Deloncle, made a most vehement and unbridled speech, attacking England, which country was, he said, "*the implacable enemy of his race.*" This incident is worth noting

The Melbourne '*Age*' lately printed these ominous words—"Russia alone is to be feared as England's death foe. The future is to England or Russia; and whether it shall be to us or her we must decide without delay. Unless there were grounds for more than disquiet, Lord Roseberry would never have uttered warning words to the departing Viceroy of India, and we trust that Lord Elgin's words of quiet determination are a happy augury of the future. We English have prided ourselves on our ability to realize facts, and to face them with a calm and firm courage. The vigour of the English nation is yet alive, though perhaps a little enervated by peace and prosperity. But it is there, and if the call on it shall come it will be displayed as in the past. He is no true man who despairs of the state. *Yet one thing there is and this that we must make ready our house and be strong and prepared for whatever may happen. This is the only way It preserve ourselves and the Empire built up by our forefathers with so much blood and treasure; this is the only way to be true to the great traditions of our race.*" And never did simple, strong words contain greater truth. '*Haud semper erret fama.*'

There is—it is evident to everyone who has any knowledge of European politics—a possibility of our being precipitated into a war with the Dual Alliance, almost at any time.

It is also a fact beyond dispute that the combined fleets of France and Russia outnumber our own.

What then is the course that our Statesmen should follow at the present junction of affairs? Some would advise that Great Britain join the Triple Alliance, and seek shelter in that way. Some would advise the immediate building of sufficient warships to successfully cope with the Navies of the Dual Alliance, and this, it is calculated, would necessitate the immediate expenditure of £23,000,000. Some, the little-minded, no-minded folk, say 'All is secure. Do not fear. There will be no war. And even if there were, it would not come this way' and then they refix their minds on the making of money, which is all in all to their souls, blind to the fact that the gold which they so cherish is the attraction which is likely to bring war their way. Great Britain's territories, which are her wealth—India, Australia, for example—are possessions which would prove a welcome prize to the Russian and French nations should those Powers be able to acquire them.

Neither is it wise to lull our minds into a sense of security by saying broadly, as Mr. Gladstone does, that the tonnage of our Navy is greater than that of Russia and France combined, and therefore to infer that our superiority is unquestioned. The tonnage of the Invincible Armada was 59,120 tons and that of our opposing fleet 29,744 tons, and yet this feature of strength did not save Spain from disaster.

And for aught we know the very hugeness and unwieldiness of our great battle-ships may be a curse to our naval Strength rather than a blessing. To make a perfect critical comparison between the Navies under consideration, it would be necessary to compare not only the tonnage but the state of the guns, the build of the vessels, their rate of speed and consumption of coal, the number of naval depots, the position and condition of the coaling stations and dry-docks, the state and organisation of the reserves, and a great many more features the comparison of which would fill a volume. A very searching comparison has been made by Mr W. Laird Clowes, and published in the *Nineteenth Century*, of the Mediterranean Fleets of Great Britain and France. He shows that in that sea France has more ironclads than we have, that the average age of the French ships is about six months younger than that of the British ships, that though the tonnage of the French fleet is less than ours their average speed is greater, that the French Mediterranean fleet carries 654 guns to our 592, that the French bases of operation are stronger than ours in that sea, that her naval docks are more in number and in a better condition of usefulness than ours, that her naval reserves are superior to our own. "All of which I think," he says, "helps to bear out my contention that navally France is stronger in the Mediterranean than we, and further that she is much readier."

In the Mediterranean, France has 18 ironclads, 3 armoured cruisers, 7 protected cruisers, 1 unarmoured cruiser, 4 torpedo cruisers, 3 armoured gun-vessels, 6 torpedo gun-vessels and 81 torpedo boats.

In the same sea, we have 11 ironclads, 3 armoured cruisers, 1 unarmoured cruiser, 4 smaller cruisers. 1 torpedo ram, 2 torpedo gun vessels, 1 coast defence ironclad, and 12 torpedo boats. Our deficiency in this sea is obvious without enumerating the Russian Mediterranean fleet. Another writer, signing himself Nauticus, and writing in the *Fortnightly Review* upon the question of our naval supremacy, says, "Great Britain is dreaming while the world is hastening onward with ever increasing rapidity. Her sea-power has ceased to be convincing, undoubted, recognised. To-morrow it could be shattered, perhaps immediately, by France alone if only France had no other preoccupation, and if she were assured beforehand of Italy's non-interference. For the citadel of British sea-power, the vantage-point upon which rests the centre of the British position in Europe is the Mediterranean, and, excluded from the Mediterranean, the United Kingdom would, in a few years, be no weightier factor in international politics than the Netherlands or Denmark."

The French Minister of Marine, Admiral Le Fevevre, replying to M. Lockroy who had brought charges against the condition of the French Navy, corroborated the statements of the two writers just quoted. He declares the French Fleet, guns and projectiles to be superior to those of Great Britain. The faults that exist in the French Fleet are he says, of no serious nature. Then it must not be forgotten that the Russian Fleet must be taken into consideration in conjunction with the French Fleet.

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Gladstone distinctly denied these assertions, when he lately referred to our superiority of tonnage. He pointed out that, of what are called first-class battle-ships, we have 19 while Russia and France have 14 together. With his usual cunning, Mr. Gladstone directs the notice of his audience to that point in his subject which gives him the advantage. However, he never said anything about our numerical deficiency to carry out the policy of the three Admirals, he never remarked that those very first class battle-ships, that he so vaunted in, have been severely criticised since the Victoria catastrophe, he never mentioned the behaviour of H.M.S. *Resolution* in the Bay of Biscay, when officers and men thought their ship might capsize any moment in the gale that overtook them. It is not sufficient to take one class of ships and build a comparison that.

I regret the fact, but it appears to be beyond all doubt that through the sudden Alliance of France and Russia a fleet has sprung into existence which is in the matter of iron-clads, sloops and torpedo craft numerically superior to our own, but slightly inferior in the number of gunboats, and in the number of cruisers inferior by 17 (and this after counting all the additions made to the British Navy and not counting all the additions made to the French and Russian Navies). In other matters, such as physique and training, quality of weapons, speed and condition of ships, though I have no space or opportunity of comparing with accuracy, I am well within the truth when I say that France is as ready to go to war as we are; some writers and the French Minister of Marine assert that she is readier.

The methods of Naval warfare, as pursued in the next war, are almost unknown factors—but it is tolerably clear that the torpedo and the lighter, quick craft will play a very important part, and in the matter of torpedo craft and sloops the Dual Alliance has a numerical superiority over us, and further, in the matter of French torpedo boats, it has been asserted, by an English authority who has had the opportunity of seeing the last named craft at work, that they are superior to our own not only in numbers but also in the manner in which they are worked.

It is evident, therefore, in the case of war breaking out between the Dual Alliance and ourselves, that the famous and comfortable policy of Lord St. Vincent, namely that of blockading the enemy's naval strongholds before her ships could put to sea, and then of sweeping from off the ocean her stray vessels of war—which plan of manoeuvring would require a numerical superiority on our part of about two to one—is perfectly impracticable.

What other method could be adopted? Seeing the enormous coast line we would have to defend against attack, and considering the comparatively small coast line to be defended by France and Russia, it would seem that it would have to be a method of defence on our part.

The plan adopted by Lord Howe would appear to be the one we should be forced to fall back upon. His plan was to station a strong fleet at the mouth of the English Channel with a reserve at St. Helen's, and thus be in a position to defend the English Channel, which is the highway to the heart of the country—London. Of course, at the present time, when our Colonies would have to be defended, fleets would be stationed so as to guard our coasts, abroad as well as at home. Dilke and Wilkinson point out that this plan 'leaves the enemy's fleet free to proceed to any part of the ocean, to support his cruisers, or to make raids upon our own coasts, such as those which have been illustrated by naval manoeuvres of recent years. . . . This plan would leave our sea-borne trade exposed to attack of a character far more serious than any that is possible if the blockading or masking policy be adopted, and would expose the communications between the various ports of the Empire to the enemy's attack until such a time as our Admirals had solved the exceedingly difficult problem of finding and of forcing to fight an enemy's fleet which had for its first object to avoid a decisive encounter.'

It is perfectly plain, in the case of war breaking out between the Dual Alliance and Great Britain, that our

Empire would be harassed at its weakest points. *Thou points are, as it was with the Roman Empire, her Colonies.*

Though we New Zealanders hold dear the prosperity and safety of our sister Colonies in Australia, in the East and West Indies, in Africa and in North America, yet it is but natural that we should consider our own position to be of the first importance. With this plea at the end of my pen. I shall therefore proceed to speak of the defence of this Colony against attack, overlooking the other Colonies, and considering Great Britain—the dear Mother of us all—safe, beyond all doubt.

In the first place, we are comparatively of small importance when compared with other parts of the Empire: and secondly, we are at the very Antipodes of the Earth—blessed fact! It therefore follows that we have but a comparatively weak defending-force stationed so as to protect us from invasion. There are half a dozen gunboats stationed in the Pacific Ocean which might avail us somewhat, but our defence would mainly depend on the Australian fleet. This fleet consists of one ironclad and eleven cruisers and gunboats, whose duty it is to protect the coasts of New Zealand and Australia, some nine or ten thousand miles of coast-line in all. We should therefore have something like one ship and a half to defend the whole of New Zealand after the other Australian Colonies had been provided for, and supposing the fleet to have been divided. Supposing the fleet to work in a body, it might, with great possibility, be assiduously guarding, let us say Sydney, whilst the enemy's squadron was bombarding Auckland, or vice versa—since nothing is more difficult than to find an enemy's fleet at sea.

Being at the Antipodes gives this advantage to us, that a hostile fleet to reach us from Europe would have to come a great way, and would be forced to run the gauntlet of our fleets stationed in other seas and would also be subjected to the risk of falling short of coals and provisions.

However, in the case of the famous French expedition to Egypt, though Nelson did his best to intercept the French fleet of men-of-war and two hundred transports; though he lay off Toulon waiting for them to come out, nevertheless they got away without him seeing them, and landed safely at Aboukir Bay and conquered Egypt whilst Nelson was hunting for two and a half months with the idea of discovering their whereabouts. Nelson made up, for this non-success, at the Battle of the Nile, it is true; but the fact remains that an invading naval force has in its favour every possibility of reaching its destination. In these days of the telegraph, it may be argued that no fleet could travel far without its course being known. The weakness of this hope is in the fact that cables are so easily destroyed and so difficult to repair. It is no too strong a truth to assert that, should the war we are speaking of break out, Oceania would be completely in the dark as to what might be taking place in other parts of the world.

"There appears to be no cable communication directly between Great Britain and any point South of the line from British Guiana to Cape St. Vincent. Even the cables to Gibraltar touch the land at Lisbon. Nothing could be easier in time of war than to cut off telegraphic communication between England and the South Atlantic, including all the west coast of Africa. Again all our telegraphic communications with the East" and through the East all *our* telegraphic news comes "except that which depends upon Russia, passes either through Egypt or through the district of Asia between Diarbekr and Erzeroum. It is evident, therefore that our telegraphic communications would be in the time of war pre-carious."—*Dilke and Wilkinson.*

In the matter of the fleet of the Dual Alliance, which had been despatched for the purpose of subduing this Colony, falling short of coals and provisions, it might be as well to point out that New Caledonia, which belongs to France, contains fine harbours, one of which is fortified, and has 3000 soldiers and 5000 well drilled convicts as a garrison, *and produces coal, wheat and all other necessaries of life.*

Here, then, the attacking force would have its basis of operations against New Zealand or Australia; and to meet that attack we should have the protection of a fleet that has to defend a coast-line great out of all proportion to the number of war-ships available for defensive purposes.

The London Correspondent to the *Christchurch Weekly Press* lately wrote thus "France and Russia in combination are declared to be far stronger than the Triple Alliance, an assertion which is not without support even on the part of eminent English authorities. England's weight might turn the balance of power in favour of the Triple Alliance. But Mr. Gladstone's lukewarmness, if not hostility, to the Alliance is notorious, and England is no longer regarded as a secret party to that union . . . . When it is remembered that the Navies of England and Italy are the only two that could possibly cope with those of France and Russia, the significance of the two contemporary demonstrations is accentuated. New Zealand cannot remain an uninterested spectator of these national chess-games, *for nothing is more certain than that in case of the Mother Country unhappily becoming involved in a war with either Russia or France, New Zealand would have to fight for her own existence. I believe all military authorities here agree in the conviction that a vigorous effort would be made to seize New Zealand, as Russia was prepared to do in 1885.* So it is well that your Colony should attentively watch the progress of events, and not allow itself to be lulled into a delusive security, or induced for motives of economy to neglect the important duty of preparation for defence in case of war."

And our defences are about one gun-boat and a half, when the other Australian Colonies have been provided for, 145 Permanent Artillerymen, divided into four batteries and stationed at the four large ports, 4 torpedo boats, stationed at the the four large ports, 64 Permanent Militiamen who have charge of the forenamed torpedo boats, and a Volunteer force of 5821 men, armed at present with obsolete Snider rifles. I have not gone so far as to include in the above list the 2,000 school cadets.

This Colony which in point of natural resources is second to none of the British Colonies south of the line; costing our fathers endless toil to subdue it and cultivate it that we might enjoy the fruit of their labours; fertile to an extent that is incredible to the European; well stocked with cattle and sheep; containing coal and iron and everything requisite to a commercial people; having on its coasts many fine harbours; its forests abounding in splendid timber; in short, a country capable of supporting some ten millions of people, and actually containing upwards of 600,000, has its main defence in a force of 5821 Volunteers, the best equipped portions of which force would appear to be, at present, the Garrison Bands!

It is not in the spirit of an alarmist that the foregoing pages have been written. The intention has been to give, as far as it is possible to do at this end of the world and without the help of exact official documents, the present status of the respective Navies of Europe; to draw attention to the possible hostility that might occur between ourselves and the Dual Alliance; to illustrate that, in event of such a war being forced upon us, our Navy would be inadequate to prevent the combined Navies of our enemies from making raids upon the most vulnerable points of the British Empire—has Colonies. It is a matter of impossibility to foretell whether this Colony would be selected as that or one of those to be attacked, or, if it were made the object of a naval expedition, whether our Australian fleet would be able to intercept and oppose a superior force to that attacking. But it is certain that this Colony is supposed to have attracted Russia's naturally strong greed for territory, and that she entertains a notion of acquiring possession of it in the event of war (and there is good reason for thinking that these opinions hold good, for the Power that possesses New Zealand possesses the most important group of islands in the Pacific Ocean: a country that supports itself with food; having harbours as good as need be desired; possessing a graving dock the best, it is said, this side of the line, besides three other graving docks of considerable proportions) indeed, this is a country that would afford a perfect basis of naval operations to a Naval Power desirous of acquiring command of the Pacific Ocean and the possession of the Australian Colonies.

There seems, therefore, to be a grave possibility, if war were to break out between Great Britain and the Dual Alliance, of this Colony being made an object of attack; there seems to be a possibility of an attacking force reaching these shores without being intercepted by our cruisers; there seems reason to believe that our Colonial forces might be inadequate to cope with an invading force. If such possibilities grew into facts, what would likely be the upshot? Certainly some of our towns would be bombarded, certainly a landing might be effected, and possibly parts of our country harried, our houses pillaged, our cattle killed, and our women ill-treated. After a calm and collected consideration of the Russian character, I am distinctly dubious of the likelihood of her soldiers and sailors waging a war of invasion in a humane manner. 'Scratch the Russian and you find the Tartar' is a common saying—and the Tartar is cruel.

The Berlin Correspondent to the *New York Herald* lately wrote as follows; "The Kaiser, I hear, following a report of Count York von Wartenberg, Military Attache at St. Petersburg, has just read the recently published book by Colonel Baikow, of the Russian Staff, the intimate friend of General Gourko" (the latter has died since, I believe) "upon the war of the future. The official *Militair Wochenblatt* takes up the criticism of the work. It shows what we may expect with the next war with Russia. Baikow professes himself a partisan of not only crushing the opposing army and all appertaining to it, but also all the resources of an adversary's country. He advocates radical destruction, without pity, so as to exercise upon the inhabitants a material and moral pressure. Destruction of every means of communication, of victuals, etc., appears to him the dominating aim of action. Baikow admits that his theory of making war would cause vivid protests from the humanitarian point of view, from that of international right, etc. But he is of opinion that no attention should be paid to such protests. He wishes war to the knife without quarter."

Such being the desire of what may be called an educated and refined Russian, it would not be surprising to find an echo to his sentiments in the breasts of a vulgar soldiery.

But why do I assert that an attacking force, which had eluded our cruisers, might acquire a footing on our country?

In the first place, I argue that there are some eighteen undefended ports and harbours in New Zealand, containing various depths of water—two at least containing a depth of water and a circumference sufficient to hold the whole combined fleets of France and Russia—and these ports would have to depend for defence upon the badly equipped and few Volunteers that might be collected in their immediate neighbourhoods. I would mention Tauranga, Napier, New Plymouth, Timaru, Oamaru, Nelson, Akaroa, Kaipara, Kawhia, Picton, Westport, and Greymouth, as places not sufficiently defended against attack, and at which a force might effect a

landing in spite of the exertions of such Volunteers as might be ready to oppose it.

To be sufficiently defended from attack this Colony needs to have many armed ships and torpedo boats at her disposal and an armed force of some twenty thousand well equipped and well drilled men, and should place in a state of defence other ports than those of the four great centres.

Of course this scheme is, at present, out of the question

*"Dans le conseils d'un etat il ne faut pas lant regarder a qu'on doit faire que ce qu' on pent faire."*

"In the councils of the state it is not so necessary to examine what ought to be done as what can be done."

And what is it that can be done?

In our present state of defencelessness, in case we wen invaded, there is but little doubt that we should fall a prey to the invader, until a more powerful force than that of the enemy was collected and despatched by the Imperial an thorities to blow up the ships of the invading force. Nelson accomplished just such a feat at the battle of the Nile, and it is to be hoped that such a thing would be accomplished by a British fleet, in the future, should occasion arise.

But what I maintain is that it is a great disgrace to the British nation that there should be any possibility of such an occasion arising. The British sovereignty of the seas should be unquestioned to such an extent as to effectually prevent any schemes of invasion of our territories being entertained by our enemies.

"I think it is clearly shown that in the matter of naval ship-building, we, who have vast colonies and commerce to protect, have been sleeping, whilst other nations whose colonies and commerce are but a fraction of our own have been making enormous strides."—*London Correspondent to the Canterbury Times.*

Of a truth John Bull has for the last twenty years had his head so deep in his money bags that he has had eyes for nothing else than the glitter of his gold, and now he has awakened to the fact that, if he wishes to adequately protect his treasure, he must spend some £23,000,000 upon building warships without delay. But he loves his gold dearly, so dearly that it is doubtful whether he will spend a fraction to ensure the safety of the whole. John Bull will do badly to degenerate into a miser.

But what can we of New Zealand do? Ours is a country worth defending, and it would be a great blow to British prestige—not to consider the pitiable condition of the colonists themselves—were it to fall into the hands of a foreign Power.

I shall proceed to draw two hypothetical conditions under which an invading force might find us—the present state and the possible state—and thereby endeavour to answer this question.

I take it for granted that, if a blow be struck at us, it will come from the Dual Alliance. I also take it for granted, as Russia's policy has ever been that where she conquers there she stops, that in case of a Franco-Russian invasion, the object of our enemies would be not merely to raid and harry but to conquer and occupy the country, with the idea of making it a basis of naval operations in the Pacific, a naval basis from which perhaps to attack Australia.

I would picture an armed force landing at Picton or Tasman Bay, and I would ask what resistance could the inhabitants of the Wairau Valley or of Nelson and the Vaimeas give to prevent the invaders gaining a footing?

The Volunteers would doubtless do all they could to beat bock the invaders, but I firmly believe that, armed as they are and being so few in number, they would be unable to give such resistance as would prevent an attacking force from landing under the cover of the heavy and quick-firing guns of its squadron.

Nelson and Blenheim would become a prey and would, no doubt, be pillaged, and the inhabitants would be forced to take to the hills for protection. The invaders might easily and in a short time so successfully fortify the two towns and harbours of Nelson and Picton as to make them impregnable against our attack, and possibly against that of our Australian fleet; they would find sufficient food at that end of the island to keep them alive for an indefinite period of I time. And I fear that no force that we possess would be able to prevent them from extending their conquests southwards In other words, we could not call the property, which we have acquired with so much labour, the land, which we have changed from a wilderness to fertile fields, our own, but would have the chagrin of seeing men of a foreign nation possessed of what we so value.

Whether such a force would be expelled by our Australian ships, before its numbers were swelled from its basis of operations, it is hard to tell, but one thing is certain, namely that the inhabitants of the parts subdued would, for a time if not indefinitely, lose their property, if not their liberty, and *'Etre pauvre sans etre libre, c' est le pire etat ou l'hom me puisse tomber.'*

"To be poor without being free is the worst state into which a man can fall."

In the case of the invasion of Egypt by the French, though their fleet was destroyed at Aboukir Bay by Lord Nelson, for three years they held command of Egypt (during which time they massacred 4,000 prisoners at Jaffa by the orders of Napoleon Bonaparte) until expelled by Abercrombie. Now Egypt is a hard land to defend, as it has no natural strong holds. New Zealand is an easy land to defend on account of the numberless natural defences it possesses. We have the recollection of our struggles with the Maoris to remind us of the fact. Therefore, though the fleet of an invading force were destroyed, it does not necessarily follow that that force

would be immediately subdued. On the contrary, it is a fact that should demand our grave consideration, as well as our thankfulness if we are prepared to act on it, that there are parts of this Colony which, if held by a well equipped force, could be held indefinitely. However, are our forces sufficient in numbers and well enough equipped to hold such places? Supposing that they could defend the strongest parts of our islands, there is reason for thinking that an enemy might hold and occupy the plain country the country where we are now living—but that if by stratagem the enemy became possessed of a tract of country easily defended it is more than doubtful whether our present Colonial forces would be able to cope with them.

It is humiliating to think that there is any possibility of any part of the British Dominions falling into foreign hands, and it is more than humiliating to us to think that if a foreign force landed on our New Zealand shores there is a possibility of it gaining a foothold, but when we think of the misery and perhaps brutality that would be suffered by the inhabitants concerned, then, I flatter my fellow countrymen sufficiently to suppose that there is not one New Zealander whose blood does not boil at the thought. Again I ask 'What is there possible for us to do?'

I would now take my second hypothetical case. There are in New Zealand some 100,000 men, physically developed and strong, capable of bearing arms. It is not possible at a few months warning to efficiently organise and drill those men, but it is possible in a few months to arm them, or for them to arm themselves.

I do not go so far to say that, if these men were armed, they in conjunction with the Volunteers would, be able to prevent an invading force from landing under cover of its guns, for I cannot forget Abercrombie's landing in Egypt, though I think that the possibility of so doing would become greater than it is at present. But what I do maintain is that with such a force of armed men in this country it would be impossible for any armed force, that could be sent across the seas, to subjugate any part of it; impossible then for that invading force to live here if its fleet were destroyed. I believe, that, under such circumstances, not an invader would leave the country alive. I believe that with such a force of armed men, roughly drilled and trained though they might be, our lives and those of our wives and children, together with the bulk of our property, would be safe so long as we chose to light. I feel convinced that such a force of armed guerillas would so harass a force that might have gained a landing on these shores, would so reduce its numbers, that, without the danger of incurring a pitched battle between our unfiled force and a drilled one, we might gradually reduce the numbers of the enemy to zero.

I take it for granted that each colonist worth calling a man, and I go so far as to flatter my country that there are 100,000 such men in it, would like to have the means of defence in his hands in case of invasion. If that privilege were given him in conjunction with his fellows, I believe that we should all be safe so far as our lives and liberty and the bulk of our property are concerned. With such a force of armed men at our disposal, men whose liberty and dearest interests depended on their own exertions, I would be hopeful, since the natural strength of the country is so great that it could be successfully defended by them.

Further, I would appeal to the men, who might go to form such a force, and I would ask them whether they are not desirous of making it impossible for a foreign people to gain a footing here, I would ask them, whether they would not prefer to be in such a position as to annihilate; piecemeal, perhaps, but effectually and beyond all doubt, any invading force that might land on our shores? *I believe is in their power, to place themselves in such a position.*

I would advocate the formation of a large Defence Association, which should import arms and munitions of war with which to equip the man of this land. And I would suggest that the Association be enrolled without decay, since it might become impossible to procure the required arms after any such time as war had broken out, and that it be formed of all such men as are capable of carrying a weapon.

The guns imported should become the property of members of the Association, and each member should, receive good value for the money he subscribed me £2 or £3—which should give him membership to the Association and a weapon for defence.

Such an Association should enjoin allegiance to the Queen and the Government of this Colony, and should necessitate periodical inspection, and instruction in the use of the arms but Should not necessitate continual drill except in time of war. In support of this theory of improving our defence. I maintain that, should it be carried out, in numbers and efficiency the Volunteer force would receive an impetus that would greatly benefit it; that such a theory was that which was carried out by the men of the Transvaal when their country was invaded by our troops, and culminated in our defeat at Majuba Hill, and freed their country from invasion; that there exists such a force, as I have suggested, in many countries where there is no standing army. I would quote Canada, which has an Active Militia of 38,000 men and a reserve, composed of such men as I speak of, of 1,030,000 men. Now we should be in the same position, proportionately. Would the Dual Alliance contemplate a descent upon Canada, in case of war? I fancy not. If a naval force conducting an army were to effect a footing in Canada, would there be any prospect of it subduing the country? I think, none whatever.

With some ten thousand efficient Volunteers and 100,000 active armed men in this Colony, we would, I believe, be safe from attack.

However, if a better suggestion, as to the means by which we may place this Colony in a condition of safety, were to be made. I should be the first to advocate it.

In conclusion, I would quote the words spoken in the House of Commons by one who lived at a time when the existence of the British Empire and the safety of England were threatened by Napoleon's contemplated invasion of Great Britain. "A state of war is in itself, a state of evil; We wish not for it'; we would fain avoid it; we would be at peace, could we be so with honour and security to ourselves. But whether at war or in the most profound peace, let us never neglect to encourage and maintain a military aptitude and spirit in the people. History teaches us that, in all nations and times, the extinction of this spirit has been rapidly followed by the every other national virtue.

*Nelson, February, 10th. 1894*

Nelson:

Printed by ALFRED G. BETTS,

Hardy Street.

Front Cover

Report and Prospectus of the Technical Classes Association:, Dunedin.

For 1893-1894.

Dunedin J. Wilkie and Co., Printers, Lithographers, &c., Princes Street.

## Office-Bearers.

1893-1894.

### President:

- Alex. Burt.

### Hon. Secretary and Superintendent:

- Geo. M. Thomson, F.L.S.

### Hon. Treasurer:

- Walter Cutten.

### Committee:

- M. Cohen
- W. Earnshaw, M.H.R.
- W. S. Fitzgerald
- A. Judge
- D. McNicoll
- Jas. Robin
- D. White, M.A.
- N. Y. A. Wales

## Constitution of Association.

*(As agreed to at a Meeting of the Promoters held in the Town Hall on Thursday, November 15, 1888.)*

- That this Committee recommend the formation of a Society for the promotion of the education of the youths of the city by means of Evening Classes.
- That the subjects it is proposed to teach at present be divided into three groups—viz., (A) Literary, (B) Scientific, and (C) Manual; that for admission to Classes A and B, candidates must have passed the Sixth Standard or equivalent examination.

- That the subjects in group A include English, Latin, French, German, Shorthand, etc.; in group B, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, etc.; and in group C, Freehand and Mechanical Drawing, Carpentry, Modelling, Wood and Metal Turning, etc.
- That any person may become a member of the Society for the current year on payment of an annual subscription of 5s., and be entitled to vote in the election of Officers.
- That all subscribers of £5 or upwards be entitled Life Members, and have all the privileges of membership.
- That the governing body shall consist of a Committee of *eleven* members, to be elected at the First Annual Meeting of the Society; five to form a quorum; five members to retire by ballot annually, but to be eligible for re-election.
- That the governing body elect annually its own Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.
- That the name of the Society be "The Technical Classes Association."
- That the Classes be held in the winter months, from the beginning of April to the end of September.
- That Fees should be charged to all pupils of these Classes.
- That the governing body be empowered to pay the Teaching Staff fitting remuneration.

## Time Table for 1894.

P.M. MONDAY. TUESDAY. WEDNESDAY. THURSDAY. FRIDAY. Arithmetic English Chemistry English Mathematics 7 French Shorthand (Junior) French Arithmetic Shorthand (Junior) to 8 Carpentry Book-keeping Mathematics Type-writing Book-keeping Type-writing Plumbing Carpentry Wood-Carving Plumbing Cookery 8 Physics Latin Chemistry Physics Latin to 9 Engineering Shorthand (Senior) Engineering Shorthand (Senior) Carpentry Plumbing Carpentry Wood-Carving Plumbing Cookery

## Annual Report for 1893.

YOUR Committee beg to submit the following report of the work of the Association during the past year:—

Nineteen meetings have been held, at the first of which, on 8th March (in accordance with Rule 7 of the Constitution), Mr. A. Burt was re-elected President, Mr. Geo. M. Thomson Hon. Secretary, and Mr. W. Cutten Hon. Treasurer. Owing to illness, Mr. Thomson was unable to attend to the duties of his position during a great part of the session, and these had to be performed by other members of the Committee, assisted by Mr. W. B. Harlow, the Clerk and Collector of the Association.

It is with much pleasure that the Committee are able to report that they succeeded, early in the year, in securing on favourable terms, the buildings formerly known as the Vulcan Foundry in Great King street. The necessary alterations and fitting up of these premises could not be accomplished in time for the opening of the session, but all the available rooms were in occupation by the commencement of the second quarter. Meanwhile the plant ordered from England for the Chemical and Physical Laboratories and for the Engineering Class, together with a shipment of typewriters from America, had arrived, so that the suitable furnishing of the various class-rooms was accomplished as soon as they were ready. Your Committee would congratulate the members of the Association and the people of Dunedin in general on the fact that this city now possesses a Technical School which, though of small size as yet, contains in itself the possibilities of indefinite expansion.

The following classes were held in the newly-acquired buildings—Chemistry, Carpentry, Wood Carving, Engineering, Typewriting, and Domestic Economy. During the recess an excellent workshop for wood and metal turning has been erected, and will be supplied with steam-power by Mr. W. H. Scott, the Instructor, who has also undertaken to act as caretaker for the whole building.

A Jumble Sale and Hobby Show, organised by a Committee of ladies, acting in conjunction with your Committee, was held in the Choral Hall on May 19th and 20th, the object being to provide funds for fitting up the new class room for Cookery and Domestic Economy. Although various unforeseen causes (especially a severe epidemic of illness) somewhat militated against the success of the sale, a sum of £70 was obtained by this means, and the thanks of the Association are due to all who assisted in bringing about this result.

The majority of the teaching staff was the same as last year, except that Mr. J. S. Tennant was appointed teacher of Botany, under circumstances referred to in the Superintendent's report, while Mr. Simmers took the Physics class. The new appointments were those of Mr. S. C. Cope as teacher of Typewriting, and of Mr. I. Selby of Carpentry.

With the exception of the Botany class, which has met during the spring and autumn months, and of the classes which were postponed on account of the unprepared state of the buildings in Great King street, the

general work of the Association's classes was commenced on April 10th, in the Normal School. The total number of students enrolled was 390, of whom 291 entered for the first time. The enrolments in the two past sessions were:—In 1891, 318 (including 48 former students), and in 1892, 364 (including 85 former students). The attendance was well sustained throughout the session, and good work was done in all the classes. Certificates for proficiency were gained by 134 students. In addition to these, Junior Diplomas were awarded to four students, while Mr. John M. Allan carried off the first Senior Diploma of the Association. The session was brought to a close by a very pleasant gathering and exhibition in the new buildings on the 12th October, when diplomas and certificates were handed to the successful students by the President, and addresses were delivered by the Hon. Mr. Ward (Postmaster-General) and several other gentlemen.

During the present recess your Committee ordered an addition to their supply of typewriters, and they have much pleasure in informing the members that the Remington Company, in fulfilling the order, also remitted a handsome donation to the funds of the Association of £19 10s.

In regard to the coming session, the Committee desire to draw especial attention to the provision now made for thorough instruction in wood and metal work. Arrangements have been made with Mr. Selby to conduct a class for carpenter's apprentices, in which they will be grounded in the *technique* of their business. Miss Gether's class for Wood Carving and Slöjd Work not only meets the needs of those who desire to acquire some useful and interesting handicraft, but is of especial value for joiners and cabinetmakers; while Mr. W. H. Scott will teach the use of the lathe both for wood and metal. It is to be hoped that employers will co-operate with the Association in securing the attendance of their apprentices at these classes, which are designed to meet a recognised want in the training of our young artisans and mechanics.

The Committee would also urge upon intending students the importance of acquiring some knowledge of mathematics, a subject which is at the basis of much of their work, but the class for which has not hitherto been as freely taken up as it ought to be. Without a certain amount of knowledge of it, some of the other classes of the Association—*e.g.*, Engineering—cannot be prosecuted with advantage.

The thanks of the Association are due to Mr. Walter Cutten for his very handsome donation to the funds, to those ladies and gentlemen (named in the Superintendent's report) who assisted in carrying out the final examinations, to the Otago Education Board for the use of the Normal School class-rooms in which so many of the classes were held, and to Mr. A. Johnstone Browne for auditing the accounts.

## Balance-Sheet.

*Receipts.*—Balance from last year, £417 8s. 6d.; subscriptions, donations, fees, &c., £435 4s. 3d.; Government subsidy, £250;—£1,102 12s. 9d. *Expenditure*, £985 0s. 9d.; balance, £117 12s.;—£1,102 12s. 9d. *February 20th, 1894.*

## The Technical Classes Association.

CASH STATEMENT for the Period Ending 19th February, 1894. RECEIPTS. EXPENDITURE. 1893. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. March 1—Balance—Deposit with Kaitangata Co. .. 200 0 0 Colonial Bank, Rent, Gas, and Coal ... 55 3 2 Current Account 78 13 2 Advertising ... .. 47 8 5 Savings Bank ... 13 15 4 Salaries ... .. 303 2 6, Deposit Petty Cash ... .. 5 17 1 since uplifted ... 25 0 0 411 11 2 Hardware Co., ... 300 0 0 Buildings and Apparatus ... 573 9 7 417 8 6 Balance on 19th February, 1894- Deposit Kaitangata Co. Colonial Bank Deposit ... 100 0 0 uplifted ... 200 0 0, Current Account 3 10 8 Donations ... 156 0 11 Savings Bank ... .. 13 15 4 Government Subsidy 250 0 0 117 12 0 Class Fees ... 225 10 6 631 11 5 Interest ... 8 13 5 Jumble Sale ... 73 2 4 Less Expenses ... 28 2 11 44 19 5 £1,802 12 9 £1,302 12 9

## Life Members.

- BURT, ALEXANDER
- CHAPMAN, ROBT.
- CUTTEN, WALTER
- DON, J. R., M.A., B.SC.
- FITCHETT, REV. A. R., M.A.
- GLENDINING, ROBERT
- MCQUEEN, ALEXANDER
- MCQUEEN, CHARLES

- MCQUEEN, CHARLES, JUNR.
- MCQUEEN JOHN
- RITCHIE, J. M.
- RUSSELL, GEO. GRAY
- SHACKLOCK, H. E.
- SPARROW, R. S.
- THOMSON, GEO. M., F.L.S.
- WADDELL, REV. RUTHERFORD, M.A.

## Members and Subscribers (1893-94.)

- Anderson, R. and Co.
- Anderson and Morrison
- Armstrong, J. P.
- Arthur, J. and J.
- Bathgate, Alexander
- Bauchop, J.
- Beal, L. O., junr.
- Begg, C. and Co.
- Bell, George
- Benjamin, D. and Co.
- Broad, A. C.
- Brodrick and Chalmers
- Brown, W. and Co.
- Burt, Alexander, junr.
- Butterworth, C. R.
- Campbell and Crust
- Chilton, Dr., F.L.S.
- Christie, J. and T.
- Cohen, M.
- Cook, M.
- Cossens and Black
- Davidson, Rev. A. P., M.A.
- Dawson, Wm.
- Denniston, G. L.
- Donaghy and Co.
- Dunlop, Rev. Prof.,
- D.D. Durie, A.
- Dymock, W.
- Eunson, D. R.
- Farquhar, G. P.
- Farra, J. and T.
- Fels, Wm. Fitzgerald, W. S.
- Fraser, J. F. M.
- Gillies, J. L.
- Gordon, C. McK.
- Graham, F.
- Guthrie, H.
- Hallenstein, B.
- Hardie, J.
- Harding, E.
- Harty and Co.
- Hay, R., C.E.
- Haynes, C.
- Haynes, D.
- Hendry, J.
- Hendry, J. and Sons

- Hercus, G. L.
- Hislop, Dr.
- Hopkins, J.
- Hordern and White
- Horsburgh, J.
- Hudson, R. and Co.
- Inglis, A. and T.
- Irvine and Stevenson
- Jago, J. W.
- Kempthorne, T. W.
- Line, L. A.
- Lorie, A. and Co.,
- Louden, J.
- McAdam, W.
- McAdam, W. E.
- Macfie, J.
- Macgregor, Hon. J., M.L.C.
- Mackerras, J. T.
- McLean, Hon. Geo., M.L.C.
- McNicoll, D.
- Ma Hoon
- Meenan, F.
- Melland E.
- Melville, W.
- Mills, J.
- Mollison, Mills & Co.
- Morrison, J. H.
- Murdoch & Co.
- Mutual Agency Co.
- Neil, J.
- N.Z. & Australian Land Co.
- Nimmo and Blair
- *Otago Daily Times Co.*
- Park, Revnolds & Co.
- Parker, Prof., F.R.S.
- Paterson, A. S.
- Perpetual Trustees Co.
- Petrie, D., M.A.
- Proudfoot, G.
- Rattray, Jas.
- Reid, D., Junr.
- Reid, Jno.
- Reid and Gray
- Rice, Wm.
- Roberts, Jno., C.M.G.
- Robin, Jas. Ross, A. T.
- Sale, Prof., M.A.
- Sargood, Son & Ewen
- Scoular, Wm.
- Shand. Prof.,L.L.D.
- Shelton, A. H.
- Simmers, Geo., M.A., B.Sc.
- Simon Bros.
- Sinclair, Mark
- Singer Manufg. Co.
- Sise, G. L. Sligo, A.
- Smith, Edmund
- Somerville, Wm.

- Sparrow, Jos.
- Speight & Co.
- Spence, E. J.
- Stout, Mondy & Sim
- Stewart, Hon. W. D., M.L.C.
- Stuart, Rev. D. M., D.D.
- Tennant, J. S., M.A., B.Sc.
- Thomson, J. C.
- Thomson and Co.
- Thomson, Fox & Co.
- Tomlinson, T.
- Treseder. P.
- Ulrich, Prof.
- Wardell, Bros.
- Watson, W. P.
- White, D. R" M.A
- Whitson, T. W.
- Wilkinson, T. M.
- Williams, H. E.
- Wilson, R.
- Wright, W.
- Wright, Stephenson & Co.
- Young, G. & T.
- Ziele, C.

## Superintendents Report for 1893.

*(Read at the closing meeting of the Session, held 12th October).*

The classes were opened on April 10, and carried on with the usual fortnight's recess in July till October 6.

The total number of students enrolled was 313 for the first quarter, and 219 for the second quarter. But for the unfortunate delay in the arrival of apparatus and of typewriting machines the number of pupils would undoubtedly have been larger. Now that the Association have secured ample accommodation for the practical classes, and furnished the class rooms with abundance of excellent apparatus, they hope that the young people of Dunedin and suburbs will freely avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented of continuing the work of the primary and high schools, and the better fitting themselves for their life work.

The following classes were held:—English—Class A, Mr R. G. Whetter, M.A.; Class B, Mr T. D. Pearce, M.A.; Latin, Mr E. A. Phillips, B.A.; French, Mr R. Donald, M.A., B.Sc.; Mathematics, Mr James Rennie, B.A.; Arithmetic, Mr J. A. Johnson, M. A.; Bookkeeping, Mr J. A. Johnson, M.A.; Chemistry, Mr J. R. Don, M.A., B.Sc.; Physics, Mr George A. Simmers, M.A., B.Sc.; Botany, Mr J. S. Tennant, B.A., B.Sc.; Applied Mechanics and Engineering, Mr W. Cutten; Wood-carving, Miss Gether; Carpentry, Mr. Selby; Shorthand, Mr J. Crosby Smith; Typewriting, Mr. S. C. Cope; Cookery and Domestic Economy, Mrs. Miller.

The Botany Class was opened on February 13 under Mr Simmers. He was unfortunately unable (owing to an accident) to continue the work, and his place was taken by Mr J. S. Tennant. The work for 1898-94 has already begun, and Mr Tennant hopes to supplement the laboratory work with a considerable amount of field work.

Delay in the arrival of the s.s. Ionic with the Physics apparatus prevented Mr. Simmers opening that class till the session was well advanced. The class will continue their work till the prescribed field has been covered, when the examination will be held, and certificates granted to the successful candidates.

Three new classes have been opened this session—Botany, Physics, and Typewriting; and a class for Metal Work would have been opened, but the necessary room and apparatus could not be got ready in time. The work, however, is well advanced, and the Committee hope to see this class well attended next session. Additional typewriters and a large supply of keyboards for beginners have been ordered by the Committee, and will be ready to meet the expected increase of the would-be typists.

Reports of Miss Gether's Wood-carving Class and Mr Selby's Carpentry Class have not been presented. From the nature of the work of these classes, examination was not attempted, but highly satisfactory work has been done by both.

The certificates about to be presented have been awarded on the joint reports of the class teachers and

assessors appointed by the Committee. The scholastic status and professional reputation of the teachers gives sufficient guarantee that the class work will be well done; but the assistance of an assessor is welcomed by the teacher, and the joint verdict should greatly enhance the value of the certificate. The Rev. R. Waddell, M.A., examined in English; Rev. A. R. Fitchett, M.A., in Latin; Mr T. D. Pearce, M.A., in French; Miss M'Kean, Otago Girl's High School, in Mathematics; Mr Hunter, M.A., B.Sc., in Chemistry; Mr A. M'Lean, B.A., in Arithmetic; Mr W. H. Matthews, in Shorthand; Mr Duncan, Inspector of Machinery, in Engineering and Practical Mechanics; Mesdames Gordon Macdonald, Cohen, Wise, Solomon, and Miss Hay, in Cookery.

The Committee give their sincere thanks to those ladies and gentlemen for their valuable services.

Mr J. M. Allan, one of our senior students, has earned the Senior Diploma of the Association, having already gained six certificates during the past five sessions. This is the first year in which the diploma could be gained, and Mr Allan has thus secured the highest honour which the Association can confer.

## **Honours List, 1893.**

### ***Senior Diploma of the Association.***

- John M. Allan (1889-98).

### ***Junior Diplomas.***

- Lionel Bray (1890-98)
- John Lillie (1891-93)
- Donald Marshall (1892-93)
- Charles Burgess (1892-93).

### ***Winner of Professor Black's Prize in Chemistry:***

- Bernard C. Aston.

## **Class Certificates.**

*(The names are in Order of Merit.)*

### ***English (A Class).***

(EXAMINERS: REV. R. WADDELL, M.A., AND R. G. WHETTER, M.A.)

J. Allan, S. Strachan, W. Robertson, Thos. Hendry, J. Lillie, N. Douglas, Miss Prudence Bennett, J. Durie, Miss Alice Luscombe, C. Burgess, Thos. Downes, and D. Marshall.

### ***English (B Class).***

(EXAMINERS: REV. R. WADDELL, M.A., AND T. D. PEARCE, M.A.)

J. Allan, H. M. Ewing, M. W. Johnson, C. Stewart, R. S. Clarke, J. Jacobs, B. Moss, R. Brickell, C. Marsden, R. Gairdner.

### ***French.***

(Examiners: T. D. Pearce, M.A., and R. Donald, M.A., B.Sc.)

Miss E. Macquaid, Miss M. Lo Keong (first year), W. G. Tait, G. F. Gill, Miss A. Gresham (second year), W. Sutherland, Miss S. E. Macdonald, Miss L. Sutherland (first year).

## **Latin.**

(EXAMINERS: REV. A. R. FITCHETT, M.A., AND E. A. PHILLIPS, B.A.)

Highest Division: First Class—A. B. Douglass; Second Class—L. Bray, R. Bray, J. Tillie, T. E. Downes, B. M. Moss, D. Marshall.

Second Division: First Class—A. Marryatt, Miss Jessie Neil; Second Class—C. E. Davey, C. Burgess, James Eager, W. C. Napier, G. Pearce.

## **Mathematics.**

(EXAMINERS: MISS MCKEAN AND JAS. RENNIE, M.A., B.SC.)

Senior Division—John C. Begg, 97 per cent.; John McDowall, 60 per cent.

Junior Division—A. Melville, 89 per cent.; Alex. Black, 71 per cent.

## **Arithmetic.**

(EXAMINERS: A. MCLEAN, B.A., AND JOHN A. JOHNSON, M.A.)

First Class: G. W. Gillies and J. Chisholm, 100 per cent.; P. Gray, 97; C. Chamberlain, 97; J. Mowbray, 95; D. D! M'Donald, 92; K. Melville, 80; T. Quinn, 80. Second Class: R. Brown, 72; R. Bremner, 72; M. Johnson, 70; R. Johnson! 70; D. Marshall, 70; J. Johnson, 67; T. E. Downes, 68; b' Harper, 62. Third Class: R. Abbott, 55; R. Garside, 55; W Dutch, 55; R. Mackie, 50.

## **Chemistry**

(EXAMINERS: I. W. HUNTER, M.A., B.SC., AND J. R. DON, M.A., B.SC.)

*Practical Work.*—C. Burgess, R. McCarrigan, G. M. Valentine.

*Class Work.*—B. C. Aston, J. M. Allan, T. Scott, F. Loring, R. Gairdner, and C. Arkell.

## **Physics.**

(EXAMINERS: ROBT. A. DONALD, M.A., B.SC., AND G. A. SIMMERS, H.A., B.SC.)

Thos. Rogerson, 88 per cent.; A. E. Graham and H. Edwards, 81 per cent, each.

## **Botany.**

(EXAMINERS: GEO. M. THOMSON, F.L.S., AND J. S. TENNANT, M.A., B.SC.)

Miss Effie G. Gilkison, Miss Helen Middleton, Miss S. E. Macdonald, Miss N. Peake, Miss A. C. Waters, Miss I. Hanson, G. Hoffman, J. Crosby Smith, W. C. Brown, Wm. R. Brugli, B. Somerville.

## **Applied Mechanics and Engineering.**

(EXAMINERS: M. R. DUNCAN, C.E., INSPECTOR OF MACHINERY, AND WALTER CUTTEN.)

Senior: First Class—T. Rogerson.

Junior: First Class—T. Melville; Second Class—H. Edwards.

## **Shorthand.**

(EXAMINERS: W. H. MATTHEWS AND J. CROSBY SMITH.)

*General Knowledge.*—W. McBeath, W. Hartley, Philip Milburn (100 per cent, each), J. Cable, G. S. Finlayson, A. B. Wilson, J. Clnsholm, Wm. Sligo, W. F. Abel, R. J. McBeath, W. J. McGonigal, B. Irwin, J. E. Hutchison, C. McNauglton, S. E. Rutherford, S. N. Brown, L. H. Mirams, Miss A. Weldon.

*Speed Certificates.*—(The numbers signify words per minute.) John Bolt 110, Sydney Earland 100, T. S. Tomlinson 100, H. Benfree 100, R. B. Christie 100, G. A. Lamb 100, E. Sunderland 100, J. Lillie 100, J. Jacobs 100, Wm. McBeath 80.

## **Type-Writing.**

(EXAMINERS: M. COHEN AND S. C. COPE.)

Misses Annie Brydone, B. Brydone, E. Cohen, E. Maequaid, and C. McAdam; William Alexander, H.

Mitchell, A. J. Williamson, J. Hutchinson, J. R. Kirk, and W. Boyd.

## ***Cookery and Domestic Economy.***

(Examiners: Mrs Gordon Macdonald, Mrs Cohen, Mrs Wise, Mrs Solomon, Miss Hay, and Mrs Miller.)

Winners of the Association's C Certificate.—Miss Barbara Anderson, Miss Catherine Bills, Miss Helen Chisholm, Miss Gertrude Heaney, Miss Isabella Hitchcock, Miss Agnes Rogers. Miss Jessie Ross.

## **Attendance.**

The attendance at the various classes was as follows:—

- ENGLISH: A Class (MR. R. G. WHETTER, M.A.).—Number on the roll for the whole session, 26; average attendance, 20.5
- ENGLISH: B Class (MR. T. D. PEARCE, M.A.).—Number on the roll for 1st. quarter, 24; average attendance, 20; for 2nd. quarter, 16; average attendance, 18.
- LATIN (E. A. PHILLIPS, B.A.).—Number on the roll, 31; average attendance, 21.
- FRENCH (R. DONALD, M.A., B.SC.).—Number on the roll 1st. quarter, 18; average attendance, 14; 2nd. quarter, 14; average attendance, 10.
- MATHEMATICS (JAS. RENNIE, M.A., B.SC.).—Number on the roll 1st. quarter, 14; average attendance, 10; 2nd. quarter, 9; average attendance, 9.
- ARITHMETIC (JNO. A. JOHNSON, M.A.).—Number on the roll 1st. quarter, 46; average attendance, 85; 2nd. quarter, 86; average attendance, 28.
- BOOK-KEEPING (JNO. A. JOHNSON, M.A.).—Number on the roll, 88; average attendance, 27.
- CHEMISTRY (J. R. DON, M.A., B.SC.).—Number on roll 1st. quarter, 26; average attendance, 21; 2nd. quarter, 21; average attendance, 18.
- PHYSICS (GEO. SIMMERS, M.A., B.SC.).—Number on roll 1st. quarter, 8; average attendance, 6; 2nd. quarter, 8; average attendance, 7.
- BOTANY (J. S. TENNANT, M.A., B.SC.).—Number on roll 1st. quarter, 25; average attendance, 17;
- APPLIED MECHANICS AND ENGINEERING (MR. WALTER CUTTEN).—Number on roll 1st. quarter, 16; average attendance, 11; 2nd. quarter, 8; average attendance, 5.
- SHORTHAND (MR. J. CROSBY SMITH).—Number on roll 1st. quarter, 63; average attendance, 88; 2nd. quarter, 46; average attendance, 30.
- TYPEWRITING (MR. S. C. COPE).—Number on roll, 17; average attendance, 14.
- CARPENTRY (MR. I. SELBY).—Number on roll, 16.
- WOOD-CARVING (MISS GETHER).—Number on roll, 6.
- COOKERY AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY (MRS. MILLER).—Number on roll, 45.

## **Prospectus for 1894.**

- The object of the Technical Classes Association is to organise a scheme of evening classes which will enable youths engaged during the day to continue their education, and in due time, if possible, to take advantage of the higher instruction provided by the University of Otago. In making its arrangements, the Committee has kept in view the necessity of providing instruction of a practical kind, such as will be likely to make those who join the classes more intelligent and more efficient workmen.
- Fees for each quarter are payable in advance, but arrangements can be made where required for extending the time of payment. On enrolment and payment of fees each student will receive a card of admission, which he may be required to show while attending his classes.
- Any student who can satisfy the Committee that he is unable to pay the fees, will be allowed to attend classes free of charge, or at a reduced fee, as the Committee shall decide.
- Students are required to provide themselves with any test-books, &c., which the teachers may recommend for their use.
- Students in the Manual Classes must provide themselves with all hand-tools: such as saws, planes, chisels, hammer, Oil-stands, compasses, &c., required by the Instructor. The Committee hope to arrange for the use of steam power, benches, metal and wood lathes, &c., so that students will have the advantage of learning the use of machines.
- The Classes for Languages, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Book keeping, and Physics will be held in the

- Normal School, the Technical and Manual Classes in the Dunedin Technical School in Great King street.
- The Session will commence on Monday, April 2nd, the first quarter closing on Friday, June 22nd. The second quarter will commence on Monday, July 9th, and the Session, except for the Botany Class, will close on Friday, September 28th.
- The Spring Session of the Botany Class will commence about Monday, October 2nd, closing about Friday, December 14th. The Autumn Session will commence about February 5th, 1895.
- Students will be enrolled at the Normal School on Thursday and Friday, 29th and 30th March, from 7 to 9 p.m.

## Diplomas.

The Association is prepared to grant Diplomas to those students who have passed successfully through a regular course of instruction—extending over at least two years—in one or other of the departments specified hereby—viz., Literary and Commercial, or Scientific and Technical. Candidates will be required to show certificates of attendance, signed by the class teacher, at the various classes specified under the respective departments. The Association will endeavour to provide a two years' course—junior and senior—in each of the prescribed subjects of study. Examinations will be held in the various subjects at the end of each session, and certificates, 1st year's to the junior, and 2nd or 3rd year's to the senior class, will be issued to all students who succeed in passing. Two examiners,; one being the class teacher, shall be appointed for each subject! The examiners, acting jointly, shall prepare examination papers, and determine the standard of efficiency necessary for obtaining the certificate.

Any student who obtains Four certificates shall be entitled to a Junior Diploma, and any student obtaining six shall be entitled to the Association's Senior Diploma.

The following will constitute the subjects prescribed for the Literary and Commercial Course:—

- English Grammar and Composition.
- English Literature.
- Latin.
- French.
- Arithmetic.
- Book-keeping.
- Euclid.
- Algebra.
- Geography—Political, Physical, and Commercial.
- Shorthand.
- Type-writing.

[N.B.—Students may so select the subjects from this Course, that with or without the addition of one from the Scientific Course they may go up for N.Z. University Matriculation examination.]

The following will constitute the subjects prescribed for the Scientific and Technical Course:—

- Arithmetic.
- Euclid.
- Algebra.
- Mechanics.
- Engineering and Applied Mechanics.
- Physics.
- Chemistry.
- Freehold Drawing and Practical Geometry.
- Model Drawing and Solid Geometry.
- Mechanical or Architectural Drawing.  
(Any two of the above to count for the Diploma.)
- Geology.
- Botany.
- Cooking and Domestic Economy.
- Carpentry.
- Wood and Metal Turning.
- Wood Carving.
- Plumbing.

vignette

# Synopsis of Subjects and Course of Study for 1894.

## 1—English.

R. G. Whetter, M.A.

### First Year.

Word-building, Analysis and Synthesis of Sentences, Grammar, Composition, Paraphrasing, Precis-writing, &c.

### Text Books.

Longman's School Composition; Smith's School Manual of the English Language.

### Second and Third Years.

Advanced work on the same lines as for Junior English, illustrated by the study of some selected author or work; the nature and growth of the English Language, &c.

### NORMAL SCHOOL.

Tuesday and Thursday, 7 to 8 P.M.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## 2-Latin.

E. A. PHILLIPS, B.A.

### First Year.

Accidence; Elements of Syntax; Simple Exercises in Composition and Translation.

### Text Book.

Smith's "Principia Latina," Part 1.

### Second Year.

Study of Accidence and Leading Rules of Syntax; More Advanced Exercises in Composition and Translation, including Extracts from Latin Authors.

### Text Book.

C'æsar, "De Berlo Gallico," Book 1.

### Third Year.

Study of Selected Author or Work.

### Text Book for 1894.

Cicero "De Amicitia."

### NORMAL SCHOOL.

Tuesday and Friday, 8 to 9 P.M.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## 3.—French.

E. DONALD, M.A., B.SC.

## **First Year.**

Elements of Grammar; Rules of Syntax; Simple Reading and Translation.

## **Text Books.**

- Macmillan's Progressive French Course (first year).
- Macmillan's Progressive French Reader (first year).

## **Second Year.**

Advanced Rules of Grammar and Syntax; Exercises in Translation and Reading.

## **Text Books.**

- Macmillan's Progressive French Course (second year).
- Macmillan's Progressive French Reader (second year).

## **Third Year.**

Continuation of same work, with a Study of Selected Authors.

## **Text Books.**

- Macmillan's Progressive French Course (third year).
- Selections from French Authors.

## **NORMAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Wednesday, 7 to 8 P.M.  
Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **4.—Mathematics.**

J. RENNIE, M.A., B.Sc.

### **First Year.**

Euclid—Book I. and Exercises.  
Algebra, to Simultaneous Equations.

### **Second Year.**

Euclid—Book II. and Exercises. Algebra, to page 177 of Text Book.

## **Text Books.**

Todhunter's Euclid.  
Hall & Knight's Algebra.

## **NORMAL SCHOOL.**

Wednesdays and Fridays, 7 to 8 p.m.  
Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **5.—Arithmetic.**

JNO. A. JOHNSON, M.A.

### **First Year.**

Principal rules up to, and including, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.

### **Second Year.**

Higher rules of Arithmetic, including Proportion, Interest, Stocks, Profit and Loss, Square and Cube Root, Metric System, Mensuration.

Home exercises in these classes will be given weekly.

## **NORMAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Thursday, 7 to 8 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **6.—Bookkeeping.**

CHAS GRATER.

### **First Year.**

2nd Division: Single Entry.

### **Second Year.**

1st Division: Double Entry.

### **Text Books.**

Chamber's Single and Double Entry.

## **NORMAL SCHOOL.**

Tuesday and Friday, 7 to 8 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **7—Chemistry.**

J. R. DON, M.A., B.Sc.

### **First Year.**

Elements of the Subject and of Chemical Physics. Chemistry of the most important non-metallic elements.

PRACTICAL WORK.—Experiments illustrating the above, and qualitative analysis of the salts of the commoner metals.

### **Second Year.**

More advanced work in Chemical Physics, Chemistry of the Metals—special attention being given to those occurring in New Zealand.

Chemistry of special trades and manufactures, *e.g.*, Alkali Manufacture, Soap and Candle making, Manufacture of Sulfuric Acid, Dyeing, Bleaching, Gas Making, Cement Manufacture. Manufacture of Artificial Manures, &c.

Practical work in this class will consist of Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis suited, as far as possible, to the trades of the students.

### **Text Books.**

Roscoe's Lessons in Elementary Chemistry, and special Test Books suited to the trades of the students.

The Chemical Laboratory measures 39 × 30 feet, and in addition to benches, &c., for class purposes, is furnished with nine working benches fitted with sinks, gas and water pipes, and stands for re-agents, for four pupils each.

## **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Wednesday, 7 to 9 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter,

(N.B.—Professor Black offers Free Laboratory Tuition to one Student who earns the Association's Certificate.)

## **8—Botany.**

J. S. Tennant, M.A., B.Sc.

(Spring Session to commence on October 2nd.)  
Morphology, Physiology and Classification of Flowering Plants.

### **Text Book.**

Thomson's Introductory Class-book of Botany.

### **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Thursday, 7.15 to 8.30 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter,

In addition to the lecture work, excursions and field demonstrations are held on Saturday afternoons as frequently as gable.

## **9.—Physics.**

GEO. A. SIMMERS, M.A., B.SC.

Heat, Electricity, and Magnetism—with experiment Heat, a form of energy:—Matter-its constitution and properties. The various forms of energy. Effects of heat on Matter:—Change of Volume of Solids, Liquids, and Gases. Temperature, Thermometers. Quantity of Heat. Change of State-fusion, vaporisation. Latent Heat. Refrigerating Machines, Communication of Heat:—Conduction, Convection—winds, ventilation, ocean currents. Radiation. Thermo-dynamics:—Steam and Gas Engines; Use of Compressed Air.

Magnetism:—Attraction and Repulsion. Various Kind of Magnets. The Earth a Magnet. Static Electricity Attraction and Repulsion. Electrical Machines. Leyden Jut Current Electricity:—Galvanic Batteries. Measurement of Currents. The Connection between Electricity and Magnetism Application of Electricity:—The Electric Light, Dynamos, Telegraphs, and Telephones. Electro-plating.

In addition to the lecture course, practical work is carried out as far as possible in the Laboratory attached to the Normal School, which is well supplied with physical apparatus.

### **NORMAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Thursday, 8 to 9 P.M.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **10.—Engineering and Applied Mechanics.**

W. CUTTEN.

APPLIED MECHANICS.—Measurement, Simple Machine Conversion of Motion, Friction, Strength of Materials.

ENGINEERING.—Powers, Speeds, Weight, Friction, Calculstions from Formulæ.

STEAM ENGINE.—Earlier Forms of, and Duty of Steam Engines, Evaporative Performance and Strength of Steam Boilers, Gearing, Mining and other Machinery.

### **Text Books.**

Elementary Lessons on Applied Mechanics, by Robt. 8 Ball, LL.D.; Hand-book for Mechanical Engineers, by Prof. Hy. Adams.

The Class-room is furnished with a considerable stock of models and apparatus for practical demonstration of the subject.

### **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Wednesday, 8 to 9 P.M.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **11.—Drawing.**

DAVID C. HUTTON.

### **First Year.**

Freehand Drawing and Practical Geometry.

## **Second Year.**

Model Drawing and Solid Geometry.

## **Third Year.**

Mechanical or Architectural Drawing.

The School of Art Evening Classes are open from 7 to 9; on Mondays and Wednesdays for the study; of Freehand Drawing, Model Drawing, Drawing from the Antique, Modelling in Clay, &c.; on Tuesdays and Thursdays for Practical, Plane, and Solid Geometry, Mechanical and Architectural Drawing, &c.

Fees (payable at the School of Art): 10s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **12—Shorthand.**

J. CROSBY SMITH, M.N.P.S.

### **JAMES ABERNETHY (Assistant).**

### **Text Books (Elementary Class).**

Pitman's Phonographic Teacher and Manual. Speed Practice.

### **Text Books (Advanced Class).**

Manual and Reporter. Reporting Practice.

## **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Tuesday and Friday.

Elementary Class, 7 to 8 p.m.

Advanced Class, 8 to 9 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **13.—Typewriting.**

S. C. COPE.

The Class-room is well supplied with Remington Typewriters, Keyboards, &c.

## **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Thursday, 7 to 8 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **14.—Wood Carving.**

MISS GETHER.

Instruction is given in Wood Carving especially suited for Cabinet Makers, as well as for Art Amateurs. The workshop is fitted with numerous carving benches.

## **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Thursday, 7 to 9 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **15—Carpentry and Joinery.**

ISAAC SELBY.

Instruction will be given in the use of the Carpenter's rule, methods of measuring and ordering timber; what tools to buy, and how to sharpen and use them; the different kinds of saw's, and how to set and sharpen them; in roofing, the names and forms of the various kinds of roofs, the bevel cuts of common, jack, and hip rafters; also methods of notching, cogging, dowel-ling, scarfing, &c.; developing of surfaces, sections of solids, &c, with their practical applications, manner of taking dimensions, setting out sashes and frames, and other work.

The instructor has prepared a series of lessons on stairs and hand-railing, showing some improved plans of

stairs, and the one-plane method of finding the face-mould.

The workshop measures 39ft. by 30ft., and is fitted with six double benches, saw-sharpeuing bench, grindstone, &c.

### **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

Monday and Wednesday, 7 to 9 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **16—Plumbing.**

Robert Knox.

### **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

(The Class will be held in the Metal-shop.)

Tuesday and Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.

Fee: 7s. 6d. per Quarter.

## **17.—Cookery and Domestic Economy.**

MRS MILLER.

Composition, Preparation, Cooking of Food. Domestic Management. Cutting out of Garments. Laundry Work, &c.

### **TECHNICAL SCHOOL.**

The Class-room measures 44ft. by 24ft., and is furnished with large Shaddock range and gas cooking stove, tables, &c.

### **Demonstration Class.**

Wednesday, 7.80 to 9.80 p.m.

Fee: 5s per Quarter.

(Tickets transferable.)

### **Practising Classes.**

Wednesday, 3 to 5 p.m.

Fee: 10s. 6d. per Quarter.

A practical examination in plain Cookery and Laundry work will be held at the close of the session for the Association's "C certificate." Candidates must either attend one or other of the above classes, or must pay a fee of 5s. on entering for the elimination.

## **Time Table for 1894.**

P.M. MONDAY. TUESDAY. WEDNESDAY. THURSDAY. FRIDAY. 7 Arithmetic English Chemistry English Mathematics French Shorthand (Junior) French Arithmetic Shorthand (Junior) to Carpentry Book-keeping Mathematics Type-writing Book keeping 8 Type-writing Plumbing Carpentry Wood-Carving Plumbing Cookery Chemistry 8 Physics Latin Physics Latin to Engineering Shorthand (Senior) Engineering Shorthand (Senior) 9 Carpentry Plumbing Carpentry Wood-Carving Plumbing Cookery

## **The Tuapeka Election.**

*The late severe contest between the opponents, Mr. Scobie Mackenzie and the Ron. Mr. Larnach has resulted in the following correspondence:—*

*Victoria Hotel, Peel Street, Lawrence,*

July 10th, 1894.

DEAR LARNACH,

I caught cold in the eyes while driving about last night and one of them is in a high state of inflammation this morning. I cannot yet stand the light. I am not able, therefore, to see you, but if you conveniently could, I would be glad to see you for a minute or two. If not convenient, don't bother. I don't at all grudge you your victory; but you have to thank Rawlins for it, and the time he kept me out of the district.

Yours sincerely,

Scobie Mackenzie.

Lawrence,

July 10th, 1894.

DEAR MACKENZIE,

I am sorry to learn by your note that you are suffering from the effects of a severe cold. I shall not be able to see you, although I have some unpleasant things to say to you, as I am going to the Blue Spur. You are at liberty to form any opinion you like as to the result of the contest; but I know, had I a few more days to fight, my majority would have increased, as I would have had an opportunity, and time, to contradict the scurrilous and lying statements that you and your people had persistently circulated to my detriment. What did you do when you entered the contest a week before I had even announced my candidature? You commenced to scandalise my political reputation for years past, and when you did not absolutely lie in your statements, you only told half truths. Night and day you have carried on the same kind of abusive attacks on my political career, while I never once have referred to you, or Rawlins, on the platform. Have you ever once, in all your political addresses, given your hearers any politics or policy? No! Your politics during this contest have been political scandalmongering. In my opinion you have not fought a manly nor an honourable fight, but the fight of a political cur, and a political blatherskite. I have never stated this opinion on the platform, but I would do so if you were present, in consequence of the number of times that you have struck me below the belt. You may continue to try that style of fighting with your opponents; but should I ever again be one, you will find that I am able to take care of myself, even against unfair and unmanly play. You even, after I had announced myself, discovered that my name was not on the roll, and you wired the news to your friend in the interior, requesting him at the same time to keep it secret. You hoped to spring a mine under me on the day of nomination! Was that fair fighting? Was it manly? No! I feel very sorry that my opinion of you has very considerably changed.

Yours faithfully,

W. J. M. Larnace  
M. J. S. MACKENZIE, ESQ.,

Victoria Hotel, Lawrence.

Melness,

12th July, 1894.

HON. W. J. M. LARNACH, ESQ., C.M.G., The Camp.  
SIR,—

Your letter from Lawrence I only got here last night, and I need not say that I was amazed and indignant both at the tone and statements therein.

The story of wiring about *your* name on the roll has not one vestige of truth in it, and at first I could not even imagine what you were alluding to. Then it occurred to me it was a message I sent to Palmerston about my *own* name that served as the foundation of the story. A day or so before leaving I wrote to Hugh Wilson, Naseby, requesting him to see that my name was on the Waihemu roll, and that if by any chance it had got off,

to say nothing about it till I got it on again. Wilson replied by wire that I would have to apply to Registrar (Gwynne) at Palmerston. I wired Gwynne to make sure I was on, and to reply to Naseby where I was going that night. Gwynne replied I was on all right. That is the story. How you got it twisted up to have any connection with yourself I am sure I cannot say. If you have any doubt about it call in at Gwynne's (who is close to the Palmerston railway station) and satisfy yourself in Heaven's name. I never for an instant inquired about your name by myself, or through another, or by letter, wire, or verbally, never thought of such a thing.

I suppose this is a sample of the foolish stories that have been going about, and which you appear to have been giving credence, though you ought to have known better.

Not one word did I say about you during the entire tour, off the platform, that was not alike fair and generous. What "my friends," as you call them, have been saying God only knows. But you might as well blame me for the egg some wretch threw at Mrs Larnach, or I you for the two some other wretches threw at my wife, though they fortunately missed.

Enough of this. What I now want to know is whether you are prepared to make me some expression of regret for the language you applied to me over this registrar story. If so I am still ready to hold out the hand of good fellowship. If not I shall of course take it as a declaration of war between us, which of course I would regret.

On the platform throughout the campaign not one word did I say that was derogatory to you or irrelevant to the issue, and I am sure that had you heard me instead of listening to the busy bodies, you would have said so.

I am going for my children to-morrow, but will be back here on Monday.

Yours truly,

Scobie Mackenzie

*The Camp, Dunedin,*

*July 16th, 1894*

M. J. S. MACKENZIE, ESQ., Melness, Peninsula.

SIR,—

Your letter of the 12th inst., in reply to mine written at Lawrence, I found on Saturday evening on my return home, and I have now to acknowledge it.

The story about your having wired to a friend to see that your name was on the roll I have no doubt is correct so far as it goes, whether my name was mentioned by you, in your communication, as not being on the roll, as I have been informed by an undoubted authority, or, am I to accept your version of the matter? I may tell you plainly that, after my recent experience of your capacity for stating only part of a truth, I am not prepared to accept your assertion as a fact until I have seen my friend again.

"A lie, that is all a lie, may be met and fought outright,  
But a lie that is half a truth, is a harder matter to fight."

And in this direction, and on this basis, have your platform speeches throughout the recent contest been addressed to me, with the object of injuring me in the minds of electors. You even went into my career of private life when you gleefully and continuously referred to my having been the agent of Mr Clarke, of Melbourne; to my having purchased Moa Flat Estate for him; to my having been a promoter and a director of the Colonial Bank; to my having been a promoter and a director of the National Insurance Company, and other companies, in order to show that I could not be a true liberal, or have sympathy with the working man, such was the burden of your song to the electors night after night, and also in the daylight when you had the opportunity. Why did you not tell the electors the whole truth? That., when I did all this, I was not engaged in politics, nor did I then even contemplate ever taking an active part in them. I was first elected a Member of Parliament in 1876, and the several great political crimes, enumerated by you, had their being long before that period.

And why did Mr Clarke purchase the Moa Flat Estate? When you attempted to show the electors of Tuapeka my political unsoundness—aye, long before I was a candidate—you should have told the whole truth; I purchased Moa Flat Estate more to please the late worthy and patriotic Superintendent of Otago and his Provincial Government than Mr Clarke, the Government, at that time, being in a state of insolvency, and to oblige the Government I went to Victoria at my own expense, and I not only communicated with Mr Clarke,

but with other wealthy friends in that colony. I received nothing for my trouble, nor did I ask anything. But I felt a satisfaction in having, at a critical moment, been of service to this part of the colony, in a time of monetary difficulty, that I was enabled, by knowing how to do it, to place the Government in the position to pay all wages due to working men and other employes.

You also told the electors that you voted against plural voting under Sir George Grey's Bill while I opposed the Bill. Why did you not tell the whole truth and say that when plural voting was abolished by the introduction of the "one man one vote" principle, I voted with the Ayes; and, when you first voted for Sir George Grey's measure you knew precious well that it would not pass. How many voted for the Bill altogether? About half a dozen, at the eve of a General Election, including your illustrious self.

Now, a few words more and I have done. You may take the remarks which I have written to you in any spirit you like, just as the cap fits, you may constitute yourself the sole judge; but, let me assure you, I mean what I have written; and should the result bring estrangement between us I have the satisfaction of knowing that I only did a duty I owed to myself and my good name, by defending my character against your unmanly and scurvy attacks.

Yours obediently,

W. J. M. Larnach.

*Melness,*

22nd July, 1894.

HON. W. J. M. LARNACH, C.M.G., The Camp.  
SIR,—

I only returned from the country yesterday, and found your letter awaiting me.

Under ordinary circumstances that letter would be unworthy of an answer, so grossly inaccurate is it (for I will not condescend to use your own language) on the political points alluded to.

First, however, as to the Moa Flat purchase. If you cannot see that, after your attempts at Lawrence to tickle the ears of the groundlings by your pretence of demanding "leaps" of graduated taxation for bursting-up purposes (when even the Government have got all the graduation they wanted), I was not justified in pointing out that your whole life had been passed in assisting the process of accumulation of large estates, and was even now employed in lending money upon them, it is of course hopeless for me to endeavour to make it clear to you. The point whether you were in the House or not when some part of this process was going on had nothing to do with the matter. None but a fool would question the honourable nature of the employments mentioned, although you yourself were not above leading the people to believe, in your new-born zeal for bursting-up, that it was a crime to own an estate.

But when it comes to the plural voting question I confess that I have a difficulty in keeping within due bounds, and it took me some time before I could believe that your remarks were due to ignorance and for getfulness of what had taken place in the past; while at the same time you would not take the trouble to look the matter up. Your statement is three-fold and in all alike grossly inaccurate. You say first that you voted for the "one man one vote" principle; (2) that Sir George Grey's Bill (from which I quoted) was introduced on the eve of a general election; and (3) that only some half a dozen voted for it and that only for electioneering purposes.

First then as to the "one man one vote" principle. You did *not* vote for it. Here you are evidently confusing "manhood suffrage" with the "one man one vote" principle. "Manhood suffrage" was passed by Sir John Hall before I entered the House (about /82 or thereabout) but it left plural voting behind it, white latter was only abolished by Atkinson in 1889, in the Representation Act Amendment; and you voted against this clause (as of course you had a right to do) confining everyone to one vote.

Secondly as to Sir George Grey's Bill, "brought forward on the eve of a general election." It was introduced and debated on 12th September, 1884, that is a fortnight after the opening of the *first session of a new Parliament*.

Now for the "half dozen" who voted for Greys Bill. The voting was ayes 25, noes 26. The Bill therefore may be said (though I did not say it) to have been lost by your vote.

Of course I could easily comment on all this in your own fashion if I chose, but I refrain from doing so, perceiving that you are in the habit only of making rash statements without taking the trouble to verify them.

As to the Registrar business it is clear to me that you lack the manliness which prompts men when they find they have made a mistake to acknowledge their error. I have been slow to break up an old friendship under the belief that remarks that escaped you were made in haste and anger after a harassing contest. But that friendship

is now at an end and my patience and forbearance go with it, and this letter is the only intimation of the fact that you will get from me.

Yours truly,

Scobie Mackenzie

*The Camp, Dunedin,*

*July 24th, 1894.*

M. J. SCOBIE MACKENZIE, ESQ., Melness, Peninsula.  
SIR,—

Your letter of the 22nd inst. I found at the Post Office this morning, in reply to my last; and I am glad the circumstances in connection with the latter were of more than an ordinary character, and so warranted you in answering it.

I really do not understand your meaning when you speak of my attempts at Lawrence "to tickle the ears of the groundlings" by a pretence of demanding "leaps" of graduated taxation for bursting-up purposes. Here again you are at fault by still pursuing your Baron Munchausen proclivities. Why don't you stick to facts, and the whole truth? In none of my speeches have I ever advocated the bursting-up of large estates by the process of taxation. What I advocated, and still advocate, is not to interfere with any estate if no land is wanted for settlement; but, if land is required by the people, and the Crown has no land to satisfy the earth-hunger in any district in the colony, then it is the duty of the Crown to take from any large estate on equitable and fair terms sufficient land to satisfy the *bonâ fide* demands of the people; and let me say that this is no "new-born zeal" on my part, for I advocated the same policy during the general election campaign of 1890. Considering the fact that you recently stated at one of your meetings at Lawrence that "Hansard" contained more lies than any book ever published, I am not surprised that you carry it about with you, and so often quote from it, I am content to stand by and justify any vote I have ever given in Parliament during my long political career.

In respect to what you are pleased to call the "Registrar business" you are entirely wrong in supposing that I have found I made a mistake, so far I have only your statement against the statement of my friend; and, perhaps, as usual, you have only told half of the truth, and I may assure you that you won't find me "lack in manliness" if you ever desire to question the point.

Nor can I see what good reason you had for calling the electors who were good enough to listen to me "groundlings" because they, in many cases, stood in the halls! while others you styled "wretches" for having thrown rotten eggs. Was this because they were chicken-hearted at your defeat?

If I may presume to give advice to so illustrious a politician as you, I would recommend you at any future contest to stand on your own merits, and every one has some merits. Do not abuse your opponent; the electors will judge him; always tell the whole truth connected with any statement, and for ever abandon your habit of only telling half the truth.

Yours obediently,

W. J. M. Larnach.  
Coulis, Culline it Co., Printers, Crawford Street. Dunedin.  
Front Cover

## **The Late Rev. D. M. Stuart, D.D.**

**[From Photo, by Morris, Dunedin.]**

In Memoriam.

Rev. D. M. Stuart, D. D.

Minister of Knox Church, Dunedin, Who Died May 12th, 1894.

Biographical Sketch,

Pulpit References, Press Notices, and Reports of the Funeral and Memorial Services.

Dunedin Printed at the Otago Daily Times Office, High Street. MDCCCXCIV.

THE Reverend Dr STUART is dead. It seems almost trivial to say that it is with the deepest possible regret we make this announcement, charged as it is with the power to send a thrill of grief through a multitude of hearts, and to convey an abiding sense of loss into hundreds of Otago homes. Since the death of JAMES MACANDREW, seven years ago, Otago—the Otago which Both these adopted sons of hers loved with a passion so leal and ardent—has not been called upon to mourn a loss comparable with this, and it is no disparagement to the men who survive to say that many a year is likely to pass without the repetition of such heartfelt regret. For Dr STUART'S personality has been bound up in a uniquely intimate fashion with the life of this city and province during the past generation. As pastor and as friend, in joy and in sorrow, at baptism, bridal, and burial, he has been a familiar agent of social benevolence and spiritual consolation—an agent of whom much was expected, and not expected in vain. Of the Presbyterian Church he was regarded as the embodiment rather than as a mere representative, and that big heart of his had a warm place for all other churches and organisations that make for righteousness and Christianity. The stalwart figure, the cheery face, the hearty manner, will be missed long and sorely by the men and the women, the boys and the girls, who either reckoned themselves among the host of his friends or had learned to look up to him as a wise and loving elder within whose man's heart the heart of a child still moved.

His memory long will live alone  
In all our hearts, as mournful light  
That broods above the fallen sun,  
And dwells in heaven half the night.

Let us not forget, however—he would certainly not have wished us to forget—that he had completed his seventy-fifth year, that he had served his generation from boyhood to old age with unflinching fidelity, and that, to use a common but impressive phrase, his time had come. Voices, he used to say, were to be heard calling him from the further shore, and though the desire to retain his presence here might be invincible, it is no evil thing that infirmity was not allowed to lay an oppressive hand upon him through long years of lingering decline. Until quite recently it might be said of him, as of that greater servant of God who died on Pisgah—"his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." Moreover, he would have bid us remember, with the great Anglican bishop: "Men may come, and men may go, . . . but the broad, mighty, rolling stream of the Church itself—the cleansing, purifying, fertilising tide of the river of GOD—flows on forever and ever." Grief their needs must be, but it may well be grief with a note of exultation.

"You are one of those people," said ROGER WENDOVER to ROBERT ELSMERE, "who imagine we owe civilisation to the heart. I, on the other hand, believe that the world, so far as it has lived to any purpose, has lived by the head" Dr STUART believed in the mission of both heart and head. The proverbial kindness of his heart has perhaps been wont somewhat to obscure the notable qualities of his mind. If he was not a man of great intellectual power, we make bold to say that he was a man with a touch of something higher—a touch of something akin to genius; while as for the worth of his practical sagacity we may borrow a word from Wren's epitaph and say *Circumspice*. He has left his mark upon the institutions of Otago, and his lifelong activity in the cause of education would alone make his name honourable. From the Fifeshire days, when, at his "adventure school," he taught one scholar for six weeks at a fee of threepence a week, to the very end, when for years he had been the honoured Chancellor of the University of Otago and Chairman of the High Schools Board of Governors, his zealous interest in public education never flagged. As the handmaid of religion, as the complement of social life, as the crown of citizenship, education may be said to have been to him a holy thing, and though there will be need of no memorial to keep his memory green and fragrant, still, should there be a wish to identify his name with some lasting monument in this, his "own romantic town," the project will most fittingly take an educational form. Of his strictly ministerial work it is not for us to speak, but no one requires to be told that the Presbyterians of Dunedin found what they were seeking 36 years ago—"a pious, energetic, and godly man—one who would take a particular interest in securing the hearing young men for public good, and who would visit and allure the people to church-going habits, . . . "a ms "large-minded, prudent, affable, gentle yet firm, and ready for every good work Such were the requisitions forwarded to the Commission of Selection in m and the words might aptly be scribed on the selected minister's grave Imaginative sympathy can realise the void which the beloved pastor's removal must leave at Knox Church, as it is ours rather to bear testimony albeit superfluous, to the warmth and sagacity of his patriotism, to the oftiness of his ideal of civic duty, to the whole-hearted qualities of his manliness It was well said the other day that he only valued strength for the sated expending it in the public service, than he only valued money for the satei giving it away. Robust in body and soul—without an atom of mawkish sentiment, but with a world of charity wearing to the last the blitheness of

his native mountain air: "servant of God man's friend,"—such was the man whom we deplore. Amid the multitudinous cares of his special avocation he found time—made time—to discharge general duties of citizenship with a thoroughness that would have done credit to a man of leisure; and in these days, when civic duty seems hardly to be reckoned among necessary virtues—when men of light are far too seldom men of leading—the force of such an example may be emphasising. Doubtless not to every man is given the special gift—that which "in him was the peculiar grace"—the gift of an all-useful versatility, stirred by an active sense of public responsibility; but there are few who will not be the better for studying the motives of Dr STUART'S life.

What more can be said? What more needs saying? "Let us all to meditation," said King HENRY at the death bed of Cardinal BEAUFORT, and the counsel is at least as applicable to the close of a good man's life. The name of the good Doctor STUART will be heard by the ears of children for many years to come, and it will never be associated with a belittling thought or an unkindly memory.

Sleep sweetly, tender heart, in peace:  
Sleep, holy spirit, blessed soul,  
While the stars burn, the moons increase,  
And the great ages onward roll.

Sleep till the end, true soul and sweet.  
Nothing comes to thee new or strange,  
Sleep full of rest from head to feet;  
Lie still, dry dust, secure of change.

—*Otago Daily Times*.

## His Last Illness.

Though the state of the health of the Rev. Dr Stuart was generally understood for some weeks past to have been so precarious that his death might be expected at any moment, and the community was thus in a sense prepared for the event, a mighty throb of grief was felt throughout the city on Saturday morning, and was not confined to any class or denomination or sect of the people, but was absolutely general, and the mournful word was regretfully passed from one to another that the much-beloved pastor of Knox Church, who occupied a position in the minds of the public of Otago that was quite unique, had passed away. Outward signs of mourning were exhibited in many Sections—the flags on the shipping, on the lintels at the Town Hall and Garrison Hall, and at various business offices being displayed prominently high—and the event was everywhere spoken of in reverent whispers. By the Rev. gentleman himself and by those who possessed the privilege of being his intimate friends the termination of his life was altogether unexpected. Serious abdominal disease had for a long time been slowly undermining his strength and breaking down ere his fibrous constitution, and this, coupled with returning symptoms of the heart failure, which first loomed up in the latter end of 1887, caused grave anxiety to his medical adviser, and then he had periods of great bodily stress and pain, but no sooner was each attack alleviated than the doctor was up and doing. Indeed it was this life of ceaseless toil and abnegation that hastened his end. About five weeks back Dunedin was visited by a remarkably severe, cold wintry day—it was a Monday—and on the previous day the doctor had preached with unusual vigour and energy his last pulpit sermons. He had been early starting, as was his wont, and with his usual recklessness of self, had not observed the weather until it was too late. A very severe chill, followed by extensive congestion of both lungs, ensued, and though he recovered from the acute symptoms of this fresh trouble the strain on his vitality proved too much for him—he never regained his old strength, and on and off he had days of great distress. On Friday his condition was very critical, and, as illustrative of that anxiety to spare trouble to others which was characteristic with him, it may just be mentioned that on that day, when he was already within the shadow of the dark valley, he expressed a desire to leave his room upstairs and to die in the manse dining room, so that those who would have to do with his body after the spirit should have taken its flight might be relieved as much as possible of inconvenience. Towards Friday evening he revived somewhat, and later on he obtained several refreshing snatches of sleep. About 5 o'clock on Saturday morning he awoke, but shortly afterwards he lay down again on his bed. His nurse, noticing a sudden change upon him, at once sent for Dr Coughtrey, who remained with the

patient for over an hour. From the time at which the change was observed Dr Stuart's life gradually ebbed away, and at 7 a.m., peacefully and without a struggle, the end came. His son, Mr William Stuart, who, on being called for, arrived from Melbourne about a week ago, his faithful and patient housekeeper (Miss Laing), and his nurse (Mrs Groves) were present when death almost imperceptibly came upon Dr Stuart, and his medical adviser, who had been with him just before, was with him also immediately after the event. From 5 o'clock until the time of his death the rev. gentleman, though conscious, was almost speechless, and now after life's fitful fever he sleeps well.

## Biographical Sketch.

The Rev. Donald M'Naughton Stuart was born on the 5th February 1819, in a hamlet on the banks of the Tay. His early education was obtained in the parish school of Kenmore, which is situated at the place where the Tay issues from its parent loch. The school was conducted by a university man, named Mr Armstrong, and the curriculum embraced such subjects as Gaelic, English, Latin, Greek, and mathematics. With a view, moreover, to acquiring fluency in speaking English, young Stuart was sent for two summers into the Lowlands. He was passionately fond of reading, and he more than once, in his old age, acknowledged the benefit he had received from being afforded access to books and newspapers. "Though in my first teens," he said publicly on one occasion, "before I had access to a newspaper, yet I was in no sense a waif, for I was within reach of church and school, and such books as Bunyan's 'Pilgrim,' Boston's 'Fourfold State,' Hervey's 'Meditations,' 'The Scottish Worthies,' one or two histories, and Burns's poems. To these institutions and books I am a debtor to a degree more than I can express. Still, it was a red-letter day in my life when I was asked as a boy to become reader to an old couple who received the Scotsman newspaper from a son who had pushed his fortunes in the South. I then heard for the first time the glowing words of Brougham and Russell, and Peel and Graham, and became acquainted with the questions and discussions which engaged the high court of Parliament. My little world, hitherto bounded by the Grampians, suddenly embraced London and Paris, the Indies, and the Americas. In the Scotsman I found a schoolmaster with more force and greatness than Mr Armstrong, at whose feet I had sat for years." The lad was fired with the ambition to get to college, and, as a means to that end, he did what many other young men in similar circumstances did—he took to teaching. In those days the fruits of this calling were insignificant in the way of pecuniary reward, but the opportunities which they presented of reading and studying were eagerly welcomed by the boy from Kenmore. The field of knowledge which his occupation as reader to the old couple had opened up to him was, at the same time, one which he was anxious at all hazards to retain; and with the object of getting a newspaper so that he might still be able to gain an insight into the doings of the great world, he entered into communication with the editor of the Fife Herald, whom he succeeded in inducing to allow him a copy of that weekly publication in consideration of his furnishing the news of the town in which he resided. The fact of his having such a prize as a newspaper regularly delivered to him made him a personage of importance in his town, and he was besieged with requests for a sight of it; so much so that, as he used to relate, he had in the interests of peace to give his landlady a discretionary power in lending it. In 1837 he purchased the goodwill of an "adventure school" in Leven, Fifeshire. He started with one scholar, from whom he received a fee of 3d a week, and, attending to his duties with a diligence that could not have been surpassed had he a roomful of pupils, he met this solitary scholar for six weeks for the full number of regulation hours. Fifty-one years later, when the young teacher of 1837 was revisiting Fifeshir[unclear: e], traced out this solitary pupil, whom he [unclear: fo] he wrote to one of elders in Dunedin, [unclear: no] maiden of 57 years." His earnestness [unclear: attra] general attention, and the attendance at his school increased to such an extent as to [unclear: ea] him in two years' time to enter St. [unclear: Andre] University, where he took his undergraduate course of four years—a bursary, [unclear: supplem] by assistance in kind from a friendly [unclear: h] placing him at his ease during this portion [unclear: of] career. At the university his desire to [unclear: k] himself abreast of current events in the world politics, science, and literature lost none of its keenness. "When I went to colle[unclear: ge]," again quote his own words, "my [unclear: f] engagement was to join a firm of six member to secure the celebrated Edinburgh [unclear: Wit] edited by Hugh Miller. We prized the [unclear: p] lections of our professors, but the arrival [unclear: of] newspaper never failed to withdraw us for a hour from science and philosophy. The question sand discussions with which it dealt had irresistible charm. Prizing the newspaper never grudged its cost, or deemed the [unclear: h] devoted to its study as wasted or los[unclear: t]" 1843, while Mr Stuart was at St. Andrew's a important event in his life occurred, this being none other than his expulsion from hi[unclear: s] mater. In the quiet university town, the agnation which was destined to cause th[unclear: e] ruption of the ancient Kirk of Scotland an sharply felt, and the students were natural divided in opinion respecting the movement—some upholding the existing order, and others, the whom Mr Stuart was one, advocating [unclear: refo] the church and in the government of the university. The election of the Lord Rector

brought about a crisis. The Reform party [unclear: nomi] Dr Thomas Chalmers as their candidat[unclear: e], opposition to the nominee of the senatus, and secured his election. Mr Stuart voted with the majority. The senatus hastily summone[unclear: d] rebels, as they were termed, and asked the[unclear: m] submit to an admonition for their part in the election. They respectfully declined on the ground that their action was within the [unclear: lin] of the constitution, and thereupon the senatus by a large majority, expelled them. [unclear: The] pulsion touched Mr Stuart and others in [unclear: bo] purse and pride, and entailed many [unclear: grie] consequences, which, however, did [unclear: not] outlive his restoration, and that of his fellows by a Royal Commission. Leaving St. Andrew he entered the New College, Edinburgh, when he pursued his theological studies, and in [unclear: daia] so had the advantage of sitting at the [unclear: feel] Dr Chalmers. In 1844 Mr Stuart received [unclear: a] appointment as classical master in a first-class school near Windsor, and shortly afterwar[unclear: ds] was elevated to the position of principa[unclear: l] did not, however, neglect his studies for the ministry, which he carried on in London made Drs Lorimer, M'Crie, and Hamilton, subsequently completing them in Edinburgh. From the Free Presbytery of Kelso he obtained his license to preach, and he then received a call to the Presbyterian Church of Falstone, in upper reaches of North Tyne, on the English Border. For 10 years he laboured I with acceptance in this parish, his ministerial work being occasionally relieved by such outdoor recreations as bridge-building and the establishment of district libraries. Always accounting education as second only to religion as a factor in true national prosperity and happiness, he strove to enlarge the range of knowledge of all the families within the bounds of his district. "On becoming a minister in the uplands of dear Northumberland," he said, referring to that period of life, "I set myself to make the acquaintance of the people. I soon found that while some families were both intelligent and pious, taking a generous interest in the state of the nation, there were others, good and kind, but without any interest in the outside church and world; for while the former received reliable news from many lands through their weekly paper, the latter heard nothing of what was occurring in high places, except what chance tramps and travellers brought them. I decided to do my utmost to introduce a weekly paper and a monthly magazine into every family, in the interests of education and religion. I never hesitated to commend my scheme from the pulpit, for I noticed that the intelligent (other things being equal) were the Gospel's best and fastest friends."

In 1858, the steady increase of the population of Dunedin, combined with the thought of the advancing age of the Rev. Dr Burns, forced the conviction upon some of the settlers that the time had come for the establishment of a second Presbyterian Church, and the proposal was heartily supported. The selection of a minister was entrusted to a commission consisting of Dr Bonar (the convener of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland), Dr Guthrie, and Professor Miller (of the Edinburgh University), who, in the letter of instructions that was forwarded to them, were informed that it was of the utmost importance that the minister should be "a pious, energetic, and godly man—one who would take a particular interest in securing the hearts of young men for public good, and who would visit and allure the people to church-going habits." The minister, it was farther stated, "would require to be large-minded, prudent, affable, gentle yet firm, and ready for every good work." It was desired also that the clergyman selected should be "vigorous in health, but not a young man—a man rather of some experience in the ministry and in the business of church courts." The choice of the commission fell upon Mr Stuart, respecting whose selection there is a traditionary story to the effect that at the first meeting of the commissioners Dr Guthrie made a remark the substance of which was that "some years previously he felt much interested in a young minister he met while attending an induction at Trinity Church, Newcastle, who had a strong flavour of the Grampians and had the advantage of some travel, and he suggested that Dr Bonar should make inquiries concerning his work and report." The suggestion was acted upon, with the result that at the next meeting it was resolved to offer the appointment to the young minister in question, who, it was thought, possessed the necessary qualifications—as, indeed, his subsequent and prolonged labours among the people to whom he was called showed he possessed in a degree that was beyond expectation.

On January 25, 1860, Mr Stuart, with his wife and three children, arrived in Otago Harbour by the ship Bosworth, from Gravesend, and losing no time in getting into harness began at once to visit the people and perform other pastoral work. His induction into the pastorate of Knox Church did not take place, however, till May 16, the church being opened for divine service 10 days previously. From that time to the present the history of Knox Church may be said to be the history of its revered minister who has just passed away; but not so the converse, for the history of Dr Stuart—as he became in 1872—is much more than the history of Knox Church. His sphere of usefulness extended far beyond the limits of his ministerial work, though his performance of this, in which he was unsparing of his own energies, involved an amount of toil and anxiety that would speedily have broken down the constitution of any but a man of uncommon physical and mental strength. His pastoral duties were, however, undertaken by Dr Stuart with a cheerfulness and unweariedness that could not but be admired however much his self-abnegation might be deprecated; but the ceaseless strain of 29 years' labours in pastoral and public work necessitated action being taken in 1889 to procure for him a colleague who would relieve him of the multifarious duties which he was called upon to perform, and as a

result of this action the Rev. A. P. Davidson was inducted in 1890 as co-pastor of Knox Church—a position which he resigned only a few weeks ago. In 1886 Dr Stuart's health had been so very unsatisfactory as to cause great concern to his congregation, but the office-bearers prevailed on him to take a much-needed holiday in the form of a six-months' trip to the old country. He derived great benefit and enjoyment from this visit to the scenes of his boyhood, and to a land that was dear to him as to all others who have left it behind to seek their fortunes in a new country, and on his return to Dunedin in December 1888 he was greeted with touching demonstrations of welcome from all classes of the community. During his absence the Presbyterian Synod, in which body he was always a commanding figure, paid him the compliment of electing him their moderator for the following year, but a sad bereavement which occurred to mar the pleasure of his home-coming induced him to decline the honourable position which the synod desired to bestow upon him, and which he had held on more than one occasion previously. In the deliberations of the supreme court of the church his utterances, distinguished as they were by breadth of view no less than by simplicity and homeliness of expression, were always received with the greatest respect. The synod's church extension scheme was one which especially engaged his attention, and for some years he was one of the conveners of the committee which was charged with the duty of extending the operations of the church within the bounds of the synod. The interest, too, which he manifested in the foreign missions was not surpassed by that of any of the other members of the synod. It was on his motion, in 1867, that the church first took action in respect to breaking ground among the pagan population of the New Hebrides, and he repeatedly brought under the notice of his congregation the needs of the mission field. In this connection, it may be mentioned that his was one of the controlling minds of the Otago Bible Society, and that at the annual meetings of the auxiliary of the London Bible Society he was always present to show and express sympathy with the objects of the society. The establishment of a Divinity Hall in connection with the Presbyterian Synod was warmly advocated by him, and for the first year he held the position of tutor in the department of church history. The whole of his salary in that capacity he donated to the hall in order to provide two annual prizes, since known as the Stuart prizes, for the encouragement of theological students in the study of church history and pastoral theology. There was, however, no scheme established under the synod having for its end the promotion of the Gospel, the extension of education, and the advancement of humanity which had not a loyal and ardent supporter in Dr Stuart. He was one of the most prominent of the many prominent educationists to whom Otago can proudly point. He always deemed the exclusion of the Bible from the public school curriculum to be a radical defect in the system of primary education, and in his place in the synod and as a leading member of the Bible-in-Schools Association, which existed and flourished for some years, in the pulpit and on the public platform, he lifted his voice on many an occasion against what was regarded by him and many others as the severe secularism of the Education Act. His services in the management of the principal secondary schools of the province were eminent in the highest degree. He was one of a Board of Advice [unclear: wh] were appointed in 1875 to recommend to the Education Board "such measures in connection with the management and organisation of the Boys' High School as might be deemed advisable"; and on the establishment, in 1877 of a Board of Governors, in whom was vested the management of the Boys' and Girls' [unclear: Hig] Schools, Dr Stuart was not only appointed of the first members of the governing body, but he was elected chairman—a position whic[unclear: h], the unanimous desire of his colleagues, he [unclear: hei] continuously from that year down to [unclear: th] a present time. His happy little addresses at the annual ceremonies for the distribution the prizes were generally the features of [unclear: th] functions, at which the reverence of the youthful audiences, most of whom he knew either themselves or through their parents, for "the doctor as they all affectionately styled him, [unclear: nev] failed to be conspicuously shown. It is only few weeks ago that, as the outcome of movement initiated by the Ex-High [unclear: Sct] Girls' Club, a portrait of him—a portrait which he was himself never destined to see—was presented to the Girls' High School by the [unclear: pu] and present pupils of that institution to [unclear: be] memorial for all time of the great and [unclear: unflaggin] interest he took in the school. The university, as well as the high schools, had a friend in Dr Stuart. He was one of those who were most eloquent in urging the establishing college in Dunedin for the purposes of higher education, and upon the incorporation of the University of Otago in 1869 the part which he had taken in the movement that thus bore [unclear: fr] was fittingly recognised by his appointment as one of the members of the original University Council. In 1871, on the appointment of the late Sir John Richardson to the office a chancellor, which was rendered vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr Burns, Dr Stuart was appointed vice-chancellor. He was re-elected without opposition in 1874 and in 1877, and at the retirement of the late Mr Justice [unclear: Chapm] from the position of chancellor, in which he had succeeded Sir John Richardson, Dr Stuart was in September 1879 unanimously appointed to the chancellorship. His qualifications for that important office were always acknowledged to be of the highest, and on four subsequent occasions, as his term expired, he was re-elected by the undivided voice of the council. He was also for some time a member of the Senate at the New Zealand University, but he was never reconciled to the surrender by the University of Otago of its power of conferring degrees. In 1872, the honorary degree of

Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by his [*unclear: al*] *mater*, the University of St. Andrew's, from whose doors, nearly 30 years previously, he had been thrust forth for having the manliness stand by his opinions. All the institutions which from time to time were formed with philanthropic aims secured his most hearty sympathy. The Patients and Prisoners' Aid Society and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals were bodies whose claims to the support of the public were strongly urged by him as opportunity offered or occasion demanded. The Benevolent Institution and the Hospital obtained a large share of his attention, and a visit from him to these institutions rendered the monotonous life of the inmates, for whom he always had a kindly word, temporarily brighter. The Industrial School also was frequently visited by him, and with the young people there, as with the young people wherever he went, he was a great favourite, although the boys who witnessed the success of one of the weakest among them, whom the doctor on one occasion allowed to "throw" him in a wrestling bout, probably entertained but a mean opinion of his physical powers.

The life of Dr Stuart was saddened by several trials of the most grievous description. On April 16, 1862, at a time when the various congregational agencies in connection with the congregation had scarcely been brought into fair working order, he was called upon to endure the death of the wife who had been for 12 years his devoted helpmate and fellow worker in the service of the Master. It was when he was at Palstone that Dr Stuart's engagement took place, but the ceremony which united him to Miss Jessie Robertson was performed in the south of England—in Slough Church—the date being July 1850. At Falstone, also, the three sons of the marriage only one of whom survives, were born. Mrs Stuart was in feeble health when she landed with her husband at Port Chalmers, but she applied herself with diligence to the work that lay before her, and her "many excellent qualities, her good example, and her earnest desire to prove useful soon gained for her," says the historian of Knox Church, "the esteem and confidence of the members of the congregation and of the general community." In little more than two years after her arrival she was, however, summoned to her rest, and then poignant grief that wrung the heart of her bereaved husband—who never throughout the whole of his life spoke of her without a pathetic tremor in his voice—far and near aroused expressions of the deepest sympathy. Twenty-one years later—on the 6th July 1883—another great grief came upon Dr. Stuart, for on that day his second son, Alexander Thomas, a young man of remarkable promise and possessing natural abilities of a high order, was unexpectedly removed; and on the 12th January 1889 his third son, Mr Donald M Stuart, who also had exhibited in a very marked degree the possession of natural talent expired after a long and painful illness. On the occasion of each of these bereavements the heartfelt sympathy of the community went freely out to Dr Stuart, and doubtless strengthened him to bear the affliction.

The Hon. W. Downie Stewart and Mr Edmund Smith have been appointed executors under the will of Dr Stuart. During the last few days of his life the reverend gentleman burned a large number of the documents he had in his possession, but it is to be hoped that others, which doubtless have a historic value, remain extant. His library he has bequeathed to the library of Knox Church congregation.

Already a great many wreaths have been forwarded to the manse to be placed on Dr Stuart's coffin and grave, the number including one from the Prioress of the Dominican Convent.

## History of Knox Church,

BY JOHN HISLOP, LL.D, F.R.S.E.,

With an introduction by the Rev. D. M. STUART D.D., first minister of the church.

By some oversight we omitted to notice this book when it first appeared some time ago, but the sad occasion of Dr Stuart's death gives us a fitting opportunity of repairing our error of omission. Dr Hislop undertook the work now under review at the request of the office-bearers of Knox Church, and it is difficult to think of anyone to whose hands the task could be entrusted with such certainty of its being ably discharged. Dr Hislop's connection with the church has been so intimate and of so long standing that, with the exception of the pastor for whom his people are at present mourning, there is no one who could have spoken with such authority and such certainty of knowledge. If anything further were required to fit Dr Hislop for this important piece of local history it is his long and important connection with the public life of this provincial district and of the whole colony. It is particularly fitting, we think, that one who has done such distinguished service for the education of this province and colony should address himself to telling the story of a church that has so largely shaped the spiritual life of the community.

We are not going to repeat the story of Knox Church. There it is in the permanent record of Dr Hislop. From the first suggestion that the time was come when there must be a hiving-off from the First Church up to the time when Mr Davidson arrived to take from the shoulders of the ageing pastor part of his heavy burden it is all recorded in this history. The church institutions are noted as they sprang each into being—the Sabbath school, the Bible class, the weekly prayer meeting, Young Men's Christian Association, the Missionary

Association, and so on; and Dr Hislop does not fail, in connection with the various movements of development, to award praise and honourable mention where it is due.

What makes the book additionally acceptable and valuable is the pious tribute that Dr Hislop pays to the memory of men who did good work in their day. We do not suppose that in any church in this hemisphere has work been carried on with greater devotion and enthusiasm than in Knox Church. We have every reason to believe that this church has before it a future as prosperous and beneficent as the past that lies behind it, but it is well that there should be a permanent record of its day of small things and hard work, and of the zeal of its first founders. In this work of piety Dr Hislop renders justice to all and sundry; except to one, perhaps—Dr Hislop himself, who has always been a man of mark in the congregation, but about whom Dr Hislop, modestly, says less than is due. His well-known features, however, appear in an excellent portrait; and there are other good illustrations—portraits of the two ministers of the church, and views of the old church and the new.

The most striking and interesting figure in this history is, of course, that of Dr Stuart. He is not at the present moment, whilst the city is under the shock of his death, likely to lack eulogists, and therefore we will refrain here from uttering praises which are sure to be abundantly uttered by many mouths. In reading this book, however, we could not help speculating as to that quality in him that made him, in spite of any faults he may have had, a man powerful to move men. We have always thought, and are confirmed in our thought by reading Dr Hislop's book, that a large part of Dr Stuart's power outside his church lay in the fact that he had an essentially poetic basis to his character. When he spoke at his best he spoke, to our thinking, better English, as well as better Scotch, than any man in Dunedin—terse, vigorous, glowing; and often capped with a flashing jewel of poetry from Holy Writ. We have often heard it said that Dr Stuart was not an eloquent preacher. Of that we are not in a position to judge. But he certainly was, on occasions, an eloquent speaker. To hear him pray at a grave, when the circumstances of death affected him, was to listen to the voice of a poet-seer; we cannot imagine eloquence more solemn or moving, or with more in it of the oil of comfort. Then, again, when he had to address the young, if he happened to be in a happy vein—how he could let himself go, what fire he had, and what a knack of happy phrases. When, on the other hand, his imagination carried him to his native Highland hills, with their heather and their birches, and their simple and lowly modes of life, Burns or Scott could not glow with more genuine fire. And so it was that he was indispensable at every public gathering where there was any subject of interest more humane than mere beggarly party-politics. Without him somehow things would not kindle. It is true, as he once said to his flock[unclear: k], there is no man *necessary* to the world: [unclear: but] is equally true that there are men what empty place cannot be filled as long as any survive who once knew their influen[unclear: ce]: Dr Stuart was such a man. In the [unclear: hea] all the men and women, friendly or [unclear: unfriend] into whose life he entered there will [unclear: he] forth be a vacant place that cannot be [unclear: fill] be the next who he may.

We are, of course, speaking of Dr Stuart a public man, as he was known to the [unclear: citi] at large, and not as he was known to his [unclear: f] with whom he had deeper spiritual [unclear: relati] He was essentially a public man—so much by nature that he would have been [unclear: un] had he been confined to the interests of a [unclear: pri] life, however prosperous. A large chur[unclear: ch], posed necessarily of more or less [unclear: confi] elements, gave a wide scope to that [unclear: passi] direction and government which was so [unclear: ste] an element of character in Dr Stuart. [unclear: B] did not give scope enough. The [unclear: repub] system of government of the [unclear: Presbyt] Church, which allows a man to count [unclear: for] and for no more, did not allow room [unclear: enough] his perfervid love of action. The fact [unclear: is] Nature meant Dr Stuart for a bishop, but [unclear: fo] to bring him forth on the right side [unclear: of] Tweed. So that the energy which was [unclear: en] for a whole diocese, and too much [unclear: for] government of a single church, flowed [unclear: ove] public institutions, chiefly those [unclear: concer] with education. He was essentially [unclear: a] devoted to ideas—too little regardful, [unclear: per] of material things, and expecting too [unclear: larg] disregard of such things from other people would have had young preachers go for[unclear: th] cripp and staff to preach in the remote water where there is small comfort and little [unclear: p] as he would have had young [unclear: teach] also, teach with a lofty disrega[unclear: rd] money returns, finding their emolume[unclear: nt] their work. This is noble and apostol[unclear: ic] trine, though not usually acceptable; [unclear: for] nately in Dr Stuart's case no one could that he did not obey his own self [unclear: deag] ordinances. One of the most [unclear: character] anecdotes, in a life fruitful of [unclear: anecdot] that which Dr Stuart himself used to tell his first attempt at school-keeping. In [unclear: litt] desiring to earn the wherewithal to keep himself at the university, he bought the [unclear: good] of a school in Fifeshire, and started work any one pupil, and that a girl, at 3d [unclear: per] For six weeks," says Dr Hislop, "[unclear: he] his solitary pupil for the full number of [unclear: r] lation hours. This circumstance [unclear: drav] general attention, led to an attendance a pupils which put it within his power in the years to enter St. Andrew's University"

It may be asked who is to weave the [unclear: an] chaplet for the grave of the early pilgrims any that Dr Stuart is gone. Year in, year out spoke bis mindful tribute, and now he is himself one of those that were. It is

clear to any-one who reads Dr Hislop's book, that however well the aged pastor may have loved his flock of these latter days, his best affections were with the band who gathered round him when he came out a young man, with the "wife of his youth" and his three boys, in the year 1860. Who can wonder if, as years were added to his back and sorrows came thick upon him, he lived more and more in the memory of those early days, and took every opportunity of rescuing from forgetfulness the names of those who had first welcomed him, and helped him to build up his church.—*Otago Daily Times*.

## Sunday's Services at Knox Church.

The services at Knox Church on Sunday were conducted by the Rev. H. Kelly, B.A., of Waimate. The pulpit was draped with black, and the congregations were exceptionally large. As the memorial service to the late Rev. Dr Stuart is to be held next Sunday, no direct reference was made to the decease of the pastor of Knox Church, but at the morning service one of the oldest office-bearers of the church was deputed to address the congregation on the subject. The following gentlemen occupied seats on the pulpit dais:—The, Hon. W. D. Stewart, Dr Hislop, Dr Dunlop, Messrs E. B. Cargill, C. M'K. Gordon, W. B. Harlow, Robt. Glendining, W. Hislop, G. L. Deuniston, Edmund Smith, John Reid, Alex. Stewart, James N. Eraser, R. Chisholm, and Geo. Dutch.

### The Late Dr Stuart.

At the close of the first prayer,

Mr K. B. CARGILL stepped forward, and addressing the congregation said: Friends,—I have a word or two to say. Our dear pastor Dr Stuart has gone from us. Yesterday morning about 7 o'clock the spirit de-parted from the frail and worn body—veay quietly, peacefully, and happily; so much so that the nurse and attendants scarce knew when the spirit had fled. He has gone. After his long and loving and stundant labours he has gone to his reward; be has entered the Kingdom of the Blessed. On Thursday last he had a severe attack in the afternoon which called for the active help of the doctor—Dr Coughtrey. And here let me say that the kind and constant and unremitting attention of Dr Coughtrey to our dear friend in his last days is beyond all praise that I can give to him. Our pastor had apparently a little relief, and gained some sleep that night, so that on Friday morning he seemed a little better and was a little more himself. But in the afternoon another attack of great severity came on. It was only towards evening that the doctor was able to obtain some improvement and to get for him a little rest during the earlier part of the night. He then had some ease and relief, and between 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning he awoke and got up and spoke to the nurse; but after a little while he laid down again apparently under great weakness and exhaustion, so much so that the nurse shortly afterwards sent for Dr Coughtrey, who came in somewhere between 4 and 5 in the morning and found his patient in a very weak and precarious condition. The doctor did not anticipate that the end was so near, nor did the nurse, and he left him and went back to his house. Towards 7 o'clock in the morning the nurse saw a change coming over him and sent again for the doctor, who did not arrive until life was gone. At the end Dr Stuart passed off, as I have said, so quietly, so peacefully, that the watchers simply became aware that the heart had ceased to beat, that the breath had ceased to come, and that the great active brain was set at rest for ever. You all know that for a month past the doctor has had a great deal of suffering. From time to time he brightened up, and in his own fashion was marvellous to us. Whenever he could get the opportunity he was out doing something in the way of work We could have wished that he had laid himself more entirely aside, and said so to him time after time, but what he said was that the only joy left to him in life, the only thing good in what remained to him of life worth living for, was the feeling that, when his strength permitted it, he might be out and doing what he could in the work he had been doing so long. And who could have the heart to say "nay" to that? For my part I am glad to think that in his latter moments he was able to find that pleasure and joy which it unquestionably did give him to do something of his old work as far as his strength permitted. He was ever bright in his mind. Down to the last his mind was ever bright and clear—as interested in all that went on round about him, and as active as ever. He could take an active interest in whatever was told him of what was going on, and at the same time his own faith was strong and unquestioned and simple. He was perfectly satisfied to commit his soul to God and to know that He would not leave him at the time when most greatly needed. I am quite sure that his firm, settled faith in God and Christ as his Saviour never wavered nor faltered in the least degree unto the very end. Well, he has gone; he has entered into his rest; he has gone to receive the welcome of those loved ones whom he loved on earth and who have gone before him; to receive the welcome of many who, in their last moments, he helped over the dark waters, and to join the great company of the saints of God; to see face to face that which we only now see as in a glass darkly; to join the great company of the redeemed; to be present with the Lord; to partake in the beatific

vision, and to receive that crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous judge, will surely bestow upon him. He has gone from us. We shall no more see that stalwart form which was the dwelling place of his great spirit: in former days strong and active, but of late much reduced by weakness and sickness. We shall no more see that form in the pulpit before us; it only remains to us with due respect and honour to commit it to the dust. We shall no more witness the play of that honest, manly, great countenance, which reflected so honestly and straightly every emotion that came from his heart; and we shall no more hear that loving, sympathetic voice—not, indeed, gifted with great oratorical powers, but having the greater gift of speaking from heart to heart, impressing us with the belief that what came to us came from his own heart and was directed honestly to ours—the kind of address which, as has been often said, always gave us something to take away of advantage to us. I am sure that his departure will leave a blank not only with us, but in this whole community, which it will be very difficult to fill up. No man, I take it, has departed from the midst of us in our time that has been so widely honoured, so widely loved, or so widely respected—not only as a preacher of righteousness, as the minister of this great congregation, but as a man ever forward in everything for the good of his fellow men. He was a noted and great philanthropist, giving his ready and effective aid in everything which made for the good of his fellows, and particularly for the aid of those who were in want or suffering, or in need of temporal aid. A great educationist, the chancellor of our university; the ardent advocate of everything that made for the strengthening and building up of our educational system, bringing to bear his great knowledge and experience, and giving his active and earnest help to the utmost of his strength. On all occasions a great citizen and patriot, filled with the highest aspirations for the country of which he had become a denizen; always bright and hopeful, looking with confidence to the future of this colony, and always ready to lend a helping hand in everything that would make for the good of the people at large. He was felt to be the friend not only of every man and woman within the range of his voice here, but was looked upon as a universal friend without regard to creed or state in riches or poverty. At all times there was he, ever ready with help and with words to make it acceptable. It is no wonder he was looked upon with reverence and with respect and with love. But to come back to ourselves. What has he been to us for these long years which he has been in the colony since he laid the foundation of this great congregation—the greatest congregation, let me say, in some respects than exists in the Australasian colonies? thirty-four long years he has laboured and to the utmost of his strength, zealously, and lovingly, showing all conation for those with whom he was ever ready to give the utmost credit smallest services to those who helped. all know that in the main this congregation a created, built up, and maintained in its chiefly by his own great personality, by largeness of heart, and the liberality views. Thirty-four years he has been with That forms a large portion of the life of any of us. There are many of you who me who have lived the whole of your his ministry. You have been baptised you have been received into the church by and you have grown up under his ministry the strength of manhood and There are others of you who duri time from youth have passed into life and have advanced towards There are others again who met him as aged men and women, who are now advanced into old age. But whatever the of life the influence of Dr Stuart that long period has been a great and influence, for which we may all bless God very sure, this day. For my part I cannot but in thankful that so large a portion of my life been spent in contact and in fellowship with man who has been so great a factor in all that good, and who has so greatly encouraged that one would wish to be. I think we may join in that feeling, and my hope and that the memory of Dr Stuart in the or years that it may yet please God to unto me may be ever kept fresh and green, that although he has gone from us I am retain the sense that he has not gone gether, that his influence may fill what to me of life, so that I may be able back to and remember his wise counsel with satisfaction, but with benefit of kind. He has been a friend throughout those years, throughout all the vicitudes of our life. In prosperity or versity, in sunshine or in sorrow- our sympathetic friend, ready to join us in our rejoicing in days of brightness and prosperity; ready to bring his kindly and advice in days of trouble, sorrow, and reavement; under all circumstances into our houses as a gleam of sunshine, I say no more, friends. He has now gone to rest. I praise God that his sufferings ended. They have not been light; they indeed been very considerable, but he has up, strengthened by his strong faith and ance of the love and goodness of God, has never forsaken him.

During the course of his remarks, which delivered extemporaneously, Mr Cargill times strongly affected, speaking with much emotion, which was largely shared by the congregation.

The hymn, "Forever with the Lord," followed. The subject of the Rev. Mr Kelly's discourse was "The Church's Distress and De-livers nce" (John vi, 16 to 21). Mr Barth, at the , played Co wen's

"Better Land" as the [unclear: pening] piece, and at the offertory the "Dead March" in "Saul"; while Beethoven's "Dead March" was played as the congregation dispersed.

## **EVENING SERVICE.**

At the evening service the Rev. H. Kelly, B.A., preached, taking as his subject, "The Unconscious Service of God" (1st Samuel vi, 12) Towards the close of the sermon the preacher pointed out that, while all men do and must in a measure unconsciously serve God, this was not to be regarded as the kind of service properly due from man to God. Con-[unclear: ing] he said: "The fact that a man is a free moral agent carries with it the implication that the service due from him to God must be: [unclear: tirely] determined by his constitution. Know-ledge of this truth conveys of itself a summons as definite, deliberate consecration to God. Such a summons is made stronger and more [unclear: emn] by the circumstances on which we are this evening met. It does not fall to my lot to pronounce an eulogium upon Dr Stuart: that task has been assigned to brethren more nearly equal to it. In a characteristically kind letter which I received from Dr Stuart on Wednesday last, he said, referring to my visit, that he hoped I would be the bearer of a blessing both to Knox Church and its minister. As in Dr Stuart, he is now beyond the reach and the view of any poor words of ours. He who is richly comforted others is himself comforted, and all pain and sorrow have ceased for him latter so many years of untiring labour and devotion, after a lifetime of unremitting [unclear: tivity] in the service of the church and the [unclear: munity,] shall we grudge him his rest and his reward? Shall we not rather say, 'Servant of God, well done'? May we not say of him, as is said of the builder of a great English cathe-deal, 'If you seek his monument, look around you'? Look at this building, look at this congregation—compact, united, vigorous; look at the various institutions, philanthropic and educational, which felt his touch and were [unclear: ulded] by his master hand. Think also, for you cannot know them, of the innumerable [unclear: corded] deeds of kindness; and, remembering and reflecting upon his achievement, lift up your hearts for God's gift to Dinedin and to New Zealand. That sublime and pathetic presence is no more with us; we shall not grasp his hand again on earth, and of are infinitely the poorer by his absence. But as he will live in our memories, so should he live in our lives as a perpetual inspiration to the wholehearted service of God. If, as some suppose, the departed saints are aware of our actions and keep loving watch oyer our destinies, then I am sure that in the high safe height of Paradise nothing will so gladden the spirit of your late pastor as to learn that on the first Sabbath after his translation some of his flock thought upon their ways and turned their feet unto God's testimonies, and deliberately and definitely as became them devoted themselves to Christ. Even out of death let us draw life, and our very loss as it is Dr Stuart's gain will turn to our advantage and the glory of that God whose he was and whom he served."

The anthem in the evening was "The Homeland," and the vast congregation, comprising 1400 people, stood in reverent silence while the "Dead March" was played. As the congregation dispersed Mr Barth played Guilman's "Funeral March" in C minor.

## **References in Other Churches.**

The death of the venerable pastor of Knox Church was referred to on Sunday in nearly every church in the city and suburbs, and, it is safe to assume, in every congregation in Otago which had received news of his having passed away. We give below some of these references:—

### **FIRST CHURCH.**

*At the First Church the Rev. J. Gibb, before beginning his sermon, alluded to the late Dr Stuart, and spoke as follows:—"The tidings that Dr Stuart passed away yesterday morning were not unexpected. It has been for some weeks clear that the hand of death was upon him. Indeed this has been the case not for weeks but during many months, and that the end did not come sooner was due in a great measure, I believe, to the doctor's resolute will, and to the native energy of his character. These closing months of Dr Stuart's life have been touched with a deep pathos. Burdened with the weight of 75 years, and almost continually harassed by a deadly disease, he yet stood manfully by his post, and both in his own congregation and in his many public offices he continued almost to the last to discharge his laborious duties. It was extremely pathetic to see the veteran literally dying on his feet. I well remember the last time I saw him at the presbytery, and how sorry we all felt to observe the manifest effort it cost him to follow the business before the court, and to recognise in the emaciation of his features, the dimness of his eye, the tokens of his swiftly approaching departure. And now the end has come. Now the labourer's work is o'er; now the battle day is past. I shall not now attempt to delineate his character or to estimate the value of his work. That will be done by others who knew him much more intimately than myself. He was in many respects a very remarkable man. He had many virtues, and even those*

characteristics which may have seemed to some of us less praiseworthy than others were after all only the defects of his qualities. The most eloquent testimony to his goodness will not be the eulogies which will in due course be publicly pronounced upon him, but the many sore hearts that in Dunedin and beyond it this day grieve for the loss of a wise counsellor, a trusted friend, a brother born for adversity. I have often heard it said, and have myself had frequent evidence of the fact, that Dr Stuart was always to be relied on in the event of trouble or misfortune. Towards the mourner, unsuccessful in the battle of life, the victims of sin or misfortune, his heart went out impulsively, and his emotion never spent itself in its own transports. His time, his strength, his worldly means were all cheerfully placed at the disposal of those who had suffered from Fortune's buffets. His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of many a man and woman in this community as that of the good Samaritan was in the heart of the man to whom he proved a friend indeed. It would not be easy to exaggerate the services rendered by Dr Stuart to the Presbyterian Church in this province, to the cause of education, to the various social and philanthropic movements of the time. From this point of view we may say: 'Take him for all in all, we shall not soon look upon his like again.' A man of great natural powers, of tireless energy, of marked individuality, he has made a deep impression in his generation. No man is indispensable, and the world and the church will move on their way without him: but he will be greatly missed. During my residence in Dunedin no one has gone from us whose place it will be so hard to fill. The loss the Presbyterian Church has sustained by his death will not appear to-day or to-morrow. He was our representative man. In the University Council, on the High Schools Board, in the countless other public positions he occupied, he kept the church to which he belonged well in evidence, and to the utmost of his large powers furthered her interests. I shall not further prolong these remarks. As a congregation we extend our sincere sympathy to the church he served so long and with such rare devotion. They will miss him most of all. That God may overrule the bereavement they have suffered for their good and His own glory is our earnest prayer."

At the conclusion of these remarks the organist (Mr Timson) played the "Dead March," the congregation rising to their feet and standing during the performance. Special reference was also made in one of the prayers to the present circumstances of Knox Church.

## **ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.**

At St. Andrew's Church on Sunday morning the Rev. Rutherford Waddell at the close of his sermon referred to Dr Stuart's death. The sermon was one of the ordinary course on "The Hebrew Prophets and their Times," the text being as follows:—"For lo, I will command and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth" After alluding to the fact and method of the divine sifting and detailing some of the means which God employs for winnowing the chaff from the wheat in men and nations, Mr Waddell referred to the death and said: "I suppose that is the thought which is uppermost in the minds of this community today. Yesterday our most prominent man fell. Dr Stuart is dead. It is impossible at this stage rightly to appraise his worth and work, and I am not going to do that. Others better qualified will undertake the duty. . . . Dr Stuart has been a foremost figure in the life of this community for more than a score of years. [unclear: He] his way into its favour by that ready [unclear: hospi] of heart and hand which was one of his [unclear: ch] teristic excellencies. But Dr Stuart was not than a smiling figure of kindness. He had' [unclear: sl] brain as well as a large love. 'He [unclear: had] standing of the times.' Of this there can [unclear: be] better proof than the educational [unclear: establish] of this city. To the creation and [unclear: cult] these he gave the passion of his [unclear: b] and the utmost labour of his hand knew himself the worth of [unclear: know] and experienced some of the [unclear: hardshipe] beset its attainment for the youth of [unclear: earlier] There is, indeed, no royal road to learning the path may be smoothed considerably for swift and eager foot, and if it is that for colony's children it is due to the wisdom and foresight of the early pioneers. And chief amount these was the man who rests from his lady to-day. As a minister he spared no toil to the faithfully the duties of his office, and to [unclear: comm] the Gospel in his own way to the [unclear: congreg] whose oversight was committed to him. [unclear: B] realised that the city was his parish, and in [unclear: vi] ever seemed to him helpful to civic well-being took a prominent place. As the Star said night, he strove 'to be all things to all men' is a supremely difficult ideal. It requires [unclear: tact], and firm-fibered Christian conscience, not be unfaithful to the principles of [unclear: righteous] in the deceptive glamour of popularity. [unclear: T] may be an honest difference of opinion as to him far Dr Stuart succeeded in this. But there are no difference of opinion as to the [unclear: undevia] steadiness with which he gave himself to [unclear: vi] seemed to him the general well-being of [unclear: ch] and State. St. Paul's words were [unclear: certainly] of him, 'In labours abundant'; and to very last he continued so. It is a [unclear: ma] of extreme regret that he declined husband the strength of his latter days, [unclear: Wiff] heroism which would have been splendid had not been so needless and so extravagant, he [unclear: sta] up to his work to the last. He had in him a old Celtic blood, which delights in resistance meets death with defiance. If it be true that

*'Endurance is the crowning quality,  
And patience all the passion of great hear*

*the closing days of Dr Stuart's career [unclear: manif] these to a very remarkable degree. There was none who did not often wish he would ease of little and husband his strength for [unclear: certain] which he only could do. He disappointed hopes of all and he irritated a little some of the best friends by what seemed a reckless prodding of energy. Remonstrance was useless. He is resolved to die at his post. He had resolved might say, like some of the old heroes of [unclear: the] from which he sprang, not even to sit down death, but to make death sit down to him meet death, in fact, upon his feet. And now is gone, most of his company had preceded He was 75.*

*'As life runs on the road grows strange  
With faces new; and near the end  
The milestones into headstones change,  
And 'neath every one a friend.'*

*A pathos gathered round his closing days, that were troubling clouds about the sunset. But and that the light is finally withdrawn we shall any the blank that is left. His place will never [unclear: led]. No man can stand in another's shoes, and Dr Stuart's was a specially unique personality, He has left no successor capable of taking up the educational work to which he was so devoted, and the church to which he belonged will miss him [unclear: dly] in many ways. But loss need not be despair. It would be a silly scepticism to suppose that any man or any institution is essential to the work of God. Age after age He buries His workmen, but He carries on His work. One after another are [unclear: called] from the field, but others step to the [unclear: ent] and rally their forces for the fight. . . . One of the great lessons of the life just ended is fidelity—fidelity to work at all costs and all [unclear: ards.] Most of us will think that in his case there was a somewhat reckless disregard of prudence. But Dr Stuart could not rust out. 'I must work the work of Him that sent me. The night cometh when no man can work.' His [unclear: ssionate] devotion to duty and his indomitable energy is a call to us to follow in his footsteps."*

### **NORTH DUNEDIN CHURCH.**

*The Rev. Gibson Smith last evening took for his text I Corinthians ix, 19 to 22, and in the course of his sermon said: "I feel that I should not be doing justice either to your natural expectations or to my own obligations if I did not make some reference this evening to the event which has been in all our minds this day—the death of the aged minister of our sister congregation of Knox Church. Dr Stuart has taken a large and prominent part in the religious life of this city for a whole generation. He has been identified with our church during the years of her growth, and by his own individual exertions his done much to spread throughout Otago and South-land the Presbyterian Churches which are now found in every district of our province. For many years he has represented our Presbyterianism in the eye of the general community, and his passing away from our midst to that borne whence no traveller returns represents an occasion for solemn thought. I do not propose, however, to pronounce any eulogy on the aged minister who has so pecently gone from us. I do not think this is the [unclear: ocasion] for the utterance of our human judgments. We know that no man can have his character fairly and justly weighed without some [unclear: ults] and flaws being brought under our attention and at a moment like this to deal with such matters would be repugnant to every feeling of the heart that prompts us to regard the chamber of death as sacred. I do not, therefore, offer you any estimate of Dr Stuart's life and work. I desire rather to turn your attention to the great distinguishing characteristic of Dr Stuart's character, which was the chief source of the success of his ministerial career—namely, his adaptability, his power of accommodating himself to all sorts and conditions of men. Arriving in our land in the earlier years of colonial life, Dr Stuart found himself con-fronted with men of every type of character, and recognised at once that the only condition of successful work was to adopt a much freer policy than was needful in the old country, where one type of character was always found predominant. He was suited by natural gifts to play the part assigned to him. He had a large and sympathetic heart, combined with much practical shrewdness and common sense. He was able by his cordiality and heartiness, by laying aside all sacerdotalism, in win the affections of men who above all things hated cant and pretence. His coming here represented a new departure in Presbyterianism. He helped largely to banish much of the unnecessary strictness and almost Jewish respect for old forms and ceremonies which was characteristic of the older Presbyterianism. That was a work which*

*needed to be done, and needed especially to be done in a colony like this, where there was such a mingling of races and creeds. Perhaps the time has now come when such work is no longer required—when, rather, it is necessary to make resistance to the tendencies of the time than to accommodate ourselves any further to their currents. There may appear to some to be a danger lest the church may sacrifice her own vital principles if she pursues the path of accommodation any further. But the work that Dr Stuart did needed to be done in his own time. Either the policy he pursued had to be adopted, or else the church must have been left high and dry stranded on the sandbank of exclusiveness and formality, alienated from popular sympathy, with a larger gulf than need be of prejudice and misunderstanding between her and the masses of the people. If it seems to any of us that Dr Stuart carried his policy of adapting the services of the church to the conditions of the colony too far, let us remember that it is not given to any but the wisest of men to know exactly where the line is to be drawn, and that in the kingdom of God one man usually has only one piece of work allotted to him to accomplish. It is certainly true that Dr Stuart gave himself most cordially and heartily to work for the Church of Christ in this land according to the light that God had given him. He was unwearied in his diligence—his busy life was a marvel to all that knew it, and now that he has gone to his rest, it is for us who remain to take up the work that he has left us—to strive as he did for the good, not of a single congregation only, but for the church as a whole; to seek the good, not merely of the religious part of the community, but of the whole circle of society; and ever as we labour to remember that the time is short, and that soon the dark angel will come for us also with that summons, which no son of man can disobey, to appear before God and render an account of the deeds we have done in the body."*

### **Anderson's Bay Church.**

*At the Anderson's Bay Presbyterian Church last night the Rev. A. Cameron preached a sermon having reference to Dr Stuart, taking his text from John xi, 11. He spoke as follows:—"Our friend Lazarus is fallen asleep.' So our Lord spoke of His dead friend, and so he has taught us to speak of our friends who die in the Lord. Surely we may use the words with peculiar fitness in speaking Dr Stuart, who fell asleep yesterday morning as the life of the city began to stir. Long and full of pain has been the struggle between life and death; but it is over now, and ends—not in death. No, not in death! Sleep, to be followed by a glorious awakening, is the end which we believe has come to this child of God. Often have I heard Dr Stuart say, even when health coursed through all his veins—'What a beautiful thing death is! He knew the weariness and pain of life too well to wish to live always in the flesh That no ordinary man has fallen out of our ranks all will admit, and one name by which he will long be remembered is our friend. There is not a child in New Zealand to whom he would not have willingly shown himself a friend had the need arises. And many are the men and women in Otago, and especially in Dunedin, to whom he has shown himself a faithful friend. Among those I feel it an honour to class myself. It is now nearly 20 years since I was brought into personal contact with Dr Stuart, and during the last 10 he has been to me almost like a father. In these years I have been brought much into contact with him in private, and have learned to love him as one who with a great heart loved both God and man. This evening I have no intention of trying to describe the place Dr Stuart has filled in our midst. As a minister and a citizen he has been in the front rank for more than a generation, and has occupied high and responsible positions, in which he sought only the good of men and the glory of God. I desire rather to point you to some of the qualities which made him the man we have known and loved and now honour. If to his parents Dr Stuart owed little in the matter of rank and influence, he owed them much for the splendid constitution with which they gifted him. Humble but wholesome was the fare which in the little home among the beautiful hills of Perthshire nourished in him a sound mind in a sound body. But better far was this gift than one of broad acres. Because of it Dr Stuart has been able to accomplish an amount of work which would have overwhelmed most men. But few have any idea of the work which claimed his attention. All classes sought his help, and found him ready with open ear and willing hand. The power to work is a great gift, and Dr Stuart had that. When he herded sheep among the hills of his native Highlands he looked with open eye on bird and bush so as to become familiar with their names and habits. At home he busied himself with the few books within his reach, and that he might win his way to the university took to teaching when a mere boy, and became special correspondent to a weekly paper (the Fife Herald) that he might through its pages extract his knowledge of the world. At Falstone, in Northumberland, where he was minister for 10 years, he not only preached and performed all the duties of a pastor, he also founded schools, and sought in manifold ways the good of the people. So greatly did he make his power for good to be felt that on it becoming known that it was proposed to remove him to New Zealand the Episcopalian clergyman publicly declared himself anxious that Mr Stuart should remain in Falstone, because he was doing better work among the people than he (the Episcopalian) could do. One secret of his power of work showed itself in his care of the odd ends of time. You never found him idle. Sermon, letter, or book was in his hands if you found him alone in the manse. And even his bedroom was stored with books. One day we were in committee and concluded the business a few minutes before another committee met. Several of us went out*

for fresh air, and on returning found the doctor had written two letters, which the business just transacted required him to write. "What would have grown to be a burden unbearable in other hands thus became in his easy to bear. I cannot remember ever hearing Dr Stuart decline work on the ground that he was too busy. He did all his work, and yet was always at leisure to give counsel or help. Another feature in the character of Dr Stuart was his love of men. This showed itself in countless ways, and will long remain a sweet memory in [unclear: m] hearts. It manifested itself in him when [unclear: as] student he publicly espoused the popul[unclear: ar] and so incurred the censure of his minister, [unclear: wh] countermanded the invitation already [unclear: giv] to Dr Stuart to dine at the man[unclear: se] showed itself again in Falstone when, is the cause of liberty of worship, he defied [unclear: ti] act of Parliament which forbade meeting for was ship in unlicensed buildings. In our midst it has shown itself in ways too numerous to [unclear: menti] He has clothed the naked, fed the hungry, [unclear: nu] the sick, and visited the prisoner, because in his heart there beat the love of man. This made him an ardent supporter of education and helper in all efforts for the social and religious advancement the people. It was his love of men also which made him every man's minister. He was [unclear: fill] with love for his own church, but [unclear: w] broader than all churches—a truly [unclear: cath] Christian and minister, who lived serve rich and poor, high and low, simply [unclear: beca] they were men, the work and children of [unclear: Ga] Another beautiful feature in his character [unclear: was] patience in sore trial. Dr Stuart used to say in feared he would make a bad patient when a came to die if long-suffering were appointed him. But such as knew him, and how he [unclear: suffi] heavy trials all through his ministry, [unclear: from] day he laid his young wife in her early grave to the close of his career, knew well he would never lack patience. When Mr Nerli was painting doctor's picture for the Girls' High School I was present in the doctor's study one morning and after about one hour's patient sitting-[unclear: which] one in the doctor's condition of health, must have been a sore test of patience—the doctor said: Mr Nerli, when you write your memoirs, you must a least give me credit for patience.' Never [unclear: co] have I heard the good doctor murmur, though the waters of affliction went high over his [unclear: hes] Patience, we trust, has now had its [unclear: perfe] work, and the stricken, but brave and true soldier and friend has gone through the dark valley of the shadow of death to dwell in the presence of Him whom here he loved and served the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Our friend Lazarus is fallen asleep; but I that I may awake him out of sleep.'

"'Earth to earth, and dust to dust,'  
 Calmly now tne words we say,  
 Leaving him to sleep in trust  
 Till the resurrection day.  
 Father, in Thy precious keeping  
 Leave we now Thy servant sleeping."

## **CHALMERS CHURCH.**

At Chalmers Church, York place, on Sunday the pastor (the Rev. J. M. Fraser), after reading the 39th Psalm as the first lesson at the morning service, said: "In common with all the congregations of our land—and that, I venture as say, not merely of our own order—we are called upon to-day to bewail the death of one of whom it may well be said 'a prince is fallen in Israel.' You are aware that I am not in the habit of preaching what are called funeral sermons to departed friends, as I always have had the feeling that they would, if permitted, be the first to patest against the displacement of the sermon God's message to hungry and thirsting souls—for a mere tribute to their memory, or a eulogy, however deserving. That feeling, how ever, has not, as you know, prevented me from finding a fitting place during the service to refer to our departed ones as the occasion arose, and I take this to be a fitting time for me to add my feeble tribute to the many that will be offered to the memory of one who showed to me personally, and no doubt to many of you present to-day, much kindness and loving sympathy. It is of that personal relationship that I wish to say a a few words now—four of his public life there is no necessity to speak, as it is 'known and read of all men.' The very first day—a Sabbath day—I landed in Dunedin I called upon him, almost a perfect stranger, yet he at once extended to me the right hand of fellowship, and pressed me to occupy his pulpit that same evening. During my brief but anxious pastorate at Caversham he showed his goodwill and sympathy in numerous ways; and I was glad to learn that not long ago while addressing a meeting there, he made kindly reference to my work in that congregation. On By removal to Lawrence—which removal was mainly at his wish—his kindly interest still followed me, and it was he who opened the new church built there during my pastorate. Then, when trouble darkened my door, his kindly messages cheered me greatly, and shall ever be gratefully remembered. Returning again to Dunedin, I had always his sympathy and help in my work in Chalmers Church, for, as you know, it was he who opened this

church when we took possession of it, and twice since then had he preached at our anniversary services. A little over 12 months ago was the last time, and on that occasion we remarked that with his load of 74 years, his eye was undimmed, and his vigour and force in the pulpit were such as might be envied by many only half his years. Though we knew it not, even then were the seeds of death sown in that seemingly robust frame, and now he is no more on earth. Failings he admittedly had, for who have not, and his life was not free from the mistakes and failures common to all, but all these are now forgotten in the memory of a devoted life of abundant labours, of many sore trials borne with remarkable cheerfulness and resignation, and of never wearying in well-doing, as many can surely testify who survive him, as well as many who have preceded him into eternity. It is said that Spurgeon once remarked to a friend, 'If I shall die rich, you may have give doubts of my salvation.' Dr Stuart might well have remarked similarly, for it would be a falling from grace indeed for him to hoard while the suffering poor were around him. As a copresbyter we were never opposed on important questions, and as an occasional opponent I always found him fair and considerate—in this respect a really shining example. Though desirous of being well abreast the times in all things, yet I am assured that he never look kindly to the flood of innovations that is swamping our Presbyterianism at the present day and that he warmly admired the courage with which our congregation has adhered to the primitive principles of our faith. The position he occupied in the community was unique, and shall never again be occupied by any one man nor is it desirable that it should. His familiar figure, kindly smile, and open hand will long be missed in his loved city. Yet we must not lose faith that all good work shall utterly cease, for the promise of God is sure, that the children shall be instead of the fathers 'Whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.' His removal at this time is a lesson for us all. Of this day and generation it may be said as of old, 'The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.' Let us all lay this to heart to-day, as well as the solemn lesson of God's providence and the Master's exhortation, 'Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.' We unite today with thousands in this land in heartfelt sympathy with sorrowing relatives and a bereaved congregation, praying for them all, that they may be comforted with the comfort of the Holy Ghost."

### **MORNINGTON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.**

At the Mornington Presbyterian Church the Rev. Henry Adamson, of Port Chalmers, who occupied the pulpit, took occasion to allude to the demise of Dr Stuart. He said: "I cannot conclude this service without some reference to the solemn event which bulks so largely in the thoughts and affections of the people of Otago today. I refer to the death of Dr Stuart. It was not unexpected, and yet it came as a shock to us. We cannot read the meaning of it yet, but we feel that there is a blank—'one is not.' What thoughts this sense of loneliness will beget in many homes and many families to-day is a subject too sacred for us to touch. What shall we say, then? That he was always to the front in everything that concerned the upbuilding of this branch of the Presbyterian Church is to give but a slight idea of the interest he took in her well-being. That he was an important factor in the development of the educational interests in this province is too well known to require any mention on my part. Of his work as a Christian minister, of his kindly interest in the poor and the distressed, of his sympathy with every movement that had for its object the smoothing of life's pathway for the weary ones of earth, a thousand tongues, made eloquent through a sense of gratitude, will gladly speak to-day. He is gone. A life full of labour has come to an end. May it be ours this day to be still, that through the silence of death the voice may speak to us—'Occupy till I come.' 'Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh.' "The "Dead March" in "Saul" was played at both diets.

### **CAVERSHAM CHURCH.**

At the Caversham Presbyterian Church on Sunday morning feeling reference was made by the Rev. Mr Dutton, minister of the congregation, to the death of Dr Stuart. He said that Dr Stuart had taken a deep and particular interest in the Caversham Church ever since its foundation, and by many of the older members of the congregation his death would be felt as a personal loss. He reminded the young people of the many times that Dr Stuart had come to Caversham specially to speak to them, and how he had so often impressed upon them the importance of searching the Scriptures and studying the Word of God. Dr Stuart had himself been an earnest student of the Bible. It was only the previous Sunday that it had been his (Mr Dutton's) privilege to occupy Knox Church pulpit; he used the doctor's Bible, and the many marginal notes in the doctor's own handwriting, which covered every page, bore ample testimony to the diligence with which Dr Stuart himself had studied the Word of God. He asked the young people to remember the words of Dr Stuart, for the older people were ever and anon being called away from their work here, and the younger ones had to fill their places. The Bible would be of great service to them not only if they became preachers of God's Word, like Dr Stuart, but in every other calling in life. Dr Stuart had died in harness; indeed he had recently stated, when asked by his friends to retire, that his work was his only joy in life, and that if he ceased to work he would cease to live. His life was

over, his work was done—he had been called to his rest. Mr Dutton enlisted the prayers of his hearers on behalf of the Knox Church congregation, that God would soon send them a teacher and minister who would effectually carry on His work amongst them. Dr Stuart had occupied a unique position in his church in Dunedin and in Otago, and he doubted whether it would ever be possible for another just to fill his place. After Mr Dutton had spoken, the organist impressively played "The Dead March" in "Saul."

### **KNOX CHURCH BIBLE CLASS.**

The Rev. J. Ryley, who, since the departure of the Rev. A. P. Davidson, has conducted the Knox Church Bible Class, referred in feeling terms at Sunday's session, at which fully 120 young people were present, to the great loss the church and community had sustained through the death of Dr Stuart, and mentioned that he had known Dr Stuart for over 30 years, and the longer he knew him the more he respected him as a man, as a friend, and as a Christian. Indeed, he could say that within the range of his knowledge in the colonies he did not know a more philanthropic, self-sacrificing, and self-denying man. Dr Stuart lived for the good of the church and the community. He was one of those men who did good by stealth, not letting his left hand know what his right hand did. Knox Church would never again get his equal. For many years Dr Stuart had taken a very deep interest in the welfare of the young of the congregation and the community, and had maintained one of the largest Bible classes in the church. Did time and opportunity permit, he could give many instances of Dr Stuart's unbounded generosity. He had been the means of drying up the tears of the widow and the fatherless, and of helping many cases of distress in the community; and that in connection not merely with his own church but with other denominations. He was a man, whose sympathy was beyond the lines of mere sectarianism—his field of operation was the world—and wherever he found any needing help or sympathy these were readily rendered. "Our loss," said Mr Ryley in conclusion, "is Dr Stuart's gain. He rests from his labours, and his works will follow him. Let us, young friends, seek to manifest his spirit: let us tread in his footsteps, and strive so far as we can to imitate his example." The Rev. Mr Ryley occupied the pulpit at the North-East Valley Presbyterian Church yesterday forenoon, where again he made reference to the death of Dr Stuart.

### **ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.**

Bishop Nevill, in the course of a sermon on the Whitsuntide at St. Paul's Pro-cathedral on Sunday (Whitsunday) forenoon, made a brief and graceful allusion to the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart, speaking in warm terms of his many estimable qualities. The organist, Mr W. E. Taylor, played "The Dead March" in "Saul" as a voluntary.

### **ALL SAINTS' CHURCH.**

At All Saints' Church on Sunday evening, before the sermon, the Rev. A. R. Fitchett said: "It is fitting, and you will expect it, that [unclear: refere] should be made to the death of one whose name is a household word throughout Otago, and who yesterday, after a long life well filled with service to God and man, passed peacefully away at his rest. In a sense which you will all [unclear: recogn] Dr Stuart was the possession of the whole community. Such was the nature of his life and work that he belonged not to his own congregation alone, but to all of us, and so, [unclear: althos] I have no qualifications for speaking of the service he rendered to his own congregation and his own denomination, I may speak of him I knew him in the neighbourly intercourse many years as a Christian citizen and patriot of very eminent type. We learn from the biographical sketch published last night that he came Otago 34 years ago, when as yet it was the earth days of colonisation, and when many of the institutions essential to the life of a civilised community were but struggling into existence. He was then in the early stage of a vigorous [unclear: m] hood; he had already had considerable [unclear: experie] as a minister of religion and in the practical went of schools; he came a young Presbyterian miniade to a young community at that time almost entirely Presbyterian; and all this is to say that he found here a great opportunity. Emphatically he was the man for the opportunity. How he embraced it, filled it, and utilised it you all know. He had the exalted estimate of the value of education which is almost peculiar to those who have had a hard fight to obtain it for themselves. This had been his own experience. He had striven persistently, worthily, and successfully, and [unclear: ing] attained, he devoted himself on his arrival in this new country, in the spirit of [unclear: Christ] philanthropy, to making the path easier for others. Leaving out of view the national system at primary schools, which, as you know, was [unclear: creat] by the central Parliament, Dr Stuart's [unclear: influes] was paramount in shaping and fostering any educational institutions. No man was so closely identified with the early life of the high schools and university; no man can so closely identify himself with them in future—the opportunity will not recur. Whoever in [unclear: fut] retraces the history of these institutions must come upon his name. So with our [unclear: charita] agencies—the hospital, the Industrial School, this Benevolent Institution, the refuge for women—all were indebted to his fostering care and influence. He might have been a new ecclesiastic, many men in his circumstances which have been nothing more, but he took a wide view of his

*opportunities and responsibilities, and not even his bitter domestic sorrows were able interrupt his service to the community. His was a life that was devoted to the service of the when community, not to sector party, and the which community honours his memory. He goes to his grave at a full age, and we need not lament him With all confidence we may say, as will be said doubtless to-day in many Christian congregations with special reference to him: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for the rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.' "Miss Treseder, the organist, played Beethoven's "Funeral March" as a voluntary at the forenoon service, and Handel's "Dead March" from "Saul" it the evening service*

### **ST. MATTHEW'S.**

*At the conclusion of his evening sermon the incumbent, the Rev. E. T. Howell, said:—"We lament to-day the loss of one who in the ministry of the Word for more than 30 years in this city had won for himself the love and reverence of everyone who knew him. He was not, indeed, of our communion, but he was bound to us by ties far stronger and more vital than the forces which kept him from joining in our worship. He was indeed a member of Christ, and in him, as in so many others who hold a similar position, we had the most abundant evidence that the Spirit of Christ is not restrained in His working, but sheds His grace abundantly everywhere upon mankind. He of whom we all are thinking now took a blessing with him wherever he went, because he brought to all who needed it, sympathy, encouragement, hope. Sorely tried himself, he knew how to comfort those who were tried with the consolation wherewith he himself was comforted of God. Many a heart will be touched to-day with the thought of what he has been and done for them. His example helped us all, and drew us all nearer together with a sense of common brotherhood which all the divisions in the world are powerless to extinguish. May God grant him peace and rest in His paradise, and a joyful resurrection at the last day." The organist, Mr A. W. Lilly, played the "Dead March" while the offertory was being*

### **ST. JOSEPH'S CATHEDRAL.**

*At St. Joseph's Cathedral on Sunday evening the Rev. Father Lynch said that Bishop Moran was deeply gratified for the very kind inquiries which were constantly made about his health. His lordship had directed a letter to him containing an expression of his gratitude and his sentiments on a matter of public interest. Though it was formally addressed to himself it was really intended for the people. He would therefore read it for the congregation. The letter rendered any remark on his part wholly unnecessary:—*

*"Bishop's House, Rattray street, "Dunedin,*

*May 12, 1894.*

*"My Dear Father Lynch,—A long and trying illness has kept me confined to my room for several months, and rendered me incapable of taking my wonted interest in the things going on around me, but I have been carefully kept informed of the interest which the people (my own and others) have taken in me, and of their deep sympathy with me in my affliction. I feel that, under the providence of God, owing to the care of a skilful physician, and, above all, to the prayers of the people—particularly of the little children,—I have been snatched from the brink of the grave. Wonderful are the ways of Almighty God! May His Holy Will be blessed and praised forever! There are many things that I would have done had it been physically possible for me to do them. For example, I should have felt it my duty to personally call on Dr Stuart in his great trial, and I would esteem it an honour were it in my power to attend his funeral on Wednesday next, and join in paying the last tribute to his memory. I must, however, ask his friends to take the will for the deed. An old and a useful citizen, a humane and charitable gentleman, indefatigable in doing good all around him, he has claims on the respect and veneration of all his fellow citizens. But there is another reason why I regret my absence. The citizens of Dunedin are unanimous in their high appreciation of his good qualities and services, and my respect for them, even if I had no other reason, would bring me to the side of his grave I request you to attend the funeral on my behalf and as my representative. As I cannot personally thank all the people, my own and others, for their unmerited charity towards me, I charge you to do so on my behalf, saying to them that no words that I can command can adequately express the depth and sincerity of my gratitude; and as the almost only thing that I can do is to pray for them, I shall not fail to earnestly and fervently ask Almighty God to bless them abundantly, in time and eternity.—I am, &c., "† P. MORAN."*

### **TRINITY WESLEYAN CHURCH.**

*The Rev. J. Newman Buttle was the morning preacher at this church, and before the sermon, in addressing the congregation, he said that it was only fitting that some reference should be made to the loss that the community had suffered in the death of the late Dr Stuart. It was a national loss. Although the late doctor's life*

had been for the most part closely identified with the interests of Dunedin and the Otago provincial district, yet his sympathies reached further than these localities. His best energies had been put forth to advance the welfare of the people amongst whom he lived, still he delighted in the progress of settlement and civilisation in other parts of the colony. His large-heartedness carried him beyond geographical limits or sectional divisions of churches. The Presbyterian Church would feel most the loss which had come upon all the churches in his death. Wise in counsel, earnest in spirit, true to his church, and sound in the faith, he was a strong man among many strong men. His catholicity of spirit led him to feel, and in some measure to carry, the burden of all the churches, for his services and help were frequently laid under contribution by sections of the church other than his own, and as gladly were those services rendered. Dr Stuart's life work was not confined entirely within the bounds of his own church. As an educationist and citizen he had done splendid service. In many respects he held a unique position. No other man of the present time or of future generations could ever accomplish what the doctor had done. Conceiving the idea early in life that, next to religious training, mental culture was a gift to be brought within the reach of everyone, he set himself on his arrival in the colony to do what he could to promote schools for the people. He was always a warm friend of our primary schools, a stout-hearted supporter of the secondary educational system; and our university colleges have had no more intelligent advocate than Dr Stuart. He was at the foundation of things in these matters. Into this work he threw all his characteristic energy, and had the joy of building up institutions which have been a distinct benefit to the young people of this part of the colony. He counted everyone his friend. In this respect he was a true Methodist. Like John Wesley he made himself the friend of all and the enemy of none. His philanthropic work was worthy of all praise, and his life showed his true love to God, and sympathy for humanity in its varied forms, could find expression in a life of unswerving self-sacrifice.

In the evening the Rev. R. Taylor, who was the preacher, after an impressive and forcible sermon on the "Witness of the Spirit," from Romans viii, 15, 16, 17, concluded by referring in a very sympathetic manner to the great loss which had come upon Dunedin and Otago, upon the whole community—not only Knox Church, but the whole of the Christian churches,—the death of their old friend Dr Stuart. Dr Stuart did not belong merely to the Presbyterian Church—he belonged to all. His name was a household word for large-heartedness, generosity, and Christian charity. His interest in the young was ever foremost in his mind. They all mourned with his congregation over his departure and deeply sympathised with them. Special prayers were offered up on behalf of the bereaved friends and congregation during the day.

Immediately after the sermon the "Dead March" was played by the organist (Mr T. F. Faulkner) both morning and evening, the congregation remaining on their feet the whole time. The choir (led by Mr W. Manson) rendered appropriate hymns during the offertories, and as the people left the church in the evening the organist played Beethoven's "Funeral March." The services through the day were of a very solemn nature.

### **HANOVER STREET BAPTIST CHURCH.**

At Hanover street Baptist Church the Rev A. North in the course of the service read verses 11 to 16 of Job xxix, and said: "I have read this passage because of its applicability to him for the death of whom all Dunedin mourns just now. I do not know that more or better could be said in his praise than that. It appears to have been the special business of Dr Stuart to expound in his conduct that word of the Apostle James—'Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.' Distinguished for many things, he was specially distinguished by benevolence and blame lessness of life. He was essentially a large-hearted man, and he cultivated 'a large interest in humanity' I would remind you of his catholicity. The narrowness of bigotry was, perhaps, to him the most distasteful of all the things that are. His sympathies extended far and wide beyond those of his own communion. He loved all those who loved the Lord Christ Jesus, and to his love of the brethren the wider all comprehensive love was added. He was a friend to this church; scarce an anniversary gathering has passed which he has not attended to express his hearty interest in the work of God amongst us. At our last Sunday School anniversary he conducted one of the Sunday services. Combined with his catholicity was the happy habit he had formed of thinking the best he might of men; in sharpest contrast from the censoriousness with which many men embitter their own lives and the lives of others, stands his extreme unwillingness to believe evil of any; and I cannot but think that this characteristic of his is worthy of special note, for the tendency to its contradictory amongst us is exceeding strong. His unselfishness and generosity were marked; with a free hand he gave, and was as liberal with his time and toil as with his money. And who amongst us has not been attracted by his geniality? Sunny and breezy, like a summer day on his native hills, was he in his bearing toward all. It was a pleasure to meet him, to hear his greeting. He would, more than any man I have ever met, set a timid stranger at his ease with him at once. The children especially loved him. I make much of that, for I have a respect for the judgment of children concerning character. Who that has seen him amongst the children on 'breaking-up day' can have failed to notice with rare pleasure his delight in them, and theirs in him? He

could stir them to enthusiasm as no other could, was emphatically their friend, and was felt to be so by them: they regarded him with reverential confidence. His death is a great loss to the whole community, I regard it as an irreparable loss to the children. We all know how active an interest he took in all our philanthropic and educational institution and I would have you remember, too, how [unclear: mu] he loved this city—its name and fame were [unclear: d] to him; it was difficult for him to tolerate [unclear: au] that told against them. The feeling of when Paul's one reference to his native [unclear: plan] testifies, moved him, he gloried in that he [unclear: t] was a 'citizen of no mean city.' Of his services to his own church it is not mine to speak. I know that they were exceeding great, and doubtless they will find fit recognition from her leaders. Of his devotion to Christ Jesus [unclear: and] love of the Gospel I do know, for I have heard from his lips in private and in social circles the simplest, manliest, and most touching declarations concerning his relations with his Saviour and his reliance upon Him—declarations marked by a pathetic and beautiful humility. He rests from his labours, and we are impoverished by his removal. 'Tis a great gap he leaves behind him, and a most healthful example too. We are sympathy with the great congregation which had gathered about him, with his family, and with his friends, and we rank ourselves also amongst his mourners as those who love and hono[unclear: ur] and suffer loss by his removal."

The congregation then joined in the hymn—

"Captain and Saviour of the host  
Of Christian chivalry,  
We bless Thee for our comrade true  
Now summoned up to Thee."

Subsequently the organist played the "[unclear: Dea] March."

### **MORAY PLACE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.**

Rev. Edward Walker, speaking on Sunday morning at Moray place Congregational Church in place of Rev. W. Saunders, who was [unclear: absent] through illness, said that verses 23 to 31 and verses 37 of the thirty-seventh Psalm, which he read; were aptly illustrated in the life and death of the beloved and revered doctor. The excellences of his later life were the fruit of devotion to what was right and good in his younger days, and their devotion was in turn the fruit of his early surrender of himself to the Lordship of Christ. If the young desired to leave behind them a memory which, like that of the doctor, would stand for whatever was good and noble and pure and Kind, they must, like him, yield themselves now to Christ, to be fashioned and inspired in character and life by Him. A prince in Israel had fallen, but the King of Israel lived for ever, and was calling others to princely service. None would be more ready than the doctor to repress praise of himself, and to exclaim with the rest of the redeemed in Heaven, whom he had joined: Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Thy name give dory." Sympathetic reference to the bereaved congregation was made in the public prayer.

### **ST. JOHN'S, ROSLYN.**

At St. John's Church, Roslyn, on Sunday morning the incumbent (the Rev. W. A. Diggins) before concluding his sermon referred to the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart in very feeling terms. He said, although he did not know him very well personally, he had known him by repute as a man who was a friend to the poor, fatherless, and widows, who had kept himself unspotted from the world, and whose soul, he trusted, "would rest in peace."

### **THE SYNAGOGUE.**

At the Jewish Synagogue on Saturday morning the Rev Mr Harrison, preaching from Leviticus xix, 1 and 2, said that although not privileged in knowing the Rev. Dr Stuart intimately he had heard from many quarters instances of the great good he had done, and of the holy influence he had exerted over those with whom he was brought in contact. They were told by the sages that the [unclear: ous] of all nations had a share in the future world and the late Dr Stuart, he was sure, would be a participant in the glories of the hereafter, for in his life on earth he was upright, honourable, and good. The reverend gentleman concluded the service with a most impressive prayer, in which he commended the soul of the late respected pastor to the care of the Ruler of the heights above, there to mingle with the righteous and noble who had passed to that blessed home before him.

### **ST. MARY'S, MORNINGTON.**

At St. Mary's Church, Mornington, on Sunday evening in the course of a sermon on Whitsuntide, the Rev.

C. S. Bowden referred to the late Dr Stuart as one loved and respected by all who knew him. Although not belonging to his (the preacher's) branch of the Catholic Church, he ventured to say his memory would be honoured and levered by every branch of the Catholic Church in this city and colony.

### **ASHBURTON.**

The Rev. G. B. Inglis, of the Ashburton Presbyterian Church, made feeling reference to the death of Dr Stuart, pointing out his many excellent qualities, his loyalty to his church, his country, and his Queen, and his many public services concluding by reading the following letter which Dr Stuart had sent him shortly after his induction:—

"Dunedin

13th October 1893.

"Dear Inglis,—I was sorry I happened to be out when you called at the Manse. I would have liked very much to have seen you and to have wished you peace and prosperity in your new sphere. Some three years ago I conducted the; anniversary services and was deeply interested in the district and congregation. I greatly enjoyed the drive on a spring-tide afternoon to the kirk seaward, and the springing wheat and the paddocks full of life and knee deep in grass. Let me hope that the change and the climate will suit you and that a large blessing will come down upon your work. Kindly let me have an account of your opening meetings and services, that your fellow ministers and fellow Christians may have a call to pray for you. Our people take a deeper interest in the labours of our prophets than many think. It is to me a pleasure to hear of their well-being and well-doing. I am working away as best I can, notwithstanding that my trouble pays me, as a rule, a weekly visit. It is a joy to me that I am not laid aside as a broken bottle. Knowing that my course is near its close, it behoves me to take care of the fragments and use them widely for the Master's glory and the people's good.—Yours ever,

"D. M. STUART."

### **LAWRENCE.**

Before commencing service in Trinity Church, Lawrence, on Sunday evening (says the Tuapeka Times), the Ven. Archdeacon Beaumont made feeling reference to the late Rev. Dr Stuart. He was sure, he said, that he was in accord with the feelings of his people in referring to the death of Dr Stuart, late minister of Knox Church, Dunedin. It had pleased the loving God and Father to call him home. Dr Stuart was a man of great earnestness of character and untiring zeal in the cause of his God and Master. Of large-hearted charity and wide sympathies with sorrow and suffering, full of years and work for his dear Saviour, he had entered into his rest. "But he being dead yet speaketh." It was well not to allow such a life to pass away unnoticed, or without giving utterance to their loving sympathy with those mourning for the servant of the Lord—a sympathy resting on the one foundation—Jesus Christ the Righteous, deepened by the conviction of the heavy loss sustained by those whose spiritual guide and comforter he was. Those comforting words of Holy Scripture—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them"—had in the case of Dr Stuart a singularly striking exemplification. As the closing voluntary the "Dead March" in "Saul" was played.

During the service at the Presbyterian Church, Lawrence, on Sunday, the Rev. Mr Comrie paid a graceful tribute to the life and works of Dr Stuart. His services in the cause of religion and in promoting the interest of the church of which he was so distinguished a minister would long be remembered. The loss sustained by the church by his death was a heavy one, and equally heavy was the loss to religion. His whole life and abilities had been devoted to the service of God and His church, and his memory would long live in the works which represented the labours of his life.

### **MOSGIEL.**

At Mosgiel Presbyterian Church on Sunday the Rev. J. M. M'Kerrow referred to Dr Stuart's death at the morning service, both in the prayers and in the sermon. The rev. gentleman said: "The death of Dr Stuart is an event which will occasion deep sorrow over the length and breadth of this colony, and beyond it. It is the silencing of a voice which spoke for many a long year with an influence that we are scarcely at present in a position to estimate. It is the withdrawal of a force in the Presbyterian Church and in general society which leaves none to equal it. It is the cessation of an activity which never rested, the stilling of a heart which was full of sympathy with all good men and measures, the creation of a void which can never be filled up as before. It is

*not merely the loss of ability of no mean order, but the loss of those things which tried fidelity, wonderful adaptability, and long experience in the work of the Lord and the service of mankind brings. Publicly and privately, in church and commonwealth, a figure so conspicuous, a man so influential, a character so great, must and will be sadly missed. Yet the Lord liveth and His truth abideth. The servant, however good and faithful, is only here for a time, and then he hears the Master say 'Well done!' and enters into the joy of his Lord. There he rests from his labours, and his works do follow him. He dwells in the perfect light of God, and is satisfied, for he has awaked in His likeness."*

## **ST. PETER'S, CAVERSHAM.**

At St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Caversham, on Sunday last, the Rev. Bryan King made reference to the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart. The text chosen was Ephesians iv, 3—Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." The unity of the Spirit, the preacher said, could be kept in two apparently opposite ways. First, by the bold and uncompromising statement of that which we hold to be true; and secondly, by avoiding in social intercourse anything that could possibly offend, and dwelling rather upon points upon which all agree. Dr Stuart was an uncompromising Presbyterian, as he (the speaker), as all who knew him were aware, was an uncompromising High Churchman, but in his interviews with Dr Stuart, sometimes involving matters of great delicacy, he had always found him warm-hearted and friendly. In concluding, he said—"There has gone from us a great man, a good man, and a true Christian, who always endeavoured to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. God help us to follow his example."

## **CHORAL HALL.**

At the forenoon service at the Choral Hall on Sunday special prayer was offered for those more immediately connected with the family of Dr Stuart, and also for Knox Church congregation; while in the evening, when an evangelistic service was held, Mr A. R. Falconer opened the meeting by giving a few words of personal testimony concerning the late Dr Stuart, who had received him more than 30 years ago on his arrival in Otago with a kindness he could never forget, and whose guest he had often been for days together.

## **GERALDINE.**

At the forenoon service at Geraldine Presbyterian Church on Sabbath, the Rev. A B Todd referred to the death of Dr Stuart. Commenting on the first lesson (Psalm cii) he said verse 14 might fittingly be said of one whom God had called home the previous day—Dr Stuart, of Dunedin. Their church throughout New Zealand, and especially in Otago, had sustained serious loss Dr Stuart had done a [unclear: great] not only in the church but also in education and all matters of a philanthropic [unclear: kind] was a noble pioneer of the Gospel in the early days, and his whole heart and soul was [unclear: through] into the work of advancing the Kingd[unclear: om] Christ. They should thank God for giving them such a man and for the work which he had Been enabled to do Now his work was done, and the Master had called him home to recei[unclear: ve] reward and to rest from his labours; their sympathies should be with the sorrowing [unclear: gregation] in Dunedin, so lately deprived of their junior pastor and now bereaved of their [unclear: se] after a pastorate of 35 or 34 years.

## **PLEASANT POINT.**

A Pleasant Point correspondent telegraphs "There is general sorrow among Presbyterian here at Dr Stuart's death. The Rev. White, formerly of Kelso and Duned[unclear: in], Sunday preached an impressive funeral [unclear: ser] to a crowded audience on the noble [unclear: Chris] and self-sacrificing of the departed [unclear: minist] The 'Dead March' was played in the church

## **WELLINGTON.**

At St. Andrew's Church on May [unclear: 13] service had especial reference to the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart. The Rev. C. S. [unclear: preached] from the text "For we know [unclear: that] our earthly house of this tabernacle [unclear: were] solved, we have a building of God, an [unclear: h] not made with hands, eternal in the [unclear: heaven] (I Corinthians v, 1). Speaking of Dr [unclear: Stuart] said that the words "They rest from their labours, and their works do follow [unclear: there] applied very aptly to the character and [unclear: work] probably the best known and most [unclear: extensive] beloved minister in the colony, the [unclear: news] whose not unexpected death had been [unclear: tes] graphed to us from the southern city where from about the space of 34 years he had exercis[unclear: ed] useful and most important pastorate. He had passed away full of

years, and after enjoying the honours and consideration to which a long and useful career, where charity and [*unclear*: benevole] were the most conspicuous features, entitled him. He possessed a large share of [*unclear*: bo] health and vigour. He had excellent [*unclear*: talea] and his moral and intellectual powers were no mean order. He was esteemed by his friends, and most dearly beloved by his beard. He was peculiarly gifted with a power which provoked attachment to his person on the [*unclear*: pa] of those with whom he came in contact. He was rigidly and seriously occupied with those questions that concern the intellectual training of the youth of the colony, and he believed was his constant aim and endeavour to make that institution a focus whence the light of knowledge should emanate. He worked in the hope of making his college a copy and example of similar foundations in his native land, and, like them, a power for good. He thought he was not wrong in saying that the sphere of religion his views were [*unclear*: bread] and tolerant, his Christianity was manly and utterly free from the semblance of cant; it was together pervaded by the principle of [*unclear*: ve]. He had seldom known one who acted out so thoroughly the principle expressed by the Apostle James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

At St. John's Presbyterian Church on May 13 reference was made by the Rev. J. Paterson, both in the morning and evening, to the loss [*unclear*: ffered] by the Presbyterian Church in the death of Dr Stuart. In the evening the sermon was [*unclear*: sed] the words, "Well done thou good and faithful servant." The rev. gentleman said they must all have been grieved by the sad news of the death of Dr Stuart. The event was not indeed unexpected, for he had been in a very critical state of health for some time past. When he saw him a few days ago the doctor was telling him of his complaint, and his awful suffering at times, and said—"I shall not get over this. It will in the end prove fatal." But he was prepared whenever it was the Master's wish to call him. He said to him—"Doctor, you have comforted many with the promises of the Gospel and the consolations that are in Christ; you will yourself be comforted with the comfort wherewith you comforted others." Yes," said Br Stuart, "I trust in the Saviour I have preached to others I rest simply and [*unclear*: lely] on the Lord Jesus Christ." The doctor was a man of great gifts, and these he had [*unclear*: con-erated] to the service of the Master. He had the social qualities, a warm, kind heart, and a benevolent spirit, and those were all exercised in the service of Christ and for the good of humanity. They were mainly the elements of his popularity and usefulness. He was a good man, who served his generation well. He was a prominent figure in Dunedin, and there he would be missed, but he would be mourned throughout the church, for his influence was widely felt. His death was the removal of a large personality from amongst them, and they could not but sympathise with the congregation of Knox Church, who had lost so eminent and so good a pastor. Tennyson's "Crossing bar" was sung by the choir as an anthem, and the "Dead March" played as a voluntary at the close of the service.

## Miscellaneous References.

The widespread area over which keen regret in felt at the death of Dr Stuart was manifest on Monday by the pouring in of messages of condolence from all parts of the colony. Among others, telegrams of sympathy were received by the office-bearers of Knox Church from the following gentlemen, old members of the congregation, who are resident in Wellington The Hon. T. W. Hislop, Dr Chappie, Messrs M'Kerrow (chief commissioner of railways), Glasgow (collector of customs), Campbell, Lambert, Reith, Scoullar, Young, and Morrison. Another telegram from a distance, was from the Rev. J. Anderson Gardiner, and was in the following terms:—"The session and congregation of the Bluff Presbyterian Church desire to express their deep sympathy with the congregation and session of Knox Church in the great loss sustained by them and the church in the death of Dr Stuart."

The registrar of the University of Otago on Monday received a telegram from the chancellor of the University of New Zealand desiring him, on behalf of the university, to convey to Mr William Stuart and to the colleagues and friends of the late Dr Stuart an expression of condolence.

At a meeting of the executive of the Schools Committees Conference held on Monday morning it was resolved—"That the executive, while recording their sense of the loss that the community has sustained by the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart, and especially the loss to the cause of education, beg to express their desire that the various school committees of the city and suburbs will arrange for the head masters and teachers requesting the attendance of their pupils at the funeral of the doctor on Wednesday afternoon." At the meeting of the Arthur street School Committee last evening it was decided to request the head master to invite the pupils, with the exception of the younger children, to attend the funeral.

The Right Rev. Bishop Moran has written to Mr William Stuart a letter of condolence in the occasion of Dr Stuart's death. The bishop regrets that his own serious illness prevented him from visiting Dr Stuart in his sickness, as it will also prevent him from attending the funeral. Dr Moran feelingly alludes to the public

services rendered by Dr Stuart and to his many acts of charity. The Rev. Father Lynch has been deputed to act as the bishop's representative.

An Auckland correspondent telegraphs:—"Great regret is felt here at the news of the death of Dr Stuart. Kindly references are made in the press as to his career and labours."

The following telegram has been received by Mr W. Stuart from Sir R. Stout and Mr H. D. Bell, M.H.R's., Wellington:—"William Stuart, Esq., Knox Manse.—On behalf of many past and present Otago men and women now resident in Wellington, we tender our heartfelt sympathy with you on the loss of a kind father, and to Knox Church on the decease of a beloved pastor. We feel that Otago has lost one of her greatest settlers."

The Hon. W Jennings, M.L.C. of Auckland, has also telegraphed to Mr Stuart:—"As an old Dunedin resident allow me to express regret at the death of your father. He will live in the memory of all who knew his kind and benevolent disposition."

The following cable was received on Wednesday by Dr Hislop:—"Representatives New Zealand Conference sympathise Knox Church bereavement.—(Signed) M'Nicoll, president, Adelaide."

At the annual meeting of the Mornington Presbyterian Church on May 16, the Rev. Mr Porter, before commencing proceedings, referred feelingly to the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart, and expressed his regret that they had found it impossible to postpone the meeting or they would gladly have done so. He went on to say that he was quite sure that throughout the whole congregation there was universal regret at the sad event, and deep sympathy with the congregation which had that day buried their dead. Dr Stuart was so dearly loved by numerous members of the congregation, and he was sure that if Dr Stuart could communicate with us now he would be the last to propose the postponement of a meeting such as this.

Lodge Ivanhoe, U.A O.D., at their meeting on Monday night, which was attended by representatives of many of the sister lodges expressed regret at the death of the Rev. Dr Stuart.

At the fortnightly meeting of the Antidote Division, Sons of Temperance, Bro. A. Adam, W.P., presiding, it was resolved to record on the minutes the heartfelt sympathy and respect felt for the late Dr Stuart, and regretting the loss sustained by Otago, and especially Dunedin, by his death.

The pupils at the Boys' High School were assembled at 12 15 p.m. on Tuesday, when they were informed of the arrangements of the share they were to take in the funeral of Dr Stuart. The rector (Dr Belcher) went on to say:—"It would not become the rector of this school to allow the present juncture to pass away without some reference to the event about which all Dunedin, indeed all Otago, is both thinking and talking. Dr Stuart has for so many years stood in very intimate relationship with this school. Since the formation of the present Board of Control he has year after year been elected as chairman, while year after year his name has been found on the donors' list of our annual prizes, and in various other connections incidental to the main purport of his trust. The last occasion on which he addressed the school was on the morning of the funeral of my predecessor in this office, the late Dr Macdonald. I recollect his saying to me on that occasion that the list of the rectors of the school was already long considering the age of the school, and that there was a word of *[unclear: wa-ing]* in the fact. It is now our melancholy *[unclear: d]* to be gathering together the threads of memory to present our old friend to you possibly for the last time. I am, of course, devoutly hoping that some memorial to him will, independently of the wider efforts outside, be erected within these walls. This is however, a matter *[unclear: be]* left to the feeling of the hundreds—nay, thousands—of boys who have passed the portals the school during the last 30 yea*[unclear: rs]*. hundreds of these boys he must have been more than an official figure: to them he must have been the house friend, the pastor, and *[unclear: the]* teacher of souls. There must have *[unclear: be]* hundreds—many, doubtless, now listen*[unclear: ng]* me—for whom he has done the functio*[unclear: ns]* duties of Christian minister. I surmi*[unclear: se]* both in the hour of rejoicing of the you*[unclear: ng]*, in the abandonment to sorrow of the *[unclear: old]*, Stuart has been a familiar and a welcome *[unclear: fi]* to many whom this school claims as her *[unclear: ow]*. It cannot be, therefore, that they will all*[unclear: ow]* work to pass without a fitting memorial. *[unclear: A]* other matters, it remains for me to say *[unclear: lit]* Much has already been said, much remai*[unclear: ns]* to be said, which falls from lips more appropriate to the work than mine; but I dou*[unclear: bt]*. there has never yet been in the history of the colony, whether any of you will live to *[unclear: wite]* an outburst of tribute so spontaneous and a remarkable as that of which we are this day spectators. The school will be closed to-morrow until 1.30, when all boys are expected to be in their places."

In estimating the character and influence of the minister of Knox Church (says the South land Times) we have much light thrown upon both by reference to his nationality *[unclear: and]* bringing. He came of a robust Highland stock, and inherited the fervid genius *[unclear: of]* Scottish hills. His mind was deeply *[unclear: tin]* with the romance of nature, and his *[unclear: disc]* breathed of the woods and the heather. *[unclear: May]* will remember an occasion on which, with *[unclear: seeming]* unpremeditation, he threw himself loose, in the pulpit, on the scenes of his early days tracing the education of the youthful *[unclear: herd]* on the hillside, in the family, in the school and in the church; and ending with the *[unclear: pict]* of a Highland communion at which there *[unclear: st]* side by side the peer and the peasant a picture so vivid that one could almo*[unclear: st]* the

bowed heads of the worshippers hear the footfall of the elders as they Moved from pew to pew. So completely was the mind of the doctor cast in the Highland mould that he even found himself possessed of that mysterious gift called "second sight" a gift which we have heard on competent authority he crushed down within him as a somewhat incongruous adjunct to his sacred office, or as a something the exercise of which himself regarded with dread. The story of his student life is the story of scores of his countrymen—a record of indomitable perseverance, self-denial, and independence, crowned by influence, honour, and success. It would be vain, in a brief sketch like this, to attempt to say all that might be said of the great figure that has disappeared from among us. That task may safely be left to those who, when the shock of bereavement has passed, will know how to gather up and present in full detail all the facts and features of a noble life. We can but say at present—"Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

At a meeting of the local assembly of the Knights of Labour the following resolution was passed:—"That this assembly deeply regret the loss sustained by the community through the death of the Rev Dr Stuart, a testimony to the fact that the deceased clergyman was ever the friend, counsellor, and helper the poor; and that he was eminently successful in carrying into his daily life the of the Christianity he preached."

## Incidents and Anecdotes of Dr Stuart.

The anecdotes told of Dr Stuart are a few of them have been already published, and most of them are to be found recorded in "The History of Knox Church" by Dr Hislop, and "The Story of the Church and Settlement of Otago," by the Rev. C. S. Ross. A few of those stories are here reproduced:—

It was the custom with Dr Stuart to expound the chapters of Holy Writ which in the course of the service would he read to the congregation, and the worshippers in Knox Church always expressed and experienced a great delight in his Editions. The copy of the Bible which he used was much dog-eared and adorned by marginal notes in his own handwriting. He used frequently to quote the observations of eminent divines respecting different passages, and he was earnest in impressing the *notabilia* upon his congregation. On one occasion he was reading and expounding a chapter from one of the Pauline epistles, and, after reaching a certain verse, it is recorded of him he raised his eyes upwards and exclaimed, "Aye, Paul, was that your *nion*?" And, after a pause, he added, "Well, may be, you were right!"

The charitable disposition of Dr Stuart was that it is to be feared that he did not always discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving claims which were made upon his generosity. On one occasion he met an unpleasant adventure while he was on his way to fulfil a preaching appointment. He was making the ascent of Mount Stuart when he overtook a wayfarer who protested that he was "quite knocked up," whereupon Dr Stuart, with characteristic benevolence, gave him his horse to ride, telling him to keep the track while he himself would proceed by a short cut to the other side of the hill. On reaching the trysting place Dr Stuart found his horse tied securely enough to a tussock, but on opening his valise he found that there had been abstracted from it a dressing case, which also formed a writing desk—the valued gift of a friend. The desk contained, among other things, the discourses which the minister intended to preach, and the flush of very natural resentment which was provoked by the discovery of the theft yielded to the benevolent wish that his sermons might at least arrest the attention of the ungrateful wayfarer.

Extraordinary though it may seem, the late Dr Stuart attributed his rise in life to no less potent an agency than a bottle of whisky. In the days when he conducted his "adventure school" at Leven he attracted the attention of two maiden ladies, who, seeing the raw-boned young Scotchman, as he then was, walking daily along the street with his only pupil, were led to make inquiries about him, and having ascertained that he was a schoolmaster they called upon him. In those days Highland hospitality dictated that whisky should be offered to visitors, and as it occurred to the young teacher that he should in such a manner entertain his visitors he sent out for a bottle of whisky. The ladies, Dr Stuart used to say, were much struck with his hospitality, and through their good offices he obtained an introduction to a family in which he obtained the position of tutor. The gaining of this tutor's situation he regarded as the foundation of that measure of success he was enabled to achieve in life.

The stories are numberless which could be told of Dr Stuart's homeliness of manner in the pulpit. One, which found its way into print about the time, had relation to a baptism that took place in the church. The mother and child duly appeared on the dais, but for some reason the father was not so prompt as he should have been in coming forward. After waiting for a few moments, the doctor inquired: "Is Mr W——here?" The father then advanced from the far end of the church. When he was half-way up the aisle the doctor remarked: "Toots, man! you ought to know better than keep the congregation waiting so long. Why, this is your fifth!"

No one in Otago ever occupied a place in the minds of the young as that occupied by Dr Stuart, and this

fact led to the worthy doctor having ascribed to him by children the accomplishment of much greater work than he—ever foremost in good works as he was—was ever able to perform. The story is probably an authentic one which is told of the lesson that was being given in a secular school when the children were asked by the teacher to name the writer of the book of Psalms. The teacher failed at first to get any response, and becoming impatient he encouraged the class to answer. The boys were appealed to in vain, and then the girls were tried. "Come, now, some of you girls, who wrote the Psalms in the Bible?" After some hesitation the answer came, "Please, sir, Dr Stuart."

Many of Dr Stuart's sayings in the pulpit were extremely quaint and forcible. He was always homely and never strove for oratorical effects, but many things that he has said will live longer than would merely fine phrases and neatly balanced sentences. On one occasion when politics were looming largely and with a rather threatening aspect, the doctor in his prayer at the morning service prayed for deliverance from the sins of the world, the flesh, and politics"; thus amending the ordinary phrase in a manner which at once struck home.

On one occasion Dr Stuart paid one of his periodical visits to a poor old widow who had been long ill and confined to bed, and then went into the house of the next door neighbour, a woman who paid great attention to the poor widow. "Well," said the doctor, "I find your neighbour a little better to-day, and that you have been attentive to her wants." "O, aye," she replied, "Mr——cam' in till see her last nicht, an' gae'd a prayer, but it was sae skimpie that I gae'd one mysel'."

The story of the woman whose husband was ill, and who accompanied Dr Stuart to the door after praying with the sick man has been often told, and is now about to be realised. When she had opened the door and was bidding him good-bye, she said, "Eh! my, Doctor, but ye'll hae a gran' funeral!"

In connection with the illness and death of Dr Stuart it will be of interest to friends to know how the reading of the Psalms was to him a never-failing source of consolation. When he was unable himself to read, his housekeeper would take a seat by his bedside and read to him, and even when he was too weak for speech he would smile and nod his head approvingly, in the characteristic manner his friends know so well, as one or other of his favourite Psalms was read. His mind did not fail even when power of speech was gone, and when in a very low condition he frequently by signs made known the fact that he was conscious of what was going on around him. The last of these Bible-reading scenes was full of pathos. It can but be inadequately described, and yet some account of it ought to be given. On Saturday morning last, as has been stated, his medical adviser had been hastily called, and on arriving saw that in all human probability the end was nigh.

All proper means were taken to restore the patient and failed. Just before leaving [unclear: f] home in order to change for other clothes the dressing gown which he had hurriedly [unclear: put on] when called, Dr Coughtrey made the remark that nothing more could be done. The house keeper then asked if she could not read a Psalm to Dr Stuart, saying: "You know he always liked me to read to him." "Yes," said the doctor, "you can do that." The big Bible was opened on the bed, and as his life slowly and imperceptibly ebbed away the words of D Stuart's favourite Psalm were read to him by his faithful servant and friend.

## A Tribute of Respect.

To the Editor Otago Daily Times.

SIR,—As a proof of the estimation in which the late Dr Stuart was held even outside Otago, I [unclear: enclose] an extract from a letter received shortly after [unclear: th] publication of the "History of Knox Church from a well-known gentleman in another provincial district, and one of the most eminent of our colonial statesmen, himself an Englishman a member of the English Church, and a university man, who was for a time associated [unclear: with] Stuart in connection with New Zealand University work.

—I am, &c.,

May 12.

H. J.

"Anything connected with the church [unclear: of] Chalmers, and especially that section of it that performed the greatest act of self-sacrifice that was ever made by any ecclesiastical body always be of interest to me. I am glad to have a record of Dr Stuart's work. He looms larger—physically, socially, intellectually—as no unworthy follower of the great ones that have gone before.

## In Memory of the Rev. Dr—[unclear: Stuary]

*"Rest! 'twas the gift he gave; and peace! the shade  
He spread, for spirits fevered with the sun.  
To him his bounties are come back—here laid  
In rest, in peace, his labour nobly done."*

*William [unclear: Wat].*

The solemn march, the muffled drum—

In anticipation of a military funeral, the newspapers having at first announced that there would be one.  
Beating, as 'twere, against the breast—  
The drooping heads, the sighs that come  
For one whose goodness *all* impressed:  
This reverence not alone can tell  
How loved was he who lived so well.

Soft as the fall of golden leaf  
That rustled round the gloomy manse  
He faded from us. Our relief,  
When once again the green leaves dance,  
Is sweet; but though they will return,  
Alas, not he for whom we yearn!

O thou, who brightened many a life  
With deeds and words of pure design;  
Who led us through the ills so rife,  
Cheering us with a care benign;  
O noble friend! so true, so dear,  
To lose thee leaves the bosom drear!

CHARLES UMBERS.

May 13, 1894.

## Lines on the Late Dr Stuart.

*Dedicated to Robert Glendining, Esq., one of his warmest personal friends.*

[unclear: Still'd] is that voice, which, prompt at duty's call,  
Invok'd a blessing on the heads of all;  
Cold is that pallid brow, which once could wear  
The cheery smile to chase away the tear.  
His eyes are closed in Death's eternal sleep,  
While mourning friends around in anguish weep.  
In him, no angry passions played a part,  
But charity and love inspired his heart.  
He had no wish to war with others' creeds,  
But judged them by his standard—by their deeds.

If men were weak, by error led astray,  
He served as guide to show the better way.  
Firm as the rugged rocks of Scotia's hills,  
His faith would triumph over human ills;  
An ardent worker in each noble cause—  
He never slackened pace, nor made a pause.  
If others grew faint-hearted, looked dismayed,  
His words would cheer—"Kind friends, be not afraid;  
The Christian's goal, though distant, is in sight:  
Put forth your strength—advance in all your might.  
Be ours the task to elevate our brother,  
To do what good we can for one another;  
Exhaust not precious hours in wordy strife,  
But win the crown of everlasting life."  
Revered and loved, he was a welcomed guest  
In every home where Virtue raised her crest.  
If he at times would tread the rich man's floor,  
He ne'er ignored the sufferings of the poor:  
He knew no class—disdained all outward show,  
But nursed within a sympathy for woe;  
Though plain of speech, his words were soft and mild.  
His manners gentle as the meekest child.  
True to the hardy clime that gave him birth,  
No meretricious polish graced his worth;  
Majestic, pure, in feeling, thought, and tone,  
A stout, brave Scotchman to the very bone;  
As Burns was Nature's poet, rich and wild,  
So Stuart lived her preacher, undefiled.  
Yet deem not he was blind to Beauty's wiles,  
For few could woo her with more winning smiles;  
The woods, the glens, the heather bloom and flowers  
Drew forth his praise and fed his mental powers;  
And none with sweeter accents could impart  
The balm of comfort to the aching heart.  
The widow, mourning for her husband lost;  
The helpless orphan, on Life's ocean tossed;  
The wasting form, on couch of sickness laid;  
The wandering outcast, and the ruined maid,  
Were each in turn the objects of his cares,  
That claimed his succour, solace, and his prayers.  
No man approached but found in him a friend;  
No woman pleaded but she gained her end.  
While e'er intent to bring men to their God,  
He ne'er despised the earth on which they trod.  
He strove to give them pleasure in this life,  
To purify their tastes, and banish strife.  
Has he succeeded? Mark the tearful eye,  
The heaving bosom, and the stifled sigh,  
The grief that stamps on every face its seal,  
Which tells how bitter are the pangs they feel.  
But why thus mourn? His soul has winged its flight  
To realms all radiant with celestial light;  
The noble heart that throbbed at every pore  
Hath ceased pulsation and shall throb no more.

Mornington.

E. S. MANTZ.

## In Memoriam.

THE REV. DR STUART.

Thy image comes to us amid the toil and fret  
Of busy day—a loving memory—a picture sweet,  
Without which life seems so incomplete,  
Undarkened by one shadow of regret,  
Thy dear old-fashioned face that charms us yet;  
Smiling from soul unsullied by deceit,  
Recalling happy hours that fled too fleet,  
Crowded with memories we can ne'er forget,  
Brightening the misty canvas of the past.  
Dunedin's noblest father, proved by unselfish test,  
Whoso character in noblest mould was cast,  
Whose memory holds our hearts while life shall last,  
Death claimed thee yesterday, as God thought best,  
And now thy tired soul has found that blessed rest.  
Oh, venerable pastor, truest friend to all,  
Thy soul has fled from out its earthly wall,  
Thy pulse is still, thy noble form is cold,  
Thy weary spirit's resting in God's sheltering fold.  
'Tis hard to think thy face no more we'll see,  
Whose noble countenance bespoke a soul so free.  
No more we'll hear thy earnest, manly voice  
Bid youthful converts glory in their choice;  
No more we'll listen to thy cheery word,  
Prompting old age to lean upon the Lord.  
Good doctor, now thy earthly labours cease,  
Thou'rt gone to dwell in "Heaven's perfect peace,"  
Among thy loved ones there, the choirs to swell—  
With bleeding hearts we bid a fond "Farewell."

H.F.C.A.

Dunedin,

May 13, 1894.

## The Funeral Ceremonies.

The mourning of Dunedin on Wednesday, like the mourning of a mighty nation," was eminently solemn. The most conspicuous figure in Otago was laid to his rest amid the lamentations of an entire community which loved him as he also loved it. The remains of the Rev. Dr Stuart were committed to the dust, and the whole of Dunedin—and not the whole of Dunedin only, but large contingents from various portions of the province—assembled to do honour to his memory. With a unanimity that afforded striking testimony to the public appreciation of the doctor's worth and to the feeling of sorrow at his death the business people of the city closed their warehouses, their factories, and their shops at midday so that the fullest opportunity might be given

to their employees to join in the last tribute of respect to one whose removal involved what nearly every man, woman, and child in the community regarded as a personal loss, and the bulk of the establishments so closed were not reopened at all on Wednesday. It was a remarkable demonstration of grief which the afternoon witnessed—a demonstration in which all ranks and classes of the citizens with one accord took part. The weather was favourable to the assembling of a large crowd, and full advantage was taken of it, the main streets of Dunedin being thronged as they never have been before on such an occasion. Upstairs windows, balconies, the roofs of houses and verandahs along the line of route from Knox Church to the Southern Cemetery were occupied by great numbers of people, but there was no hilariousness in the crowd, the prevailing tone being one of sadness at the falling of a great man and a prince in Israel. The bells of Knox Church and First Church were tolled, and the visible signs of mourning were numerous.

## Knox Church.

The scene in the church was most impressive. From the hour at which the church doors were opened until the commencement of the service crowds of citizens quietly entered and left the building, passing along under the pulpit and looking for the last time at the composed and peaceful countenance of the departed pastor. The coffin, with the exception of the crystal face-plate, was loaded with wreaths of white flowers. Over the pulpit and the railing in front of it floral designs were displayed, and a number of large ones were fastened above the pulpit, extending along the face of the *[unclear: ch]* gallery. The heavy drapery was everywhere almost concealed with flowers, the pulpitis platform being a dense mass of floral offerings. A number of the ladies of the congregation were present all the morning receiving the flowed that continued to come in from all quarters, arranging them with affectionate care, and doing all that could be done to mark their veneration and love for one who had been so much to them, and who for long years had been solicitous for their welfare.

Among the numerous wreaths sent there was a very handsome one from the Hon. T. W. Hislop, Dr Chapple, Messrs Campbell, Glasgow, Lambert, M'Kerrow, Reith. Scoullar, Young, Smith, Jenkins, and Wright (old members of Knox Church now resident in Wellington). There were also wreaths from the following office-bearers of First Church ("In kindly sympathy with their brethren of Knox Church"), St. Paul's Presbyterian Church (Invercargill), East Taieri Presbyterian Church, the Port Chalmers Presbyterian Congregation, the rector and senior boys of the High School, the rector and junior boys of the High School, and the masters of the High School, the rector, staff, and pupils of the Girls High School, the East Taieri Christian Endeavour Society, the Kaikorai Presbyterian Young People's Christian Endeavour Society, the High street School, the Union street School and the infant class of same school, the Leith Lodge, I.O.O.F., the North School (Oamaru), the students of Otago University (with "an expression of deep grief at the death of their dear old chancellor"), the lady students of Otago University, the Knox Church Ladies' Association, Knox Church Young Women's Society, Knox Church Sabbath School teachers, the choir of Knox Church, Mr Chisholm's Bible class, Knox Church infant class, the children of Miss Smith's sewing class, the lady prioress and community of Dominican nuns, the hospital nurses, Sir Robert and Lady Stout ("in loving remembrance of a kind and faithful friend"), Mrs Hely and pupils, Mr Justice Williams, Mrs W. N. Blair (Wellington), and Mrs James Gardiner (Queenstown).

## The Service in the Church.

Shortly after 12 o'clock the members of the congregation began to assemble in the church. Nearly everyone was in black and many of the ladies were in deep mourning. Certain seats were reserved for persons who were expected to attend as representing various bodies and organisations. The members of the Ministers' Conference attended in a body, and so did the Mayor of the City and the members of the City Council. Some time before 1 o'clock the church was crowded with adults. Among those on the platform were the Rev. Messrs Sutherland (Kaikorai), Bannerman, Will (Taieri), Gibb, Gibson Smith, Chisholm (Milton), W. P. Brown, Finlayson (Waitati), Greig (Peninsula), J. M. Fraser, D. Borrie, J. M'Kerrow (Mosgiel), Spence (Clinton), Wm. Gillies (Timaru), M'Cosh Smith (Naseby), A. B. Todd (Oamaru), Kirkland (Taieri), Christie (Waikouaiti), R. Waddell, A. H. Stebo, Ferguson (Invercargill), Wright (Ote-popo), Dr Copland (Gore), Dr Watt (Green Island), Dr Dunlop, A. North, R. J. Porter, H. Adamson (Port Chalmers), D. Dutton, A. Don, J. S. Reid (Strath-Taieri), J. M Davidson (Mataura), J. Kilpatrick (Warepa), D Ross, Mr W. H. Ash (Ravensbourne), Ven. Archdeacon Edwards, Hon. W. D. Stuart, Dr Hislop, Messrs Glendining, E B. Cargill, E. Smith, C. M'Kenzie Gordon, and Wm. Stuart. There were also among those present in the body of the church the Revs A. R. Fitchett, J. Ryley, W Ready, E. Walker, W. Saunders, A. H. Wallace, A. Cameron, and W. G. McLaren (Owaka).

Punctually at 1 o'clock the service was commenced, the Rev. R. R. M. Sutherland presiding, and giving out the 396th hymn:—

*Take comfort, Christians, when your friends In Jesus fall asleep.*

This having been sung, the Rev. Mr Borrie read a number of passages of Scripture such as are usually read at funeral services, and prayer was then offered by the Rev. A. B. Todd.

The Rev. Dr WATT, addressing the congregation, spoke as follows:—My dear friends, I scarcely need to add anything to what has been said, and said so admirably elsewhere, in commendation of the character and work of the great and good man whose mortal remains we are to-day committing dust to dust. The universal wail of regret which the news of his death awakened throughout Otago, and may I not add throughout the length and breadth of our colony, indicates what a strong hold he had of the affections and esteem of the people of this land—the land of his adoption, the land he passionately loved, and in the soil of which he is now finding an honoured grave. It may be my melancholy privilege to say a few words about Dr Stuart in this place on a future occasion. Let me now simply say that he has gone from us; we shall no more see his stalwart form passing our streets, nor hear the ring of that cheerful, manly voice we all know so well. Well, we would not recall him though we could. To use a favourite phrase of his own he had done yeoman's work in his day, and he has well earned his rest. To depart and be with Christ is far better. He is now at home at last—at home with the Lord. We cannot add anything to him by our praise or take anything from him by our blame. He has heard the "Well done" of the Master, and any accent of ours, either in concord with or discord from that Great Voice will not disturb the profound peace of the presence into which he has now entered. Still we owe it to ourselves, and it is a distinct encouragement for these who are still with us in the flesh battling with the trials of this lower arena, to let them know how those who survive them will regard them when they have fought the good fight, and how gladly we would have retained them with us for some time longer if it could be done consistently with their own best interests, and with the holy will of the Supreme. Let me detain you for a moment when we gather up two or three lessons of the life and death of our departed friend. I would remark that the death of a good man suggests with irresistible force the belief in immortality. The secret of the grave has been well kept. Of the countless millions who have passed to the other side few indeed have given any sign—furnished survivors with any distinct evidence of their continued existence after death. The grave has been well named the bourne whence no traveller returns. And yet as we stand by the bier of a man of distinguished worth, a man who has served God and his generation, according to the will of God, we shrink with one of the strongest repugnances of our moral nature from believing that the great spirit taken from us has lapsed into non-existence the moment it has passed beyond our ken. Science tells us that the smallest atom of what we call matter is never annihilated; it only transmigrates from old into new forms—but remains at the basis of its being, ever the same. Can we believe that those moral qualities which are the very crown and flower of human life, the so-called fruits of the spirit—the love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, which constitute the very image of God in man, are at death dissipated into nothing along with the soul in which they inhere. Such a fact, if it were a fact, would introduce purposelessness into a universe otherwise, as we feel, most wisely ordered. God would have been ashamed to be called the God of His people if he had not prepared for them a city. The Christian hope of immortality is a plant which flourishes best in the congenial soil over a good man's grave. But may we not gather from the great light that has now been extinguished as another lesson what someone has termed the sum less worth of a man? Useful institutions confer benefit. A good book continues to minister stimulus and inspiration long after the hand that wrote it is cold in death. But of all foci raying forth wholesome spiritual influence commend us to a living man, full of faith, of love, of hope. I never left the presence of the friend whose loss we mourn to-day without feeling myself better, spiritually richer, than when I had entered it. I believe this was the experience of many. He had great faith in man's capability of being redeemed from evil, because he had still greater faith in the love and power of the redeeming God. His faith in the power and wisdom and love with which God rules the universe and orders His dealings with individuals never faltered; and many who sought his counsel in great mental depression he comforted—he sent them away cheered, to begin the battle of life anew, having succeeded in infusing a portion of the indomitable courage and hope with which his own spirit was filled into theirs. He was pre-eminently a man like Stephen, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. Let us come for strength and inspiration to the same Great Fountain Head from which he drew his. But should not the removal of so faithful a worker in the service of God and mankind pledge us who survive him to greater diligence in the work from which he has now for ever retired. When David Livingstone died the other year, in the swamps of Lake Benguela, his death [unclear: lent a] mighty impetus to the cause of the [unclear: christianisation] of the Dark Continent; many [unclear: voluntee] to help the work in the midst of which [unclear: he] gloriously fell, and we may say that the great missionary explorer accomplished more for the object which he had at heart by his death than he would have accomplished even if life [unclear: had] been continued to him. You know the indefatigable ardour with which our deceased brother flung himself into three great causes—the cause of philanthropy, the cause of education, and, above all, the cause of religion. And would he not look down from the altitude at which he is now standing and rejoice to think that he had not died in vain if he saw that his death had been the means of awakening [unclear: m] profound interest in those great

causes in this community in which he considered it a privilege to have lived and laboured so long? Let me not make end, however, without, in a word or two more, attempting to point out to the young people here present this afternoon the moral of the bight they are now privileged to witness. Some 70 odd years ago a boy was born on the banks of the Tay, in a [*unclear: home*] doubtless humble enough, but a home which had the fear of God in it; and this boy, now full of years and honours, is being laid to his final rest in this far island of the Southern Seas—a whole city, one voice, making lamentation over him. How did the [*unclear: boy*] of such humble antecedents, when become a man, win such great love? By the use of [*unclear: arts*] which we make bold to say are within the reach of every boy and girl here to-day. He lived not for himself. He looked not at his own things only, but at the things of others also. He rejoiced with those that rejoiced and [*unclear: we*] with those that wept. He was indefatigable in doing good, his charity was boundless, his courtesy unfeigning, his kindness uniform, his love unfeigned. After the example of the great Master Himself, he delighted to be among his fellows as one who served. Go those and do likewise. And now to bid him a long but, thank God, not an everlasting farewell. Some of us have reason to bless God that we ever knew him, and we shall preserve his memory fresh in our hearts while life endures. We thank God that He bestowed him as His gift in this community, in which he has done noble work and brought forth fruit that shall remain; and we thank God, when His servant's work was done, that He recalled him, saying. "Come up higher. The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the lord."

The Rev. WM. KIRKLAND having prayed, the choir and congregation sang hymn 409:

*How bright these glorious spirits shine!  
Whence all their bright array?  
How came they to the blissful seat  
Of everlasting day?*

The Rev. Mr SUTHERLAND then pronounced the benediction, and the congregation left the church while the "Dead March" in "Saul" was played on the organ.

The men of the congregation formed four deep in the church ground, and thence marched to the place assigned to them in the funeral procession.

The service closed at 1.45 p.m., and 10 minutes later the coffin was raised and carried down the aisle by the principal exit to the hearse. At 2 o'clock the signal was given, when—

*Hush, the Dead March wails in the people's ears:  
The dark crowd moves, and there are sobs and tears.*

## The Procession.

Thanks to the arrangements which had been made for the funeral and to the manner in which they were conducted under the direction of Major Callen, Captain W. D. Milne, and Captain E. R. Smith, who discharged the duties of marshals, the procession was started very shortly after the appointed hour. The police, who in the vicinity of Knox Church were under Sergeant O'Neill, preserved a clear passage for the *cortège*, notwithstanding that George, Pitt, and London streets were densely thronged with people, and it was in large measure due to the valuable service rendered by the police that no hitch of any kind occurred here. The procession was headed by the Engineers' Band, who, immediately on the word to march being given, struck up Handel's famous and solemn "Dead March." A large number of children from the Industrial School, with Mr G. M. Borlinson, the master of the institution, were next in the order of procession; and they were followed by a picked number of children from Knox Church Sunday School, under Mr W. T. Todd, their superintendent each of whom was entrusted with the carrying of a wreath from the piles of floral tributes in the church. The male members of Knox Church Bible class—which for over a quarter of a century was conducted by Dr Stuart—were allotted the next place in the order of procession, and then came the Highland Pipe Band, consisting of Pipe-major M'Kechnie, Pipers Adair, Gray, J. and D. M'Kechnie, and three drummers—the pipers playing appropriate Scottish airs—and a strong representation of the members of the Gaelic Society, of which the deceased was the chief, prominent among them being Messrs John Gunn, J. Ogg, A. Math son (mayor of Roslyn), T. C. Matheson, and A. M'Gregor. Then came the hearse, the coffin within it being concealed from view by the mass of flowers offered by sorrowing friends. Walking on either side of the hearse were the pall-bearers, who were flanked by the Highland Rifles, under Captain Gillies—the company in which Dr Stuart

always took a lively interest, and of which he was the chaplain. The pall-bearers were eight in number—Mr William Stuart (only surviving son of the departed divine), the Hon. W. D. Stewart, M.L.C., and Mr Edmund Smith (the executors), Mr Colin M'K Gordon (clerk of Knox Church session), Dr Hislop, Mr E. B. Cargill, Mr R. Grendining, and Mr J. M. Fraser (elders of Knox Church). Walking with Mr Stuart were the three grandchildren of Dr Stuart—Master Willie Stuart, the son of Mr W. Stuart, and Masters Donald and James Stuart, the two sons of the late Mr D. M. Stuart. The late doctor's buggy—a buggy which had been presented to him, and which, with himself in it, has been commonly seen at funerals in the past—followed the hearse, the groom driving; and the sight of this buggy, loaded, as it was with wreaths, affected many people as powerfully as any other spectacle in the imposing procession. A mourning carriage, engaged for the executors, had for its occupant Dr Coughtrey, the medical attendant of Dr Stuart, and then came the office-bearers of Knox Church. Some of the elders and deacons of the congregation are mentioned as having been in other parts of the procession, but in order that the list may be complete the repetition of a few names may be pardonable. The elders present, so far as could be ascertained, were Messrs E. B. Cargill, R. Chisholm, G. L. Denniston, the Rev. Dr Dunlop, Messrs G. Dutch, D. Ferguson, J. M. Fraser, R. S. Gardner, R. Glendining, C. M'K. Gordon, W. B. Harlow, A. Herdman, Dr Hislop, Messrs Walter Hislop, W. Hutchison, M.H.R., J. T. Mackerras, John Reid, John Roberts, C.M.G., W. Simpson, Edmund Smith, A. Stewart, the Hon. W. D. Stewart, M.L.C., Messrs W. D. Sutherland, G. M. Thomson, W. T. Todd, and J. A. Torrance; and the deacons included in the procession were Messrs A. Bartleman, A. Burt, G. Calder, John Campbell, William Cowie, H. Guthrie, R. A. Johnston, Colin Macandrew, G. M'Carter, S. M'Donald, John M'Farlane, jun., John M'Pherson, W. D. Main, James Mann, T. Moodie, J. H. Morrison, J. S. Nugent, P. G. Pryde, F. Shaw, E. R. Smith, R. S. Sparrow, William Stevenson, R. Sutherland, J. C. Thomson, William Wright, and T. G. Young. Following the office-bearers of the church with which the late Dr Stuart was immediately connected came the clergy of the Presbyterian Church, and these embraced not only ministers belonging to the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland, but also a few from the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, among those present being the Revs. Dr Elmslie (Christchurch), W. Gillies (Timaru), H. Kelly (Waimate), A. B. Todd (Oamaru), A. H. Stobo (Invercargill), J. Ferguson (Invercargill), J. M. Davidson (Mataura), J. U. Spence (Clinton), W. P. Brown (Waikaia), J. M'Cosk Smith (Naseby), W. Wright (Otepopo), R. R. M. Sutherland, J. Ryley, W. Will, W. Bannerman, J. M. M'Kerrow, A. Cameron, R. Waddell, J. M. Fraser, Dr Watt, J. Kirkland, J. Gibb, J. Gibson Smith, H. Adamson, R. J. Porter, D. Dutton, A. M. Finlayson, D. Borrie, J. Christie, A. Greig, and D. Ross. The clergy of other Christian denominations were also well represented, among the members on foot or in vehicles being Bishop Nevill, the Venerable Archdeacon Edwards and Venerable Archdeacon Fenton, the Revs. A. R. Fitchett, E. T. Howell, H. C. Frere, and B. M. King (Anglican), the Revs. Father Lynch and Father Murphy (Roman Catholic), the Revs. J. N. Buttle and R. Taylor (Wesleyan), the Revs. W. Saunders and A. H. Wallace (Independent), the Rev. A. North (Baptist), the Rev. W. Ready (Bible Christian), the Revs. J. Chisholm (Milton), A. Don, J. S. Reid (Strath-Taieri), J. Kilpatrick (Warepa), and the Rev. L. J. Harrison (Jewish), the latter being accompanied by his executive, consisting of Messrs D. E. Theomin, L. Mendelsohn, M. Joel, J. Hyman, F. Hyams, R. M. Marks, G. Jacobs, and F. Falck. Mr A. Blair and other shipmates of the late Dr Stuart occupied a prominent position in the procession, and after them came the members of the University Council, the High School Board of Governors, and the Education Board. The staff of the Otago University was present in full strength, Professors Sale, Shand, Ulrich, Black, Salmond, Gibbons, and Gilray, Dr Scott, Dr Brown, Dr Colquhoun, Dr Roberts, Dr Batchelor, Dr Ogston, Dr Lindo Ferguson, Dr John Macdonald, Messrs A. Dallas, A. R. Barclay, and D. Wilkinson, and Dr Findlay being all noticed in the procession. The members of Knox Church congregation, who were present in large numbers, and the office-bearers of other churches were next in order, and following them was a strong contingent of members of the Salvation Army, male and female, wearing white badges on their left arms. The University Students' Association, headed by Mr C. M. Mouat (the president), Dr Ross, and other prominent graduates supplied a contingent about 120 strong; and following them came the rector (the Rev. Dr Belcher), a squad of the High School Cadets, and the pupils of the High School. The members of the Burns Club—prominent among them being Dr Stenhouse, Messrs A. J. Burns, J. B. Thomson, and J. R. Thornton—were assigned the next place in the procession; and they were followed by the Ordnance Band, whose excellent playing of the "Dead March" was generally admired. The North Dunedin Rifles, under Captain [unclear: Myes] and Lieutenant Johnston, were present force; and the representatives of the Independent Order of Oddfellows numbered over 100. About a dozen Chinese, belonging to the humbler class of the [unclear: Mong] residents of Dunedin, attracted a considerable amount of attention, but they had probably in common with the European section of the public, experienced acts of kindness from the doctor and not unnaturally desired to pay their tribute of respect to the dead, and there were also some Assyrians in the procession. A long string of children from the Union, George, and Arthur street schools, under their teachers occupied the next place in the procession, the Arthur street boys carrying wreaths, and they followed a large number of the general public on foot, the procession being ended with probably more than 100 vehicles and a number of horsemen. Any

attempt to enumerate the prominent citizens who were present would [unclear: be] hopeless task, but in order to convey some [unclear: idea] of the representative character of the funer[unclear: al] is necessary to mention some of those who [unclear: w] present. At the same time it must be remembered that in such a large gathering it was inevitable that many persons of light and leading in the community passed by unnoticed, The Hon. J. G. Ward (Colonial Treasurer) was present on behalf of the Government, and besides the members of Parliament already mentioned the Legislature was represented by the Hon. H. J. Miller (Speaker of the Legislative Council), the Hons. R. Oliver, W. H. Reynolds, S. E. Shrimski, W. M. Bo[unclear: lt], J. MacGregor, M.L.C.'s, Messrs D. [unclear: Pinkerton], W. Carncross, James Allen, [unclear: T.Macken] W. Fraser, J. Green, and R. M'Nab, M.H [unclear: R] The Mayor (Mr H. S. Fish), Crs [unclear: Gourley] Gore, Hardy, Dawson, Wales, [unclear: M'Gregoe] Cohen, Swan, Owen, Toomey, Carroll and Solomon, the town clerk (Mr W. R. Taylor), and the city surveyor (Mr S.B. Mirams), represented the civic authorities Messrs E. G. Allen, and W. Murray, the harbourmaster (Captain M'Callum), the secretary (Mr J. L. Gillies), and the inspector of works (Mr D. G. Stephens), occupied carriages provided for the members and officials of the Harbour Board; Dr Hocken, Messrs G. G. Russell, D. R. White, M. Fraer, J. R. Sinclair, A. M'Kerrow (Hampden), and H. Clark (chairman of the Bruce County Council), represented besides the members already mentioned, the educational bodies; and among the general mourners were noticed the Hon. W. J. M. Larnach, the Hon. T. Fergus, Captain Thomson, Cameron, Dr M'Caw (Brighton). Dr [unclear: W] (Abbotsford), Dr Copland (Gore), Dr Closs, Dr Macpherson, Dr Gordon Macdonald, Dr Reimer. Dr Fulton, Dr Barnett, [unclear: Messer] F. R. Chapman, J. Horsburgh (Mayor of Mornington), A. H. Burton, G. Calder (North-East Valley), B. Sievwright, G. S. Brodrick, T. H. Dick, H. E. Williams, W. Henderson, J. Richardson, A. W. Morris, John Davie, F. Leech, Charles Haynes, F. Mallard, W. J. Moore D. Nicol, W. Elder, Keith Ramsay, John Duncan (Waikouaiti), W. Melville, P. Barr, A. H. Heycock, G. R. Hercus, A. S. Adams, J. Walker Bain (Invercargill), D. M. Spending, G. E. Elliott, A. D. Lubecki, T. R. Fisher, E. E. C. Quick, G. Fenwick, R. H. Leary, H. H. Inglis (Mayor of Mosgiel), J. M. Jamieson, J. Elmer (Waitati). James Hume Ashburn Hall), E. H. Carew, W. Somerville, W. S. Fitzgerald, W. Barron, John Sidey, T. K. Sidey, A. F. W. Lorie, R. Campbell, J. Hazlett, F. Meenan, J. Liston, T. Cornish, A. Owen, John Golder, F. A. Cutten, F. W. [unclear: Perre.] E. H. Hart, James Mills, G. Joachim, E. C. Reynolds, James Macandrew (Portobello), A. R. Ure, J. Sinclair-Thomson, C. B. Grierson, James Coates, G. Mondy, H. North, B. C. Haggitt, J. M. Gallaway, W. M [unclear: Hodg]. S. Brent, W. Emery, James Todd, A. A. Finch, W. Fels, D. D. Macdonald, J. P. Armstrong O J Hodge, W. M'Adam, R. Hume, C. Ziele, R. Hay, J. Mollison, G. C. Matheson, A. Sligo, H. Wise. I. Selby, T. Scott, D. Heenan, A. Lees, C. S. Reeves, J. R. Monson, D. Haynes, D. Baxter, W. Patrick, J. P. Maitland, W. Dallas (chairman of the Clutha County Council), A. Wilson, A. Mowat, James Hegg, T. W. Whitson, W. R. Perston, Hislop, G. Grant, P. Duncan, S. N. Brown, J. C. Buckland (Strath-Taieri), J. Timpson, A. J. Barth, A. Hamilton, W. L. Simpson, P. Keligher, C. Sonntag, J. P. Simon, A. M'Diarmid, W. Milne, J. Rennie, J. H. Chapman, P. Miller, J. Mathews. A. Tapper, Detectives Henderson and M'Grath, and many others. The *cortège* was fully a mile long, and the time it took to pass given points varied from 30 to 40 minutes. It is estimated that from 6000 to 7000 persons took part in the procession, while there must have been 15,000 people in George and Princes streets thronging the pavements as the *cortège* passed along, a dense mass gathering in the Octagon, and another large mass in Custom House square. The funeral was undoubtedly the largest ever seen in Otago, and most probably the largest that has ever taken place in New Zealand. A visitor to Dunedin at the present time states that he has only seen two funeral in the colonies which could compare with that of Dr Stuart, and both of these were funerals in Australian capitals of the victims of disasters which evoked widespread feeling of sympathy.

## The Ceremony at the Grave.

For a considerable time before the procession reached the cemetery large crowds of people had gathered in the immediate vicinity, some thousands viewing the spectacle from the high vantage point afforded by that portion of the Town Belt overlooking the burial ground. Into this the general public, however, were not admitted until after the arrival of the *cortège*, a large number of the police force and some of the corporation employees being told off to watch the gates and openings in the fences with the object of preventing people from entering the cemetery. When the procession arrived at the gates, owing to the excellence of the arrangements, very little crushing took place, and the North Dunedin Rifles formed an enclosure in front of the place of interment so as to prevent any crushing there. The coffin was carried to the grave on the shoulders of six members of the Highland Rifle Corps, and after it had been lowered into the grave by the pall-bearers, the Rev. A. Cameron read some passages from the Psalms and the New Testament. The Rev. W. Will subsequently engaged in prayer, the service being brought to a conclusion by the Rev. R. R. M. Sutherland pronouncing the benediction. A couple of floral wreaths were then placed on the coffin by two of Dr Stuart's grandchildren; and when the grave had been filled in a large mound about three feet in height was formed on top with the floral

offerings of school children and others who attended the funeral. When the burial service was over a very large number of people gathered eagerly round the grave to get a view of the last resting place of him whose death is now so generally mourned.

## The Memorial Services.

### KNOX CHURCH.

A memorial service to the late Rev. Donald M'Naughton Stuart, D.D., was held in Knox Church on Sunday morning, and was attended by a congregation of some fifteen hundred persons, the church being crowded. Almost all the members of the congregation wore black, and many of the ladies appeared in deep mourning. The service was conducted by the Rev. Dr Watt, and the following gentlemen occupied seats on the pulpit dais:—Hon. W. D. Stewart, Messrs E. B. Cargill, R. Chisholm, Alex. Burt, James Mason, G. L. Denniston, Gardiner, R. Giendining. Wm. Hutchison, M.H.R., Wm. Stuart, G. M. Thomson, John Reid, R. Sutherland, F. Shaw, Johnstone, P. G. Pryde, W. Hislop, G. Calder, C. M'Kenzie Gordon, W. D Sutherland, W. B. Harlow, E. Smith. T. Moodie, W. Simpson, Rev. Dr Dunlop, Rev. Dr Belcher, and Rev. James Chisholm.

The service opened with the 23rd Psalm; the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy was read as the first, and the 15th chapter of First Corinthians, from the 35th verse, as the second lesson. The hymns were the 411th and the 391st.

The Rev. Dr WATT preached from Acts xiii, 36: "For David after he had served his own generation by the will of God fell on sleep." Towards the close of his discourse, referring to the late Rev. Dr Stuart, the preacher said:—This morning, from the vacant pulpit of your late revered pastor and my own warm friend of 30 years' standing—a pulpit from which I have often heard him eulogising the gifts and graces of friends who have passed over to the majority,—I had intended to say a few—surely needless—words in commendation of his own noble Christian character and of the splendid work which he has been privileged to accomplish in this community. I find, however, my duty anticipated, and I feel as if to open my mouth on the subject were a work of supererogation. My feeble testimony would be inaudible in the remarkable chorus of loud and unanimous praise which has come from all hands to salute his memory. I may, however, record my belief that years will come and go to be numbered by scores, before another citizen will be found pacing the streets of Dunedin who will fill so large a place in the public eye. There will be found in the coming as in the past years men of worth and standing, with now and then a man of commanding genius, with whom, after they have [unclear: faith] served their generation, the communi[unclear: ty] part with deep regret—God will [unclear: never] Himself without those who will [unclear: wi] and work for Him in Chur[unclear: ch] State;—but let me again record with [unclear: defer] my conviction that for many long years [unclear: to] there will not be seen in Dunedin anoth[unclear: er] will unite in himself the wonderful combination of qualities Dr Stuart possessed, and [unclear: who] succeed in so remarkable a manner in [unclear: m] his personal influence felt through all [unclear: classes] his fellow citizens. There is already [unclear: tak] some worthy memorial of him being set [unclear: up] I sincerely hope that it will be done, [unclear: not] much for his sake as for the sake of the [unclear: yo] who are growing up around, and who oug[unclear: ht] be taught to emulate and imitate exampl[unclear: es] civic worth and public spirit. Still, as someone has already felicitously quoted: "*Si [unclear: mo] tum quæris, circumspice*" What useful [unclear: instion] is there in Dunedin which has not received the shaping touch of Dr Stuart's hand—[unclear: if] did not give it the instant impulse? Dunedin largely owes to him, with the help of other worthy citizens—some of them departed [unclear: a] some of them still with us, and whose [unclear: l] help he valued higher than any part [unclear: be] privileged to take himself in the matter,[unclear: -] of our most prominent public buildin[unclear: gs] as the Boys' High School, the Universi[unclear: ty], the noble church in which we are [unclear: now] and we may fairly say that his [unclear: name] remain for many years to come written [unclear: in] large and legible characters across the [unclear: face] our fair city. Dunedin herself will [unclear: re] long a monument to his memory [unclear: unless] sink out of sight, swallowed up in some [unclear: gr] cataclysm of Nature. If he himself [unclear: were] suited, the monument he would like [unclear: best] carry down his memory to coming years in this city would be Knox Church continui[unclear: ng] same spiritual force as when he presid[unclear: ed] her various organisations. He loved his [unclear: chu] with a passionate love, and was proud [unclear: of] with surely an innocent and pardonable, [unclear: if] even praiseworthy, pride. She was his spiritual home, to which he always return[unclear: ed] pleasure from his excursions into other fields of philanthropic effort and social usefulness. [unclear: H] often spoke to me of his office-bearers, [unclear: wh] co-operation in the work of Christ be [unclear: val] highly; and he lost no opportunity of mentioning with affection those of [unclear: the] who had

gone before and joined the [unclear: General] Assembly and Church of the Firstborn. I took more than once particular notice of the [unclear: xiety], amounting to even anguish of spirit, with which he regarded those whom he was introducing to the fellowship of the church for the first time. He evidently wrestled hard in [unclear: prayer] for them that they might hold true, and think I learned something of the meaning of the remarkable words of Paul: "My little children, of whom I travail in birth till Chri[unclear: st] formed in you." There are many here to-day whom he was privileged to receive into the communion of the church—some, perhaps, whose hair is now turning grey. Let me [unclear: treat] you for his sake to stand fast, to stand true to yourselves and to give him, on the great day that is coming, the opportunity of presenting you faultless before God as his [unclear: crown] of joy and rejoicing. And if there is [unclear: say] this church to-day who has heard the Gospel from his lips again and again, receiving the message to reject it with indifference, will you not remember that being dead he yet [unclear: speaketh] to you in that message, and will you not now receive it after the voice of the messenger is silent? and will you not give him where he is, before the throne, the joy of Knowing that though he is dead the words spoken by him still live, and is the power of God unto salvation to you. Your pastor and fed is now fallen asleep in Jesus, and He giveth His beloved sleep.

Of all the thoughts of God that are  
Borne inward unto souls afar  
Along the Psalmist's music deep,  
Now tell me if that any is,  
For gift or grace, surpassing this—  
"He giveth His beloved sleep."

What would we give to our beloved?—  
The hero's heart to be unmoved,  
The poet's star-tuned harp to sweep,  
The patriot's voice, to teach and rouse,  
The monarch's crown, to light the brows—  
"He giveth *His* beloved sleep."

What do we give to our beloved?—  
A little faith, all undisproved,  
A little dust, to overweep,  
And bitter memories, to make  
The whole earth blasted for our sake—  
"He giveth *His* beloved sleep."

"Sleep soft, beloved!" we sometimes say,  
But have no tune to charm away  
Sad dreams that through the eye-lids creep:  
But never doleful dream again  
Shall break the happy slumbers, when  
"He giveth *His* beloved sleep."

And friends, dear friends, when it shall be  
That this low breath is gone from me,  
And round my bier ye come to weep,  
Let one, most loving of you all,  
Say, "Not a tear must o'er her fall—

He giveth His beloved sleep."

During the offertory Mr Barth played the Funeral March in C minor (Guilmant), and as the voluntary the Funeral March from "Erocia Symphony" (Beethoven).

## Children's Service.

The children of Knox Church Sabbath Schools assembled in the church in the afternoon, and, accompanied by teachers and friends, entirely filled the body of the building.

The Rev. D. BORRIE. who took for his text Hebrews xi, 4—"He being dead, yet speaketh"—said: Dear Boys and Girls,—I am here to-day to express my deep sympathy with you in your sore bereavement by the death of your much beloved minister, Dr Stuart. I can do this with my whole heart, for I too feel bereaved. I too have lost my friend and father with whom I often took sweet counsel. Allow me, not only in my own name but in the name of many outside Knox Church—in the name of many Sabbath school teachers and scholars—to express our sympathy with you in your loss. We pray that God himself may comfort and bless you in this your great sorrow, and that you may know the sympathy and fellowship of Jesus, the great sympathiser. Dr Stuart is dead, but he still speaks to you by his life and character, by his words and works, remember; and Jesus lives and says, "My grace is sufficient for you," "My grace is made perfect in your weakness." He has promised, "Lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world"; "I will never leave you nor forsake you." May you remember and realise this. But I am here to do more than to sympathise with you, I have to say something about our departed friend and father, and to draw lessons from his life and character. This is a thing sanctioned by Scripture, a great part of which is taken up with the lives of good men, and surely we may refer to good men still and show what God has done for and by them, not for the glorification of the men themselves, but for our own instruction and to the glory of His Grace, who not only made them to be accepted in the Beloved, but hath made them what they were, and enabled them to do their good work. My text, then to-day is, "Dr Stuart being dead, yet speaketh Now, you do not need me to tell you about Dr Stuart, for you know more of his love and goodness than I do. You knew his large, loving heart, so full of kindness to all; you knew his love for the children, and his deep interest in all that concerns them; you knew that he was foremost in every good word and work. If I were to describe his character I would say that he was a Barnabas—the son of Consolation, a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith; and that, like Persis the beloved, he laboured much in the Lord: for Dr Stuart was indeed a son of Consolation, was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith. He was a true bishop of blameless character—apt to teach, a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate: a man thoroughly furnished to every good work. He was, indeed, a good and a great man, and we might say, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel,"—a man and a Christian minister, who will be missed by your children, by Knox Church congregation, by the whole Presbyterian community of Otago and Southland, by all the churches of Christ in this city, by every good cause, for many a day; and who is truly mourned for by all classes through-out the land. I did not, however, come here to eulogise our dear departed friend and father, for he does not need our praise; and yet, as one who knew him intimately and loved him well, I may be permitted to add my testimony to his worth and to lay one small wreath on his grave. But I am anxious to draw lessons from his life and work that we might learn, like him, to live nobly—that you young people might learn to follow in his footsteps, as he followed in the footsteps of Jesus. And if from his place in glory he sees us here now, if in spirit he is present to-day, I am sure this would be more pleasing to him than saying good things about himself. The Rev. Mr Borrie then spoke to the children of Dr Stuart's early home, of his early consecration to Christ, of his integrity of character, of his perseverance and untiring industry, his liberal studies, his kindness of spirit and great-hearted generosity, and, concluding, said:—"All Dr Stuart's labours were for others and for the cause of Christ. When you think of the meetings he attended, of the visits he paid, of the letters he wrote—he was always writing letters, in season and out of season)—of the visits and interruptions he endured, of the marriages he solemnised, of the funerals he officiated at, his labours were truly great. He was always at it I have been to his study at all hours and never found him idle, and seldom resting. He was mostly busy, with pen in hand, correcting exercises or matter for the press, directing newspapers and periodicals, filling up forms, or writing letters. He was the busiest man I ever met with. He was not slothful in business, fervent in spirit serving the Lord. 'Seest thou a man diligent in business, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men,' and 'the home of the diligent maketh rich.' Dr Stuart is rich to-day in good works that shall be his crown of rejoicing in the day of Christ, and he stands to-day before the King of Kings. Truly, like 'Persis, the beloved, he laboured much in the Lord,' and copied his Master in continually doing good. And his message to you and me is to be up and doing while it is day, for the night

cometh when no one can work. And what shall I say more, for time fails me to point the lessons from the life and character of our departed friend and your minister? He, being dead, yet speaks to you in many ways. But he is dead—he sleeps in Jesus. He rests from his labours. He has gone home to be with Christ, which is far better. 'Having served his generation, by the will of God he fe[unclear: ll] Yes, he is at rest, and dwells forever wi[unclear: th] Lord he loved and served so well. So [unclear: we] well say "Servant of God, well do[unclear: ne]." do not mourn for him as those who [unclear: have] hope, for we believe that Jesus died [unclear: and] again, and those also that sleep in [unclear: Jesus] will bring with him. We shall [unclear: meet] We would not have him back, but rather thank God that he gave him to us so long grace enabled him to do so much, And [unclear: at] took him to Himself. May we hear him [unclear: sping] to us to-day! May we seek to follow [unclear: in] footsteps, as he followed Christ! May [unclear: we], seek to win, through grace, the welco[unclear: me] done, good and faithful servant, enter [unclear: th] the joy of your Lord!"

## Evening Service.

In the evening there was an [unclear: overflow] congregation. The gallery and body of church were almost filled before the bel[unclear: ls] [unclear: menced] to ring out the summons to [unclear: wo] and the building was not only crowded [unclear: in] part before 6.30 p.m.—forms and chai[unclear: rs] brought in for the accommodation of [unclear: a] of persons, while others were conte[unclear: nt] standing room, and remained on the[unclear: ir] throughout the service,—but hundred of [unclear: pe] were unable to gain admission. The [unclear: pulp] occupied by the Rev. J. Chisholm, of [unclear: Mi] who preached from the text Hebrews [unclear: xiii] 8 (revised version): "Remember them [unclear: that] the rule over you," and the words follow[unclear: ing] said:—The death of Dr Stuart will [unclear: be] felt in Dunedin. He was wont to speak [unclear: of] in Scott's phrase, as "Mine own own town" He worked loyally to advan[unclear: ce] highest interests. There is hardly an [unclear: institution] that does not owe something to his [unclear: cou] and energy. But the shadow of his loss [unclear: w] like an eclipse over the whole province, [unclear: daing] many a home. His name is a [unclear: hou] word among us—it is linked by [unclear: bri] baptism to many a fireside. Along wi[unclear: th] tear that gathers in the eye at thought [unclear: of] death, there will start up memories [unclear: of] little mannerism or quaint utterance, and sto[unclear: ry] of how he acted at toe christening [unclear: or] he said at the wedding will be told an[unclear: ew] weeping and with laughter. He stood in [unclear: ev] pulpit of our order from the Waitaki [unclear: to] Bluff, and there are reminiscences [unclear: of] hearty word spoken or some timely [unclear: s] ungrudgingly rendered in every congregation. His [unclear: plaided] form seemed always to remi[unclear: nd] of the breezy hillsides, the pine woods, [unclear: and] heather of his native land. His sunny [unclear: face], cheery manner, his forceful talk, [unclear: bore] them a kind of inspiration. Drooping [unclear: sp] seemed to rally in his presence. All [unclear: lim] of energy stiffened when he was by into [unclear: cour] and hope. He was

*[unclear: One] who never turned his back, but marched breast forwards;  
Never doubted clouds would break;  
[unclear: ver] dreamed though right was worsted wrong would triumph;  
[unclear: ld] we fall to rise, are buffeted to fight better, Sleep to wake.*

Long before the first step was taken to establish a second Presbyterian Church in Dunedin, God was preparing a man to be its first minister. The requirements set down for the guidance of [unclear: those] at Home who were asked to select a [unclear: ister] for the new charge were briefly these: He was be a man with a fresh, genial natu[unclear: re] attract the young; a liberal-minded man, with sympathies, easy of access to all [unclear: ses] a man in vigorous health, not too [unclear: young] with a varied experience of human [unclear: affairs] These very requirements were being get ready during all the years that young Stuart [unclear: d] amid the often adverse and always conditions, which helped to develop [unclear: ust] and valiant and many-sided [unclear: personality]. The providence and grace of the church's [unclear: ble] head worked marvellously together, and when the call came the man was ready. We re to see for a little how the needed equipment was provided and how it came to be [unclear: supplied]. He was born at a small village call[unclear: ed] in the Highlands of Perthshire. His [unclear: er], a staid, God-fearing man, and much [unclear: suspected] by his neighbours, was a stonemason [unclear: trade]. His mother was a tall, spare woman, with an earnest face and a tender look in her [unclear: eye]. Both had to toil hard and stint themselves in order to make a small income over the [unclear: needs] of 11 children. It was a pious home. Family worship was never missed. Those who have had no experience of this element in [unclear: Feetish] piety may read of it in the "Cottar's Saturday Night." Burns has given us there a [unclear: ture] which has all his vividness—the rich [unclear: r] the varied

movement, the pathetic in-[unclear: t]-of real life. There was the singing [unclear: of] Psalm, the reading of a lesson from the sacred page, the prayer that winged the soul to loftiest [unclear: outlook]

From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,  
Which makes her loved, revered abroad.

Amid such influence gentle spirits are nurtur[unclear: ed] grow through the coming years to the nature of heroes. David Livingstone felt the spell of home piety all through his wanderings. That scene, photographed on the heart of the [unclear: civilised] world, of the worn-out traveller kneeling by his bedside at Ilala, in the heart of Africa, was but the end of a subtle chain whose [unclear: t] link was forged and fastened in the [unclear: home] Blantyre. When not long ago I climbed the circular stairs and stood in the little room where great missionary was born, and afterwards the epitaph which they have graven on the black marble in Westminster Abbey, I thanked God for the pleasant homes of Scotland with their frugal living, their simple pieties, and their sturdy virtues. What Dr Stuart became amongst us here was very much the ripe result of the seed that had been sown in the home of his childhood. He went to school for a while, but when nine years of age was sent to eke out the scanty resources of the household by herding cows. The farmer liked him, and wanted to engage him for another year, but the place was deemed unsuitable, and he returned to home and school again. There is one incident of these days which gives an insight into several things, and shows that the child was father to the man. He was won over, partly by the coaxing and partly by the threats of some older boys, to play truant and go to the woods to gather blackberries. On the way he was enjoined not to tell. He agreed to this, but "if I am asked," he said, "I must speak the truth." Some time after his father went to pay the school fees. The teacher inquired where the boys had been on such and such a day. The father could only reply that they had left home to go to school. When he got back the boy frankly confessed his fault, expressed sincere regret, and submitted with a good grace to the chastisement which, in loving solicitude for his future well-being, the father saw meet to inflict. After his own school days were over he began to teach others. He was wont about this time to carry a bottle of milk to school with the avowed purpose of making his dry bread more palatable at dinner time; but the milk usually found its way to the table of a poor widow near by, whose only son was disabled by asthma. You have all read with what patient valour he fought his way at Leven, and how, surmounting all obstacles, he passed with distinction through an ordinary arts curriculum at the University of St. Andrews. Here, during the long winters, his own earnings were eked out by a little box regularly sent from the old home with cakes and scones and eggs and butter, "smelling of flora and the country green." The colour that had faded through burning the midnight oil came sooner back to the pale cheeks of the student when he got away for a brief rest to his boyish haunts from the fact that he had used to good purpose the strength and courage which the home supplies invariably yielded. During the summer vacations he taught a school or travelled here and there as tutor, ever keeping his eye and ear open to what was lovely and of good report. In Edinburgh he came for a short time under the spell of Dr Chalmers, and drank deep draughts of inspiration from that greatest of modern Scotchmen—so massive in every noble quality. From the grey metropolis of the north he went to the sunnier south, and did good educational work at Windsor. Thence he passed to London, where he studied theology and kindred subjects, and so became fitted by scholarly attainments for the work of the Christian ministry—the goal which he had kept steadily in view from the beginning, and towards which all his past efforts had been persistently directed. Ere long he was settled in Falstone, where he was brought into contact with men of a primitive type: grave shepherds many of them, who had leisure to meditate on the deep things of God. I called when at Home on Dr Marcus Dods with a letter of introduction from your late minister. Dods, as some of you know, is a professor of high standing and one of the most trusted leaders in New Testament criticism at the present time. He hails from the borders, and knows the district on Tyneside where Stuart laboured. His face lit up at once with a fine, appreciative glow when he saw the familiar handwriting. He spoke in the heartiest terms of our common friend, and urged me, if it were possible, to visit Falstone. "Man," said he, "the very dogs go to kirk there. The young minister soon endeared himself to the people and commended the Gospel not only by his vigorous preaching but by his devoted life. He took a keen interest also in education—not only saw that there were schools for the children, but, what was even more characteristic, tried to remove all hindrances, whether of a physical or a moral kind, out of the way of children going to school. A friend told me the other day that when he was at Home he saw a wooden bridge which had been erected over the Tyne, chiefly by the efforts of Stuart, for the convenience of scholars. And every year since he came to Dunedin he has sent Home a pound to keep that bridge tarred and in good repair. While there the call to Knox Church found him. He had been attracted to colonial life. His vivid imagination loved to picture the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth Rock and the building amid the primeval forest of "villages which are now opulent cities, but which have through every change retained some trace of the character derived from their founders." He deemed it a rare privilege to live at the beginnings and have a hand in shaping the destinies of national life. He knew that in the old country other things besides freedom had broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent. Here he felt we were young, our affairs plastic, and much might be done to shape and guide national life to finer forms and

better issues than had yet been reached in older lands. Thus he came amongst us well equipped for his great work, with the precise requirements which had been sketched by the foresight of those who may be justly regarded as the fathers of this congregation. Hew were his gifts and graces applied? As a member of his Bible class I can speak from experience of his work amongst the young. He was never tiresome, always fresh and stimulating. He got most of us to write short essays on prescribed [unclear: them] There was clear proof when these [unclear: were] back that they had been carefully read. [unclear: Th] was always a footnote with some word of [unclear: c] He marked the tiniest bud of promi[unclear: se], flooded it with the sunshine of his [unclear: approval]. The corner of Old Knox Church wh[unclear: ere] of young communicants sat one summer evening is sacred ground to me. It was [unclear: near] communion, and we were looking forw[unclear: ard] a certain tremulous desire to commemorate dying love of Jesus. The tones of our [unclear: bel] pastor grew more solemn and tender [unclear: as] the shades of night deepened. He seemed [unclear: to] us to the very foot of the cross. We [unclear: saw] Christ hanging in utter loneliness of sp[unclear: irt] unspeakable agony there. We heard [unclear: a] that seemed calmer than silence pleading us, and our inmost hearts made [unclear: gra] response, "God forbid that I should glo[unclear: ry] in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." loved, as you all know, to preach the [unclear: Gov] He had faith in its efficacy. It made [unclear: him] hopeful man he was. He could never [unclear: des] of even the worst, seeing that Christ's [unclear: him] had been shed to atone for sin, and [unclear: His] and glorified manhood, with its gene[unclear: ral] experience of earthly toil and temptation [unclear: and] and sorrow was now on the throne of [unclear: the] verse. He held his Presbyterianism in subordination to the Gospel, deeming it in according with the Word of God, fitted to give expression to the rights of the Christian people, [unclear: and] furnish effective means of bringing [unclear: the] searchable riches of Christ to bear on the [unclear: b] and lives of all. On one occasion he had [unclear: been] speaking with his usual enthusiasm about the blue banner, when Justice Richmond, [unclear: who] sitting beside him, said, "I like to see you waving it over me, so long as you keep it [unclear: wav] under the glorious banner of the [unclear: Gospel] "That," he replied, "is what I alw[unclear: ays]. He regarded the Presbyterian Church as regiment in that consecrated host which [unclear: no] can number. It had its own banner, [unclear: its] uniform, its own forms of drill and [unclear: discip] its own methods of carrying on the gre[unclear: at] fare against evil and bringing the wo[unclear: rld] subjection to Christ. His own experien[unclear: ce] his wide reading in church history [unclear: convi] him that the Presbyterian Church had [unclear: b] used by God to do a noble work in the old [unclear: wo] and the new. But he never dreamt of [unclear: unching] others because, forsooth, their banner different in shape or colour from his o[unclear: wn], because the kind of weapons they used, or their mode of handling these, did not meet with the approval. The one great end was to get [unclear: h] souls, in the name of Jesus Christ and through the power of His Holy Spirit into the death grapple with sin. He was jubilant th[unclear: en] he well knew on whose side the victory [unclear: would] lie. His many and valuable services in the cause of education were with the same intent He worked on the lines laid down by the [unclear: ottish] Reformers. He was never weary landing their enlightened zeal in seeking to [unclear: tablish] a school in every parish and a college In every notable town to lead up to the national universities. That was his model. His time and energy were freely given to adapt it to our new [unclear: conditions]. Ignorance he was sure could ne[unclear: ver] the mother of devotion. Every spark of truth and very shred of reality must help to reveal the highest, and beget in men's hearts a deeper [unclear: erence] and in their lives a more acceptable worship Knowledge, he felt, was the hand-Eden of religion, only she must know her place She is the second, not the first.

A higher hand must make her mild,  
 If all be not in vain, and guide  
 Her footsteps, moving side by side  
 With Wisdom, like the younger child.

No one insisted more than he on the fact that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." He knew well that learning was but a [unclear: will-the-wisp] and life an utter failure apart from the "wisdom that cometh from above, which is first pure, then peacable, gentle and easy to be entrusted, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy." Further, by his widespread activities in visiting the sick, in relieving the destitute, in comforting bereaved, in shedding the light of kindly sympathy into despairing hearts and darkened homes, in lifting the fallen and luring them into the paths of virtue, he was but seeking to bring the manifold grace of God to bear on the varied needs of humanity. The spring of his tireless philanthropy was in the Gospel. It was the love of Christ that constrained him. We regard [unclear: as] his highest claim to our reverence and love the fact that he was a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, Considering his manner of life let us imitate his faith. He believed in Jesus Christ, and gave himself in free, joyful surrender to do his bidding. It

must have seemed sometimes a hopeless task to do all the work that was laid to his hand. How was he with his few loaves and fishes to feed such a multitude? He never wasted time or courted failure by idle questioning. He just set about doing what he could, giving he had, and his resources increased, and became wonderfully adequate to meet the demands that were upon him. He exemplified a mighty truth which our weak faith is apt to let slip: that the way to get more in the Kingdom of God is to use with diligence and fidelity what we already possess. "To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have [unclear: ouldantly]." Because of his faith in Jesus Christ he had faith in the possibilities of human nature. He did not stand aloof from his fellows in any exceptional or self-righteous mood and coolly criticise their failings. The [unclear: eer] of the cynic was never on his lips. He drew out what was best in men by trusting them to the utmost. And thus he exemplified another great truth of the Kingdom, "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." His faith taught him that where sin abounded grace did much more abound. It gave him some insight into the dimensions of redeeming love and clothed him with a beautiful humility. He said to me when nearing the end, "The prayer that seems to suit me best is just the prayer of the publican, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' The text that keeps repeating itself to my mind is this, 'Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptance that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.' Oh, Chisholm, I am content now to take the lowest place in His Kingdom, and would fain creep in to kiss His feet." He has gone. To the last he stood at his post. He would not lay down his weapons, or unclasp any part of the armour that had been dented in many a struggle. Time and Death alone unharnessed our Christian knight and laid him to sleep. And who will grudge him his repose? Grief is apt to be selfish, and bereaved hearts will continue to sigh for the touch of a vanished hand and the sound of a voice that is still. Our loss we should remember is his gain; and we have much still related to him to be thankful for. His bodily presence is gone, but the stirring example of his Christ-like life, the radiant influence of his unselfish devotion to every good cause, remain. Let us imitate his faith, let us fight the good fight, that we too may lay hold on eternal life!

Into a murky chamber I beheld  
Enter an armed warrior, bowed with eld,  
With harness battered as in mortal fight,  
Who to the twain there watching sadly said:  
"A solitary man, I ride on quest  
All unachieved, and with you fain would rest  
A little space, for sore am I bestead."  
Then rose the twain—the one with mournful face  
Yet beautiful, the other gaunt and grey—  
Said: "Take thy rest, hence none are turned away,  
Hence none may pass;" then softly did unbrace  
His armour, whispering, "Rest, thou weary one,  
Here in this quiet house; thy quest is done."

Aye! and Time and Death in thus gently un-harnessing our Christian knight were but the messengers of Jesus Christ, in whose blessed presence his glorified spirit now suns itself, while his body, being still united to Christ, rests under His faithful watch and ward till the resurrection morn. What, in a word, then, is the great lesson of his life? It is this, verified by an ever-increasing cloud of witnesses, that all might, and varied power for well-doing, come to the man in whose heart Christ dwells by faith. Ah, brothers, amid the cross currents and surface billows, that are stirred by the passing winds and often buffet us, we may lose ourselves, and be drifted hither and thither, and tossed on the cruel rocks at last; but we may, all of us, if we will have it so, feel the ground-swell of divine grace, the deep current of eternal love, that sets steadily to the desired haven. It was to this he committed himself. It is present and available for all of us in such grand words as these: Jesus Christ is the same yesterday as to-day and for ever. He is able to make all grace abound unto you, that ye having always all sufficiency in everything may abound unto every good work.

The musical portion of the service, during which many of the congregation were deeply affected, again had special reference to the occasion. The preliminary voluntary, played by Mr Barth, was "Oh, rest in the Lord"; the anthem was "What are these" (Stainer); and the out-going voluntaries were Handel's "Dead March," during which the whole of the vast congregation remained standing, and Beethoven's "Funeral March." The collections for the day, which were in aid of the poor of the congregation, amounted £54 11s 3d.

**ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL**

At St. Paul's Church on Sunday the Ven. Archdeacon Edwards preached from Revelations iv, 8: "They rest not day and night, saying Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." The Archdeacon said *inter alia* in reference to the late pastor of Knox Church:—"I wish to say a few words about that striking figure that has passed away. Of course I refer to Dr Stuart. During the many years I have been in Dunedin I have been present at several public funerals which have been largely attended, but not one to be compared with his, when so many of all classes, rich and poor, high and low, were to be seen in the procession; and they were there not because they had been requested to attend, but because they were mourners indeed. Now, why was this? Because Dr Stuart had endeared himself to them by the many noble and Christian qualities that adorned his character. His whole life was spent, not only in doing good to the souls, but also to the bodies of men. He was ever ready to rejoice with those that rejoice, and weep with those that weep. As to his generosity, it was boundless. As I walked in that enormous procession that followed him to the grave, my thoughts reverted to a public funeral which left this church nearly five and twenty years ago—viz., that of Mr Patterson, an eminent civil engineer, who was drowned in a small stream near Oamaru. He was a member of the English Church. Mr Balfour, also a civil engineer (a shipmate of his from Scotland, where they had been schoolfellows and dear friends), hearing the news of Mr Patterson's death, was hurrying from Christchurch to attend the funeral when he too met the same fate, being drowned off Oamaru when landing from the steamer. His body, being recovered, was brought to Dunedin, and, being a leading member of Knox Church, [unclear: than] was a Presbyterian service, at which I was [unclear: prese] and at which Dr Stuart officiated before [unclear: star] for the cemetery. At the request of his [unclear: fris] I willingly consented to allow his body [unclear: to] by that of Mr Patterson. Dr Stuart accompanied me to the cemetery, where I [unclear: read] service at the grave. I mention this to [unclear: s] the large-hearted Christian liberality which marked the whole life of Dr Stuart. [unclear: lu] add that it is gratifying to me to [unclear: make] following quotation from the published [unclear: hi] of Knox Church:—"Archdeacon Edwar[unclear: ds] from first to last maintained the most [unclear: pleasant] and kindly relations with the minister and [unclear: gregation] of Knox Church, and has [unclear: o] manifested his sympathy by his [unclear: presen] among them on occasions both of rejoicing mourning.' Dr Stuart has gone to [unclear: that] remaineth to the people of God, and has left in the hearts of those that loved him memory that will never die."

## TRINITY WESLEVAN CHURCH.

At Trinity Wesleyan Church on Sun[unclear: day] Rev. J. Newman Buttle preached a [unclear: discount] on "The Enduring Life," taking his text [unclear: from] John xii, 23, 26. He dwelt specially [unclear: upon] portion of the text which says, "He that [unclear: lo] his life shall lose it; and he that hateth [unclear: his] in this world shall keep it unto life [unclear: eter] This passage, he pointed out, contain[unclear: ed] principle of the enduring life. The examples of the operation of this principle, he observed were so numerous that a selection became [unclear: dis] cult, but he referred to the lives of [unclear: Joh] Howard, William Wilberforce, David [unclear: Livi] stone, Dr Brown, the missionary, and Dr [unclear: Staurt] as examples; and more especially to the liv[unclear: es] the two latter. In alluding to Dr Stua[unclear: rt], said it seemed that their old friend had caug[unclear: ht] his inspiration from God's truth when [unclear: he] led to live the life that he did, and to [unclear: accomplish] the work he did in their mid[unclear: st], although they loved to have him with [unclear: there] and rejoiced in his labour, although his [unclear: wa] was a distinct advantage to this [unclear: Present] moment, and although they mourned [unclear: with] heartfelt grief for his death, yet out of all [unclear: th] there would come a more fruitful blessing and in the days that were to come they would see the harvest of the seed-sowing of their [unclear: de] friend who had gone home to God. Most of them knew the doctor in his private life—some perhaps, very intimately. They rejoiced in [unclear: his] friendship, and they felt that in him there [unclear: was] one in whose heart there was sympathy everyone who was in trouble. He had a [unclear: wa] of counsel for all who needed it, and encouragement for all those whose spirits drooped by the way. It was because of the wonderful sympathy in the man's heart that they drawn to him. It was Christlike, and therefore it had a power over men's hearts. [unclear: Th] connected with his own congregation would realise too, how great their loss was at this present moment, for he gave to that church and congregation long years of devoted, [unclear: self-ficing] labour; and it seemed that the partner of his life—his young wife—was taken home at the commencement of his career that he might give a more undivided attention to his congregation, and he responded in that call. And so in connection with that church there had been established and maintained through all these years all the agencies which were suggested by the necessities of our time. After referring to the various agencies of the church, the preacher proceeded to say that the intense grief manifested by the congregation at the doctor's funeral showed how strongly his life had taken hold of the people of his church. And now his labours seemed to have been cut short, his work was done, and he had gone home to [unclear: heaven]. And what was going to be the result of it? He believed that by his life he had given to his congregation

such an illustration of devotion God and the cause of humanity that it would be a distinct and decided benefit to the whole community. In the lives of scores of citizens of this place, especially in the lives of young people, there had been such a powerful illustration of his text that night that many would say: "If leading a life like Dr Stuart means being a Christian, I shall be one with Christ."

## GARRISON HALL.

At the Garrison Hall on Sunday a service in memory of the late Mrs Captain Best was held, there being a large number present. The Rev. Mr Ready in the course of his remarks referred to the many excellent Christian qualities which characterised the deceased lady's life, and the fortitude and resignation with which she had [unclear: horne] the illness which eventuated in her death. He also mentioned that her husband, the late Captain Best, who perished in the ill-fated [unclear: kaknui], was a member of that congregation, Etbe last sermon he had heard on earth was delivered at one of their services in the Rattray [unclear: eet] Hall. Mr Ready, before concluding, also referred to the late Dr Stuart, speaking as follows:—"We have been called upon to sustain a great loss in the death of our dear and beloved Dr Stuart. The best eulogy that can possibly be given to the doctor was the expression of universal sympathy manifested last Wednesday at his funeral. In character he was humble, gentle, and generous. Although he took a leading part in all Christian and philanthropic work there was no ostentation in his spirit or bearing. Most affectionately he went in and out among his brethren and his fellow-citizens. He was a man greatly beloved. His sympathies were as wide as the Cross. His heart was strange to no man's heart, for no heart was beyond his sympathy. Little children received his benedictions, and men and women struggling with the worries and anxieties of life his counsel and help. He was kind and courteous to all. He was a man of liberal sentiment, of broad and Catholic sympathies—no narrow sectarian was he; his heart was too warm and too big for that. He was deeply interested in the work and progress of every good institution and church. His death is a national loss to us. We will miss him. A good minister of Jesus Christ, a kind brother, and a valued citizen is gone from our midst. All churches will miss his wise counsel, his generous help, his warm sympathy and his genial presence. We deeply sympathise with the congregation at Knox Church. There is no doubt many of them feel, to say as Dr Pierson said concerning the death of C. H. Spurgeon, 'When God made Spurgeon He broke the mould.' It is questionable whether the congregation will find another Dr Stuart. But it is not all darkness; a Divine light rests upon this scene of sorrow. 'We sorrow not even as others which have no hope.' Our dear friend, brother, minister is gone from us, but he is gone to Christ. The loss is ours, the gain is his. John Foster calls death 'a radiant idea.' The holy, happy dead are 'like the stars by day—withdrawn from mortal eye, but not extinct: they hold on their way in glory through the sky.' Our friend is still ours—'not lost, but gone before.' Farewell, dear brother and friend. Thy memory will long be fragrant. Thy 'works will follow thee,' a potent influence for good in the midst of men. Thy happy spirit is ascended to those that are 'perfect.' One more motive have we who still tread the pilgrim's path to the celestial country, in the prospect of meeting our sainted friend, brother, citizen, minister there."

Front Cover

Back Cover

### New Story of the Stars

By A. W. Bickerton

Associate, late Royal Exhibitioner and Senior Queen's Scholar, Royal School of Mines, London; First Place Man in Organic and Inorganic Chemistry and Chemical Analysis, Royal College of Chemistry; National Medallist in Plain, Practical and Descriptive Geometry, in Mechanical and Machine Drawing and in Applied Mechanics, and Prize Student Science and Art Department, South Kensington; Professor of Chemistry and Physics, Canterbury College, Christchurch; Colonial Analyst, New Zealand

Portion of a Diagram showing the mode of the Origin of Temporary and Variable Stars, printed in 1879. The Triplicity of the new star in the chariot and the high velocity of two of its components demonstrated by the Astronomers of Europe and America in the year 1892. Christchurch, N.Z. Whitcombe & Tombs Limited Bickerton Brothers 1894

Wainoni Park, Christchurch,

May 27th, 1907.

To,  
Sir,  
Robert Stout,  
Sir,

I have made many attempts to interest you in The theory of Constructive Impact. But apparently you look upon it as a fad, so you have not troubled to give any study to the work. Your official position, especially that of Chancellor; renders it very important that you should understand at least one especial fundamental idea of the theory. (that of the formation of a third body in a grazing collision.)

This idea has been at once accepted by scores of eminent scientists to whom the theory has been submitted. But as the whole theory involves close on a hundred overlooked principles of science, this one idea is forgotten when it might be used. Hence, although this one principle would answer some scores of astronomical enigmas, it is not used to answer them. Sir, Robert Ball, (The Earth's Beginning "bottom of page 355,) says:-"that partial collisions must be enormously more frequent than complete ones."

At the middle of page. 354 he shows-"that this was probably the origin of the nebula that originated the Solar System."

At the end of page 356,-speaking of Nova Persei in this respect he says," We have the best reason knowing such an event to contd.

have happened."

He says much more on impact, yet does not mention the existence of the third body,-yet upon this third body all hinges. Both Lord Kelvin, and Lord Rayleigh admitted at once-this third body. Both were intensely interested in the theory. Lord Kelvin after: I had left him, followed me to the Hotel entrance hall, to ask further questions; and on leaving me stated "it was the most beautiful correlation he had ever known."

This cutting shows what he said to Mr, Rouse Martin.

I am enclosing a small pamphlet that is marked in blue, where it treats of the third body. I also send copy of a paper in "Philosophical Magazine" communicated by Sir, W. Rucker. Also the paper published by "Royal Society of Canada".

I should be obliged if you will return this paper, as they only sent me a few copies.

Signature of A. H. Bickerton

Yours very truly

## Lord Kelvin & Lord Rayleigh on Constructive Impact.

### Anglo-Colonial Notes.

(From Our own Correspondent.)

London,

May 18.

"A few evenings ago I happened to meet at a dinner party Lord Kelvin, who may be. I suppose, accurately styled the greatest of all living scientists. In the course of my conversation with him, Lord Kelvin spoke with cordial interest and admiration of the remarkable theory of cosmic genesis by partial impact, given to the world by Professor A. W. Bickerton, of Christchurch. Lord Kelvin regarded it as a magnificent conception, but, with characteristic caution, declined to commit himself as yet to any expression of concurrence or dissent. He expressed warm interest in Professor Bickerton himself, and hearty admiration for his energy and mental powers. He also asked me several questions about Canterbury College, which enjoys the benefit of Professor Bickerton's professorial services."

—*The Press, Christchurch, New Zealand,*

5/7/00.

In a letter dated May 23rd, Lord Kelvin further says:

\* \* \* \* \*

"In answer to your questions as to page 553, I have been so occupied that it has been impossible for me to thoroughly consider the subject, but the views which you state in pp. 68-72 (on the Origin of the Solar system) seem to me quite reasonable."

In a letter dated April 4th, Lord Rayleigh says:

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have only been able to look at it (The Theory of Impact) very cursorily, but it seems that your case has strong points."

## Diagram

TO ILLUSTRATE PROFESSOR BICKERTON'S COSMIC THEORY. showing an Impact of two dead Suns, forming a temporary and two variable Stars. A facsimile of a diagram showing the mode of Birth of a New Star as deduced from the Theory of Impact, printed in 1879, thirteen years before the constitution of such bodies had been demonstrated. The Triplicity of the New Star in the Chariot and the high velocity of two of its components was demonstrated by the Astronomers of Europe and American in 1882. Particulars of this generalization, that includes the origin of the universe, may be obtained from A. W. BICKERTON, Canterbury College University of New Zealand Fig. 1—Pair of stars distorted and coming into impact. Fig. 2—pair of stars in impact. Fig. 3—Stars passing out of impact, and formation of third body. Fig. 4—knowing entanglement of matter in each body. Fig. 5—Two variables and a temporary star.

## A New Story of the Stars.

BY PROFESSOR BICKERTON.

### No. I

## The History and Scope of the Story.

THE birth of a new star in the "Swan" in the year 1877, first directed my attention to the stupendous nature of these bodies, and to the fact that astronomers were entirely at a loss for a sufficient explanation to account for their extraordinary brilliancy and rapid disappearance, the theories current at the time being both inconsistent with the modern conception of energy, and utterly insufficient.

In casting about for an explanation of the almost unthinkable acquisition of heat necessary to suddenly transform the darkness of a dead star into the intense brilliancy of a new born sun, the possibilities of collisions suggested themselves. On investigating the conditions under which collisions would occur, it was quickly apparent that in the majority of cases they would not involve the colliding bodies as a whole but would generally be of a grazing character, and this introduces so many factors that the results show infinite variety. Yet with all this variety there are some very constant peculiarities. Generally three bodies would be produced, and curiously enough it is found that the impact will not appreciably affect the original bodies further than to cut a slice off each; hence to emphasise this peculiarity the theory has been called "Partial Impact."

A grazing impact of two suns will produce three phenomena, the ideas of which are apparently new to science, and judging from the difficulty of securing their recognition they are far from obvious. In the first place a slight graze will not stop the main portions of the colliding stars, or appreciably affect their velocity. The grazing parts will simply be Sheared off, will destroy each other's momentum, and convert their energy of motion into heat, and by the coalescence of the sheared parts a third body will be produced between the two original bodies. Secondly, the temperature produced will not depend on the amount of the shear but simply on the velocity destroyed, and on the chemical composition: that is, a hundredth part cut off will be as hot as a tenth. Thirdly, the stability of the coalesced body will depend on the amount of the graze. If the collision be complete a new single body will be produced that will settle down into a star of diameter not much larger than the sum of the diameters of the original bodies. If the graze is small, the temperature, that is the molecular velocity, will be the same as with a complete collision; but the attractive power of the third body will depend on the mass, and will obviously be less than in the case of a complete collision, It may easily be so small that each

molecule as it reaches the surface will start on a journey never to return; the total attractive force of the mass being too small to stop it. The mass consequently expands with great temporary increase of light; but after a time the nebula produced will become so rare as to give but little light. It will expand into a hollow shell of gas or as it is called, "a planetary nebula," and finally it will often dissipate into space. Hence there is suddenly produced a very-brilliant body that loses its light, not because it has cooled but because it was too hot to hold together. These three phenomena are involved in every case of partial impact, but scores of new conditions come crowding on that complicate the results.

To make these principles known a series of papers on impact were published in 1878, '79, and '80, and some thousands of these papers and letters were sent to scientific men and journals, but as I could get no criticism, nor apparently interest any one in the matter, and as I felt sure someone must re-discover this very prolific field of research, I ceased for a time to make any strong effort to obtain a public recognition of the principles of "Partial Impact." I have, however, given a large number of post graduate and extra collegiate lectures on the subject, and have devoted considerable time to the many mathematical problems the subject introduces.

The earlier phases of Nova Aurigæ corresponded so exactly with the predictions of my papers that it was evidence enough to persuade most of those who knew the theory, of the truth of "Partial Impact." But the last phase must surely convince the most sceptical. As was predicted, it has become a planetary nebula whose nucleus is gradually lessening in brilliancy. Barnard the discoverer of Jupiter's fifth satellite, emphatically states that it was certainly not a nebula when first observed. It is also stated that the nebula has not arisen from either of the two retreating bodies; but the probability of three bodies impacting is altogether so remote that many writers try to escape the dilemma by ignoring the third body altogether. The conception that a graze of two stars *must* produce a third star does not seem to have been recognised.

Nova Aurigæ has proved a veritable Sphinx to astronomers, only it is worse than the Sphinx. It is not satisfied with one enigma but is continually propounding new ones. The first surprise it offered was its duplex character; the next the unprecedented velocities detected in its components; then it was found to be triple; then its light fluctuated in an extraordinary manner; now it is a planetary nebula. In the future "Partial Impact" tells us it will in all probability be found to be two variable stars. Then the nebula will grow larger and larger, fainter and fainter, until it will probably become so faint as to be invisible.

It is most amusing to read the debates on the subject, and the absurd suggestions made to account for the peculiarities of the new star. But it is agreed that these peculiarities have completely exploded all the old text books theories of the origin of temporary stars.

None of these theories ever should have been accepted, even without the evidence of the new star. As I pointed out in 1879, they are absurdly inadequate. A typical new star is probably a thousand times as bright as our sun, it appears suddenly and disappears in a year. How can any theory of local disturbance account for such a stupendous event? Fancy a volcano or a gaseous bonfire a thousand million times as large as the earth; yet these are amongst the explanations suggested to account for new stars. The formation of such a body is difficult enough to explain on any theory except that of impact, but to explain its disappearance is more difficult still. It is estimated that it will take the sun ten million years to lose half its lustre. Think of a sun a thousand times as bright cooling in a year. The idea is absurd. On the other hand, how simple the solution offered by a grazing impact. A pair of dead suns collide. It matters not whether the graze be little or great, it has no appreciable effect on the temperature produced. Each pound weight strikes with some hundred million times as much energy as the same mass would exert in a pair of colliding express trains. The impact produces a temperature ten thousand times as hot as the hottest furnace. The collision is soon over, perhaps in less than an hour, and then the two suns sweep on in their course, whilst the parts grazed off destroy each other's momentum, convert the energy into heat, and stay behind coalesced into a single mass of glowing gas. This under the slight attractive force of the new body is too hot to be stable, and so expands indefinitely.

Heat is a motion of molecules, and in this case every molecule travels so fast that as it reaches the surface it flies straight onward into space, and so the star becomes a mass of diffused gas of feeble luminosity. Nova Aurigæ has now expanded into a hollow sphere that this theory suggests as being possibly about a hundred thousand million miles in diameter, and its light has probably taken five hundred years to reach us.

The two suns after striking would spin in consequence of the blow, and each would have a molten lake of fire where the other cut into it. As the stars rotate they would be like policemen's lanterns spinning on a string; they would shew alternately the hot and cool faces.

How does the account astronomers give us of the new star correspond with these predictions made and published more than a dozen years ago? They tell us Nova Aurigæ appeared suddenly, that it was made up of three bodies, of which two were flying away from each other at the rate of several hundreds of miles per second; it had strange fluctuations of light; and the third body has now expanded into a vast hollow globe of gas, or planetary nebula. Most observers agree in the above salient features of the new star, but there is a good

deal of disagreement in the minor details. The difficulties of the observations are enormous. No telescope has ever been able to separate the two stars; in the most powerful they appear as a single point of light, and in addition to this the workers have no theory to guide them in their search. In fact, they neglect, as untrustworthy because of their apparent improbability, observations that a student of "Partial Impact" would actually look for.

Although a grazing impact seemed the only conceivable event that could either furnish the enormous energy, or account for the fugitive nature of temporary stars; yet I little thought that during my own life, instruments would be so improved as actually to shew us all the essential phenomena of impact in a single star. I hoped that a little might be learned from one star, a little from another; and as the time rolled on, that by studying all the variable and temporary stars, the theory might ultimately be proved. But that a single star should furnish all the information needed to absolutely demonstrate the theory, was altogether beyond my expectations. Nova Aurigæ has done all this. With respect to this star it is no exaggeration to say that "Partial Impact" has anticipated every particular down to the smallest detail, even of its complex spectrum. The initial velocities mentioned in the papers in the transactions of the New Zealand Institute were five hundred miles a second; and all the varieties of its spectrum were obviously to be expected; the middle body expanding hundreds of miles a second must produce broad lines. Each of the three bodies has intensely luminous matter cut from the others, hence all the lines of each spectrum must be of identically the same chemical elements, but of different character and differently displaced. The diagrams printed in these papers also shewed the triplicity of the star and the character of the motions of its constituents.

Despite the usual difficulty in introducing a new scientific theory, when all the efforts to make it known are considered, it appears almost incredible that so simple, yet so far-reaching a generalization as this could remain unnoticed in the present age of scientific progress.

Paper after paper has been read before the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury, and the papers printed and provided with good illustrations in the transactions. Many thousands of copies of these and other papers have been forwarded to scientific men and journals. A number of papers were read at the Australasian Association of Science. Several Mathematical, Physical, Engineering and other University Professors were present, who admitted themselves quite unable to detect a flaw in the reasoning. A summary of the papers appeared in the transactions, and yet no criticism has been offered.

At various times when astronomical observations have apparently demonstrated the truth of the theory, printed papers and diagrams have been sent to those interested in the discoveries, shewing that the new result had been anticipated years before. Yet beyond a courteous acknowledgement I have heard no more of the matter. This neglect is the more wonderful as this mode of treating astronomy is very interesting. A course of lectures given in the large lecture theatre of Canterbury College had to be repeated, and "standing room only" was the condition of attendance at every one of the second course of lectures.

I ought in all fairness to state that I have never had any difficulty in convincing a popular audience of the reasonableness of the suggestion, and I have also received much encouragement and assistance from Mr. Adams, geodesical surveyor; Mr. Beverly, the able mathematician; Mr. F. W. Frankland, the actuary; and from Sir George Grey, who I have been told, when the theory was attacked in the New Zealand House of Representatives as so much waste of time, gave a powerful exposition of its principles.

The theory of "Partial Impact" gives a perfectly simple explanation of the origin of temporary, variable, and double stars, and accounts for all their peculiarities. It explains the formation of multiple stars, star clusters, and also the mode of evolution of every definite form of nebula. It gives also the reason for the remarkable distribution of all these bodies in the celestial sphere. It supplies an almost irresistible explanation of the genesis of the visible universe, and probably affords the most satisfactory explanation of the formation of the solar system yet given; and contrary to the theory of "Dissipation of Energy" it shews that the cosmos may be immortal.

As already mentioned the theory pointed out, and diagrams were drawn fourteen years ago to shew that most new stars must be triple. It also stated that two of the bodies would be flying away from each other at velocities of hundreds of miles a second, and that a middle body of unrivalled brilliancy would be formed between them, would expand, would become a planetary nebula, and then generally disappear. The theory pointed out that variable stars would sometimes be in pairs. A subsequent investigation into their positions proved this to be the case. This is a most wonderful piece of evidence. A mathematical calculation shews that the idea of this being the result of an accident could not possibly be entertained; the chances are more than one hundred sextillions to one against it. Whoever in the future attempts to give an explanation of the origin of variable stars must account for this remarkable fact as well as the other peculiarities of these bodies.

This theory of the origin of variable stars suggests that in time most variable stars will lose their variability; that the period of their rotation will not be very accurately marked, and that their maximum brilliancy will not be always alike. An investigation into their history discloses all these peculiarities.

The theory points out that double stars will frequently be surrounded by a nebula. Herschel says "the

association of nebulae with double stars is truly remarkable." The theory demands that their orbits should be highly eccentric. An examination of their elements shews this to be a striking peculiarity of double stars. The theory clearly points out that they will often be variable. No astronomical book made any mention of such a fact. But so strong was the conviction that this must be the case that a diligent search was kept up for years, and ultimately it was found that Struvè, the great Russian observer had proved it to be a very common characteristic of double stars. We should also expect a great number to be coloured; and this is the case.

The theory pointed out that most planetary nebulae, most temporary, variable, and double stars, and star clusters would be in the milky way; and that on the other hand nearly all the double, spiral, spindle, and annular nebulae would be at the poles of the milky way. An investigation into their places proves all these surmises to be facts. All the peculiarities of the star drift, and the general form of the universe receives an easy explanation on this theory. Here we have thousands upon thousands of facts that the theory of impact has anticipated or explained; are they not sufficient to demonstrate it? Is there one of these facts that has received any other explanation than that of impact that fully satisfies any one? Is there any single proven astronomical observation amongst the millions of those recorded that is inconsistent with the theory? Not one that I know of. Yet with all this evidence in its favour, astronomers do not accept the idea of stellar encounters. It is incomprehensible.

The scepticism with regard to the theory of the collision of stars is as though a person saw two locomotives up on end and entangled with one another, all the carriages of the train telescoped, death and destruction everywhere, and were to say: "It cannot be a collision. Our system of electric switches renders them impossible. I own it looks like one, but it must clearly be a delusion, for our system of signalling is absolutely perfect. Besides I did not see the collision, and seeing only is believing. You must really seek some other explanation."

The scepticism is as though a man entered a shattered house and said: "It is impossible a shell has exploded here, for there is an armistice."

"But!" says someone, "Look at the dilapidated house; see the nature of the wounds and smell the gunpowder."

"Yes! If it were not for the armistice I should certainly think that a shell had exploded, but you see it cannot be so."

"But look at the pieces of iron sticking in the walls, does not that prove it?"

"I see the iron; I admit the evidence is plausible; but we must not forget the armistice."

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the evidence in these two similies is not more striking than the evidence of stellar collision. Only had we no such evidence, it is almost certain that the motions and mutual attractions of stars must produce collisions, there is no system of switches and rails to keep them apart, and no armistice to prevent them colliding.

So when we see space strewn with star wreckage, it seems incredible that anyone can think stars do not collide. We stand in the presence of the actual facts, and we are forced to believe in their encounters.

All the later observations of astronomers go to demonstrate the unity of the cosmos and the invariability of law. The recent revelations of the lens, the prism, and the photographic film in the domain of astronomy, read like fairy tales, yet all demonstrate these two ideas. Suns and systems numbered by the hundred millions are revealed to us. Gigantic dead suns, although invisible, are capable of being weighed and measured, and their velocity estimated by their effects upon the spectrum of other stars. Nebulae are shewn to be giant swirling masses of gas, and every day photographs appear extending our knowledge of the grandeur and complexity of the cosmos.

We construct lenses that enable us to see teeming worlds in a drop of liquid, or tell us that the stars are gigantic orbs many millions of times as large as the earth on which we live.

The prism that enables us to detect the millionth of a grain of metal, enables us to know the composition, the temperature, the weight, and the motions of those distant suns. The photographic film that will write down the lineaments of those we love, may be made to give us pictures of objects so distant, that even when aided by the most powerful telescope, no eye has ever seen them. So also the laws of nature apply equally to the most minute forces and the vast energies of those distant orbs. These three physical weapons have demonstrated the unity of creation, and it has become an article of scientific faith. The same laws and forces hold for the infinitesimally little and for the infinitely great. The molecules of a gas are continually brought into impact by their motions. The distant stars obey the same laws. Molecules attract when near each other, so do suns. Both travel in curved paths when influenced by attraction. When they strike the molecules break to pieces, so almost certainly do suns. Let us trace such an encounter. Just as a comet entering our system is drawn into a curved orbit by the sun, so two suns would influence one another, and sometimes they would graze. Then a whole world of possibilities offer themselves. The grazing bodies may be dense or rare; they may be star clusters or dark bodies; they may merely touch or cut deeply. A star may collide with a star, with a star cluster, or a nebula; a nebula with a nebula; and so on in infinite variety. There are endless possibilities.

When suns graze, a temporary star and two variable ones are produced. If the graze be slight the temporary

star dissipates entirely. If larger, it forms a fairly permanent planetary nebula. If still larger, it produces a star cluster or solar system.

The variable stars produced by the collision may spin slowly or quickly; they may have mere inequalities of heating or gigantic lakes of fire, and after recovering their sphericity they will pulsate with tremendous energy. Were their original proper motion small, and the graze considerable, they would become orbitally connected, and would form a double star. If the opposite, they would not be connected, but would form a pair of variable stars, continually increasing their distance from each other. If a star impact with a star cluster, a world of strange phenomena ensue. If with a group of dead suns, what remarkable fluctuations of light must be produced. If with a nebula, the star may often become orbitally connected with it, and in distant ages will not unlikely become a double star. If nebulae impact with each other, double nebulae may occur often with long spindles between them. The spindle will frequently be left alone; then a spiral will shew at the centre; then it will spread until a large double spiral nebula results. If the impact be still more considerable an annular nebula will be formed. All these nebulae will be found at the poles of the milky way. On the other hand, most of the star clusters, most of the temporary and variable stars, as well as nearly all planetary nebulae, these being the result of stellar impact, will be found in the Milky Way where stars are thickly spread and such impacts are likely to be frequent.

If two systems, either or both with satellites revolving in all azimuths, come into impact, and the graze be considerable, a solar system will probably result. If two roughly spherical universes like the Magellanic Clouds impact, an annular universe will be the result with caps covered with nebula. This is probably the origin of our own universe.

The heat radiated from the stars will chiefly fall upon the dust of space and raise its temperature. When this heated dust meets with slowly moving free molecules of gas, this heat will increase the velocity of such molecules. When these molecules by doing work again lose their velocity, they will be in positions of higher gravitation potential. Wherever space is sparsely spread with matter the potential energy of gravitation will be highest and motion slowest. In a number of indiscriminately moving bodies, where motion is slowest, the bodies accumulate, hence in the sparsely occupied portions of space molecules will tend to aggregate. Here new universes are forming. At first they will be of gas, then they will increase by entrapping other bodies, and this mode of the formation of new universes will tend to give us an immortal cosmos.

The above are some of the first fruits of the prolific field of research that this study has opened to our gaze. Have we not in impact the key to unlock the sublime mysteries of the universe? As we mentally follow the phenomena it unfolds to us, do we not seem to hold the silken clue to the intricacies of the mazy labyrinth of the creation? Does it not supply a means to reveal to us the secrets of the infinite? Is not constructive impact the very mode of the evolution of the cosmos, and as we follow its teaching does not our conception of the order and grandeur of the cosmos increase, until the mind reels as we peer dimly out into its vast expanses; and contrary to the present views of the creation does not our theory shew that the cosmos may be both infinite and immortal.

## Papers on Impact, &c.

LETTERS SENT TO "NATURE," IN 1874

*Price Sixpence.* CONTENTS. Introduction—On Molecular Selective Escape—The Origin of Cosmical Rotation—Temporary Stars—The Origin of Nebulae—The Age of the Sun's Heat—The Formation of Variable Stars—How Binary Stars become connected—The Origin of the Solar System Of Comets and Meteors—Of the Asteroids—The Origin of the Visible Universe—The Stability of the Cosmos—The Recovery of Radiant Energy—On the Development of Potential Energy.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1879.

*Price Sixpence.* On the Genesis of Worlds and Systems.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS UNIVERSITY, 1881.

*Price Sixpence.* Reform.

The above may be obtained from Messrs. Bickerton Brothers, Stewart Street, Christchurch.

They are of interest in showing the state of the Theory of Impact fourteen years ago.

*The following Papers are out of print, but are to be found in the Transactions of the N.Z. Institute for 1878-79-80.*

- ON TEMPORARY AND VARIABLE STARS. July 4th, 1878.
- ON PARTIAL IMPACT, &c. August 1st, 1878.
- ON THE VISIBLE UNIVERSE. February 13th, 1878.
- ON THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF STELLAR COLLISION. March 13th, 1879.

- PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON THE GENESIS OF WORLDS AND SYSTEMS. April 3rd, 1879.
- CAUSES TENDING TO ALTER ECCENTRICITY OF PLANETARY ORBITS. May 6th, 1880.
- ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM, August 5th, 1880
- THE ORIGIN OF DOUBLE STARS. August 5th, 1880.

## The Theory of Constructive Impact.

THE scope of the theory of constructive impact is of gigantic range. It for the first time offers a consistent code of cosmogony. It supplies clear scientific accounts of the origin of the visible universe, and of the solar system; also of the varying forms of nebulae and traces their passage from one form to another. The theory shows how meteoric swarms and star clusters have been evolved, and what is the cause of the association of double stars. It explains the peculiarities of variable stars, whilst its description of the origin of temporary stars is so perfect that there has been absolutely no well marked phenomenon of the wonderful Nova Auriga, nor even on its complex spectrum that it did not anticipate. It is so complete a cosmogony that it shows it to be useless to look forward or backward, the future being but a repetition of the past, the present only a phase of an eternal rhythm. Worlds, systems and universes are born and decay, but the mighty cosmos rolls on immortal and infinite. Thus the theory shows that the dismal conclusion of Lord Kelvin's theory of dissipation of energy is based on a local and imperfect view of the creation.

Astronomical readers will see that Professor Flammarion's ideas of the resurrection of systems by oblique impact, Sir Robert Ball's ideas of the impact of dark bodies in producing temporary stars, Lord Kelvin's idea of the association of double stars by impact, the idea of temporary stars being produced by grazing impact, are all parts of the theory and were all worked out in the fullest details fourteen years ago.

Front Cover

## The Theory of Constructive Impact.

THE scope of the theory of constructive impact is of gigantic range. It for the first time offers a consistent code of cosmogony. It supplies clear scientific accounts of the origin of the visible universe, and of the solar system; also of the varying forms of nebulae and traces their passage from one form to another. The theory shows how meteoric swarms and star clusters have been evolved, and what is the cause of the association of double stars. It explains the peculiarities of variable stars, whilst its description of the origin of temporary stars is so perfect that there has been absolutely no well marked phenomenon of the wonderful Nova Aurigæ nor even of its complex spectrum that it did not anticipate. It is so complete a cosmogony that it shows it to be useless to look forward or backward, the future being but a repetition of the past, the present only a phase of an eternal rhythm. Worlds, systems and universes are born and decay, but the mighty cosmos rolls on immortal and infinite. Thus the theory shows that the dismal conclusion of Lord Kelvin's, theory of dissipation of energy is based on a local and imperfect view of the creation.

Astronomical readers will see that Professor Flammarion's ideas of the resurrection of systems by oblique impact, Sir Robert Ball's ideas of the impact of dark bodies in producing temporary stars, Lord Kelvin's idea of the association of double stars by impact, the idea of temporary stars being produced by grazing impact, are all parts of the theory and were all worked out in the fullest details fourteen years ago.

Address to the North Canterbury Educational Institute

By the HON. CHARLES C. BOWEN

*President*

30TH MARCH, 1894

Christchurch, N. Z. Christchurch Press Company Limited, Printers 1894

## Address to the North Canterbury Educational Institute

By this Hon. Charles C Bowen

PRESIDENT.

30th March, 1894.

IN addressing an assembly of experts,—of people who have made a study of the science of teaching in all

its details,—a study fortified by daily practical experience, it would be very foolish on my part to attempt to deal with such questions as generally occupy your attention. But to all of us, the principles on which our National System of Primary Education is based must be interesting and it is advisable for us from time to time to enquire into its performance, its promise, its defects, and its dangers.

The system, as you are all aware, was initiated more than sixteen years ago, on the abolition of Provincial institutions. At that time no adequate provision had been made in a large part of New Zealand, notably in the Northern Provinces, for primary instruction; not for want of will, but for want of funds. In the Provinces of Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, great efforts had been made, and good systems established. This Province was greatly indebted to the exertions of such men as Mr. Tancred and Mr. Rolleston for the advantages it enjoyed in this respect. But for a long time there had been sore need for a National System, and previous attempts had been made to induce the General Assembly to face the question, notably by the late Sir William Fox, but in vain. I remember in 1877 that gentleman telling us that he would do all in his power to help to get the Education Bill through the House, but that he did not think we should succeed as local and provincial and religious jealousies were too strong. However, the common sense and public spirit of the Parliament at that time overcame local and personal preferences to secure the one great object—that the key of knowledge should be put within the reach of every child in New Zealand. Perhaps no one engaged in the arduous struggle to effect this object was quite satisfied with the shape in which the Education Act came out of the ordeal of Committee; but we all felt thankful that the Bill had become law; and we deprecated serious amendments which might imperil it, until the habit and necessity of a national system of primary instruction had grown into the minds and hearts of the people. To me it is a constant source of pleasure to see in every part of New Zealand, whether it be a populous centre or an isolated country district, children trooping to well-built schools, in the prosperity and success of which all householders take the keenest interest. And I hope that no present inconvenience or annoyance that may occasionally arise from local blunders will ever induce the country to give up the Local Boards and Committees, which were intended to protect the schools from the deadening influence of centralisation. Remember that the blunders of a central office are more deadly and far-reaching in their effects, and far less easily rectified, than the most stupid blunder of the most inefficient Committee. Committees will become more and more educated to the level of their duties, but the more intelligent a central office is, the greater is its tendency to usurpation; and the central office, with an absolute power of the purse, would very soon reduce the Committees to mere nonentities without the intervention of the Education Boards, which represent, and are influenced by, public opinion in a larger sense than the Committees, and whose discussion of important questions from different points of view tends to keep alive public interest, and to preserve our system from a dead level of uniformity.

There is only time now to glance at the objections, which have been insisted on from the first, with more or less pertinacity, to our national system of primary instruction. The first is the expense and there is no doubt that the cost is very great, and that the funds available require the most careful administration. It has been objected that the taxation of the whole community for the maintenance of schools, of those who do not send their children to the State Schools as well as those who do, is a form of State socialism and as such pernicious. Such questions are questions of degree and of social necessity. I think myself that the present tendency of our political life is towards too great an interference with individual liberty, that such interference is unjustifiable if it is not necessary for the welfare of society, that it will discourage personal enterprise, and that it will inevitably lead, sooner or later, to reaction. But I would ask whether society can afford to allow the rising generation, which will by-and-by govern the country, to grow up without the elements of knowledge. There is a wide difference between social movements to elevate the people in body and mind, and those which are only inspired by a desire to pull down those who have been most industrious or prosperous. It was very pithily put by a late American Minister to England, that no one could benefit his own position by pulling other people down. No one can say that the advocates of our National System of Education are actuated by any invidious desire to injure or press unduly on any class of the community. It was established for the salvation of our rising democracy.

Another objection is raised by those who do not so much grudge the expense, but who are sceptical as to the results. They have expected too much, if they supposed that a smattering of letters would instantly result in culture and refinement of mind. They point to the ill-manners of some of the rising generation, and are inclined to lay the responsibility for them on our National Schools. It is unfortunate that in recent years the word "Education" has been so misapplied as often to mean only instruction in some elementary subjects. This misapplication of the word "Education" has led to very common misunderstanding. Education begins from the cradle, and depends on the parents more than on the school. It is to a great extent an unconscious process, varying with the child's surroundings. It seems often to be forgotten that in all times there have been many highly cultivated men and women who knew no letters. On the other hand, how many of those who have acquired a certain amount of book knowledge are no nearer to that higher ideal of life which should be the

object of all intellectual training! I am not sure that the first effects of a smattering of knowledge is not generally disappointing. It often promotes only a very ugly form of self-conceit that leads its possessors, when they have no other guide, to despise their wiser though, perhaps, less book-taught elders, to mistake ill-manners for independence, irreverence for intellectual ability, and vulgar assurance for force of character. We must not be discouraged because society, in its growth, has to pass through this unpleasant hobbledohoy stage. Political power is now in the hands of the majority; and if it will take more than one generation to educate that majority to the level of its responsibilities, the sooner the community sets itself to the task the better. The schools can only I give the key to knowledge, and teach the pupils how to use it; but all instruction will tend gradually to enlighten the home,—to widen from generation to generation the circle of those who attain to some vague conception of the limited scope of all human learning—to some sense however shadowy, of the proportionate relation between themselves and the universe. Then the man who quietly and conscientiously does his duty to the State will be held in higher respect than the noisy, swaggering talker, who too often builds up a position for himself on the ignorance of those around him. General elementary instruction may be grudgingly given and despised by others, but it is one of the chief stones in the foundation of our Commonwealth.

In no discussions affecting the National Schools has more confusion been created in the public mind by the misapplication of the word "Education" than in those relating to religious teaching. The public schools cannot pretend to educate, although they can do a great deal towards education; they can only teach certain subjects, and for obvious reasons those subjects can only be of a secular character. There was no religious difficulty in Western Europe when the Christian Church was practically undivided, and when most of the learning of the time was represented by the clergy. Then their claim to be the universal teachers of the young was accepted without question. In England, where most of the school buildings belong to the Established Church and to other denominations, and where such a large proportion of the cost of education is found by the religious bodies, the denominational system is still necessarily predominant. In New Zealand, where there were no such conditions, where the State had to provide all the funds required, the denominational system was tried and found wanting. If, even in England, so zealous a Churchman as Dean Hook was moved by his experience at Leeds to declare that education would never reach the masses until the State took it up as a secular matter, it is no wonder that those who had to deal practically with the question in a new country came to the same conclusion. But we must take care that the teaching in State Schools should be confined to such subjects as do not offend the consciences of parents. I have a great respect for the motives of those who advocate Bible teaching in schools, but I think their position is untenable. Much as we must all lament the necessity of excluding from the regular course of teaching that most ancient of all books, which has educated so many English generations—still we have no option if we wish to act justly and honestly by all denominations. We cannot adopt a course which would exclude Roman Catholic children, for instance, whose parents may wish, or find it necessary, to avail themselves of the National Schools. I confess myself that I see little to be gained under existing circumstances from a perfunctory dealing with religious questions by teachers who may hold all sorts of opinions as to lessons to be derived from Bible history. To those who, like myself and others in Canterbury, gave up the advocacy of the denominational system in consequence of its failure to instruct the children even in the early days of the colony, and who were alarmed at the sight of untaught youths degenerating into street arabs even in our young towns, the outcry against our present schools seems very absurd. In New South Wales there has been a kind of perfunctory religious teaching in the schools, but I am not aware that Sydney is less disgraced by what is called "larrikinism" than any other colonial town. It is not to the school, but to the home, that we must trace the causes of youthful depravity in the towns. As long as there are vicious and careless and ignorant parents there will be unruly and troublesome children. The schools have done much to diminish the evil; they cannot pretend to eradicate it. It must be attacked in the homes of the people.

There has been lately an attempt to agree upon some form of Bible Text Book, which might fairly meet the views of the great majority of parents, but we know that it would not be accepted by Roman Catholics, and it would therefore be an unfair thing to introduce it into the schools. An organisation of religious bodies has been proposed for the purpose; but I never heard of an organisation being attempted to take advantage of the provision which now exists to permit of religious teaching in the schoolrooms out of school hours. It was with a view of enabling such teaching to be given that the general hour for school opening was fixed at 9.30 instead of 9 o'clock a.m., but there is no restriction as to the time which may be chosen. I know the difficulty that exists in towns, although in some country districts such teaching has been carried on successfully. In most cases it would be impossible for the clergy, with all their other duties, to cope with such regular teaching work. But if only a part of the 'money which it has been sometimes proposed to devote to the establishment of separate denominational schools—if only half the time which has been wasted in talking about impracticable schemes had been expended in an organisation for religious teaching under the existing law, I think that the want of such teaching would have been, to a great extent, met before this, in a more satisfactory way than by means of a perfunctory school lesson. And I say this with a knowledge of what has been done in some cases. At any rate,

until some serious attempt has been made to utilise existing opportunities, no one has a right to say that it is impossible to take advantage of the provision of the Act authorising the Committees to allow the school buildings to be used for the purpose. As to the opposition of School Committees, it must be remembered that they are elected by, and therefore under the ultimate control of, the householders. Whatever obstruction may have been caused by the action of one or two Committees, I do not believe that public opinion would sanction opposition to any practical effort to give religious teaching outside of school hours to the children whose parents wished for it.

There is one phase of this question of religious teaching which I most deeply regret, and that is the sense of injury which our Roman Catholic fellow citizens appear to feel in the matter. They have shown by their self-sacrifice in building and maintaining schools that a large proportion of them conscientiously adhere to the belief that all schools for the instruction of the young must be under the control and guidance of the clergy. While we must admire the energy with which they maintain their own schools, it is impossible to admit their claim to State assistance, which is not recognised in the case of any other Church. The State can make no distinction in the distribution of public money. Any concession of this kind made to any one denomination would break up the whole system of National Instruction. But I cannot sympathise with an exclusive admiration of a secular system, simply because it is secular; or with a desire to erect secularism into a kind of dogma. Necessary as is a National system to secure instruction for all the children of the State, there is some danger lest this State system should tend towards a too narrow uniformity. We don't want to see the whole rising population turned out as it were moulded in one pattern. For my part, I hail with pleasure every kind of good school, public or private, that may be maintained in these islands; and I should like to see them so far publicly encouraged as to be allowed to claim as a right the advantage of State inspection, should they see fit to ask for it. The Education Act contemplated such encouragement when it provided that the Education Boards might authorise the inspection private schools. I was very sorry to see that the Roman Catholic Schools at Auckland were refused such inspection when they applied for it. This refusal appears to me to be contrary to the spirit of the Act; it certainly is contrary to the feeling of the legislature that passed the Act. Private schools should be encouraged to apply for inspection, as it would be some guarantee to the public of the value of the tuition given; and it is only just that the children who attend them should not be placed under any disability.

As I have spoken of the danger of too great uniformity, I should like to refer to its narrowing effect in the choice of books and in the methods of teaching. There is too great a desire to restrict pupils to a limited number of books, and too little liberty is given to teachers to develop any special natural gifts they may have. There has been a great outcry about changes in the books used in schools. If parents could only realise the advantage of such changes, they would not grudge the few shillings to be paid for new books, especially as the schooling is free, and without other cost. The very change is calculated to enlarge the views of children, and to stimulate their minds, which are apt to become cramped and limited by hackneyed repetition for too long a time. Great stress is often laid upon the advantage of having school books written in New Zealand for New Zealanders. It may be all very well to have a few New Zealand books, but the thoughts of children are naturally too much confined to local interests and to local prejudices. I look on it as a positive advantage that the excellent school books put into their hands are written from an English point of view—a point of view outside New Zealand. Even the difference of the seasons constantly alluded to tells them of a world outside their own experience. They get something of the advantages which those children who are taken to see foreign countries, can get in the Old World. I grudge all the time spent in our schools over the details of New Zealand geography which might be better employed in obtaining a more general knowledge of the physical features of the world. Local knowledge is easily picked up. It is far more important to impress on the youthful mind—too prone to self-conceit—the smallness of our little country, when compared to the rest of the world. Such teaching will not lessen the love of their native land, but it will instill into their minds a larger and nobler patriotism, and a sense of the dignity of the birthright as children of a world-wide Empire. And if the teaching from books should not be unnecessarily narrowed, still less should that which is given directly by the teachers. There is far too little opportunity for oral teaching independent of text-books. This is not the fault of the teachers—it is the fault of a system which depend; too much upon examinations and standards, and consequent cramming. The vice of all educational systems in these days is that they are used more as tests in competition for employment, than as means of opening the minds of the young, and preparing them for an intelligent use of their faculties in any career they may be engaged in hereafter. Surely we might manage primary instruction in a more interesting and useful way and get rid of a good deal of the machinery of examinations and standards. But in order to effect this with safety we must revolutionise our system of inspection. I know that on this question of school inspection many will differ from me, but I should be glad if it was carefully considered, not only by such an experienced body as the Institute which I am now addressing, but by the Government and the legislature. I have before now advocated, but in vain, the necessity for more inspection and less examination. The inspector should be the friend and adviser of the teacher, who is often isolated, and in want of some responsible person to consult and

advise with; and he should endeavour to find out and encourage any special ability the teacher may have in the way of personal oral teaching, and should be able to recognise it even when it does not run in the same groove as his own. As it is, the teacher has to cram his pupils for examinations when he ought to be giving them "live" teaching, and showing them how to learn for themselves by developing their interest in the subjects of study. Men and women with an instinct for teaching, who might plant an ambition for study and research in the minds of many a youth, and might thus brighten their own lives and that of those around them, are compelled by a cut and dried system to be more or less skilful manipulators of a "standard" machinery. Some of the money we are devoting to high standards and examinations would, I think, be better spent in increasing the number of our inspectors, and paying well the best men that can be obtained for the service. In my opinion these inspectors should not be local officers. I have seen no reason to change my mind on that subject, although we were compelled by the strong provincial feeling in the House of Representatives, when the Education Act was passed, to abandon the provision making the inspectors officers of the Central Department. The more change and variety in inspection the better, and the less the inspectors themselves get into grooves, the more valuable will be the help that they can give to teachers who are restricted to one locality. In our primary schools we are perhaps aiming at too much, and are in danger of letting the substance slip while we grasp at the shadow. How many of the smart sixth standard children, who are turned out of our schools, leave them with any desire to attain to greater knowledge? Most of them value a school career merely as a means to improve their position. This is natural enough. But are we not setting up a false standard of success? Because they have a little learning young people too often despise the career open to them. They have not been taught that it is the man that gives dignity to the occupation, and not the occupation to the man.

I will refer in illustration of my meaning to the general ambition among school children for clerkships, or any kind of occupation in the towns, however badly paid they may be, and however small may be the prospect they offer for the future. There is a great deal of talk about "settling people on the land." It appears to be thought that people once planted on a bit of land", without capital and without experience, must be successful ever after. Whereas the fact is that no business requires a longer apprenticeship and training than farming. And yet the parents who would, if they could, get their sons into some office in town, where the wages are not sufficient to keep them, or would apprentice them to overcrowded trades, will not apprentice them to farmers, where they could preserve their health and earn their living, while they learned a business which, in this young country, would lead an industrious man to independence. The utterly uneducated lad, if turned to rough country work too young, may probably develop disproportionately the mere animal side of his nature. But boys might be sent from our schools to the country with minds trained to seek and find education and knowledge in even condition of life, and superior to the vulgar prejudice against the homely pursuits that the country offers them. It may take some generations of wholesome instruction before parents generally taken higher view of the objects of education than that which is too prevalent now. In the meantime it will tax all our energies and all the means at our command to give children such sound elementary instruction as will enable them all to face the problems of life intelligently. For those who show especial capacity, scholarships will give opportunities for a wider education at secondary schools. But it is worse than waste of time to keep average boys or girls, who have no particular capacity for learning, too long away from the practical work of life for which they may be eminently qualified, in order to cram them with facts which they will soon forget. They will be more likely to read in after life with pleasure and profit if they have been intelligently taught at first, and then encouraged to apply themselves early to whatever useful work presents itself. I have detained you too long with these discursive remarks, so I will conclude with a hope that those who have the regulation of primary instruction in New Zealand will not make it a kind of Procrustes bed on which children are to be shortened or stretched to meet the exigencies of a system, but rather that the system will be kept elastic enough to bring out and encourage any kind of ability which may be latent in every boy and girl of the rising generation.

Christchurch Press Company Limited, Printer, Cashel Street.

### Correspondence

In Connection with the Removal of Major Chas. Brown

From the Commission of the Peace & the Cancellation of his Interpreter's License, with Explanatory Notes.

New Plymouth Thomas Avery, Printer and Stationer, Devon Street. 1894.

## Introduction.

THE following correspondence and a report of a public meeting concerning my case, with a few brief explanatory notes, are now published for the information of those who may be interested in knowing how and why it was that I ceased to be a Justice of the Peace and was removed from the list of Licensed Native Interpreters.

I have a tolerably strong conviction as to whether I acted fairly and honourably in the matter or not, and whether I deserved the treatment I have received. I will not, however, attempt to press my view upon others at this stage. My only object in bringing the facts before the public is to obtain (what every Englishman has a right to) a fair hearing before a competent and independent judge. And I have no doubt that the perusal of the following will enable the public to see whether *primâ facie* I have or have not reasonable grounds for demanding that hearing. If I have really merited the action taken by the Government I am now, in re-opening the matter, of course only bringing further disgrace upon myself. On the other hand, if I am innocent, I have no doubt the Government will rejoice with me that I have given them the opportunity of retracing their steps, and repairing in some small measure the injury done to me. And there I leave the affair for each one to judge independently, believing as I do that the spirit of Fair Play amongst us is not dead but only sleeping.  
CHAS. BROWN.

## Correspondence.

Department of Justice, Wellington,

20th February, 1894.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that the attention of the Government has been called to the case of "Meringa v. W. Humphries," heard on the 20th December last.

It appears from the report of the case that a statutory declaration made by Meringa, and translated and explained to her by you, contained a statement that she had received a sum of £40 as the purchase money of a certain piece of land, whereas it was well known to all concerned, including yourself, that as a matter of fact she had only received £20. The declaration was therefore false.

The Government will be glad to receive any remarks or explanation which you may desire to offer in this matter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. A. HASELDEN, Under Secretary.  
Major Brown, J.P., Licensed Interpreter,

New Plymouth.

New Plymouth,

26th February, 1894.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 20th instant, and in reply thereto, I beg to say that the Department is misinformed in the matter. Upon a narrow and purely technical view of the question, it is possibly correct to say that no payment of the purchase money due to Meringa had been made at the time the declaration was signed, because the sum of £40 (the purchase money) had been paid to her in sovereigns; it is, however, a gross libel upon the integrity of myself and Mr. Joe Ward, the Justice of the Peace who took the declaration, to suggest, as the learned judge presiding in the trial of Meringa v. Humphries did, that a perjury was committed by the Native, and suborned by us. The actual facts are clearly set out in a letter printed copy of which I now enclose for your perusal, from Mr. J. Ward to the Editor of the *Taranaki Herald*, dated the 23rd December, 1893. I need only add that Mr. Humphries, to whom Meringa looked as her agent and who by the verdict of the jury was found to have been such, was, to my mind, in precisely the position of his principal for the purposes of the declaration. It is the invariable practice of the Trust Commissioners, who have had any experience whatever, to treat a receipt by an agent as a receipt by a principal. This is also, I may add, a rule of common sense, and, it appears to me that no person with any practical knowledge of the proper way of completing native transactions, would for a moment venture to say that, to all intents and purposes, payment had not actually been made to Meringa when she signed the declaration. I would draw your attention to the fact

that the declaration known as form E is always used without altering Clause IV, because those who are well versed in native matters, consider it as covering payment to the principal, payment to the agent or a carrying to credit as between principal and agent in account current. It might, however, be advisable to have the declaration form, as now printed, re-issued slightly altered, but I doubt its practical utility. In conclusion, I should like to say that it is not an axiom that in all native transactions all the Europeans concerned are engaged in some form or other of fraud or criminal conspiracy.

I have the honor to be, Sir, etc.,

CHAS. BROWN, Licensed Interpreter.

The Under Secretary, Native Office, Wellington.

## ENCLOSURE.

[*Taranaki Herald*, 23rd December, 1893.]

(To the Editor.)

SIR,—The *Herald* of Thursday reports District Judge Kettle's charge in effect as follows:—"That Major Brown, Messrs. Humphries and Cunningham and a Justice of the Peace (myself) went to Moturoa some time since and, to use his very words, "these people got the old Maori woman (Maringa) to sign a statutory declaration which actually amounted to perjury." I observe that in your contemporary report, Mr. Kettle suggested that I "probably did not know anything about the matter," a statement in direct conflict with your report of his charge, leaving, however, for the moment this discrepancy to shift for itself, I desire to say that my part in the transaction was a very simple one, and hardly warrants the accusation of the judge as reported by you. I went as a Justice of the Peace to take a Native's signature to a transfer and statutory declaration. The latter alone is in question. I understood, and I believe it is not denied, that the purchase money was to be £40, of which £15 was with the express consent of the Native retained by Mr. Humphries for expenses, £5 was to be accounted for by him upon completion, and £20 was paid to the Native and her husband in hard cash. This bargain I am convinced was understood by the Native thoroughly, and she appeared to be satisfied and made no complaint. Mr. Kettle complains that £40 should have been paid to Meringa in cash, whilst Providence, the native conscience, and good luck were to be trusted for a refund of the £20 according to the bargain made. This I cannot understand. Any man who would have trusted the Native with the money would have been a little short of a simpleton, in my humble judgment. The only practicable method of settlement appears to me to be the plan adopted, which there was no kind of objection to on the part of the Native; and if this did not amount to payment of the £40 to all intents and purposes, then one must live and learn. I humbly venture to submit that the declaration was not an act of perjury, and I most emphatically say that I at all events was not one who "got the old woman" to perjure herself by signing. What Mr. Cunningham's guilt, or Major Brown's, or Mr. Humphries' is I do not know. I saw none of it in the way of deceit or inducement at all events. I have known Major Brown, whom I mention as perhaps the most important functionary on that occasion, many years as an upright and very fearless man, and with the reputation of being a good Maori scholar. And I might conclude by saying that the learned District Judge's remarks have not in the least shaken my confidence in either Major Brown's ability or integrity.

I am, etc.,

J. WARD.

Department of Justice, Wellington,

May 12th. 1894

SIR—Referring to previous correspondence on the subject of your action in connection with the case of the Native woman Meringa, I am directed by the Hon. the Native Minister to inform you that, after giving your explanation careful consideration, the Government has decided to advise His Excellency the Governor to remove you from the Commission of the Peace, and to cancel your license as a Native Interpreter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. A. HASELDEN, Under Secretary.  
Major Brown,

New Plymouth.

NOTE.—On the 15th May, Mr. C. F. Richmond telegraphed for me to the Under Secretary of Justice asking for delay in my proposed removal, and received the following reply:—

Wellington,

16th May, 1894.

To  
C. F. Richmond, Esq., New Plymouth.

Hons. Native Minister and Minister of Justice are both absent, and will not return for about a fortnight, but I will telegraph to them your request for delay.

C. J. A. HASELDEN.

Wellington,

17th May, 1894.

To  
F. Richmond, Esq., New Plymouth.

Am directed that no reason is seen why decision of Cabinet in respect to Major Brown should be interfered with.

C. J. A. HASELDEN, Under Secretary, Justice Department.

## **NOTE.**

—I then decided to leave for Wellington to lay the whole facts before Ministers, as my letter of 26th February was not written or intended as a complete defence of my action. It will be observed that the letter of the Justice Department, dated 20th February, has no hint or suggestion that I was then really being put upon my trial—as it turned out, to be summarily convicted without appeal. So that it will be readily understood my reply of the 26th was not in such a form as I should have adopted had I been consciously fighting for the retention of my license, and my status as a Justice. Hence the necessity for a more elaborate statement on my part. I accordingly left for Wellington on May 22nd with a carefully prepared and lengthy memorandum for Ministers' consideration, arriving there the same day late at night.

On May 23rd, in the morning, I handed the memorandum above referred to to the Under Secretary of Justice, and received on the same day the brief note which follows it.

CHAS. BROWN.

## **[MEMORANDUM.]**

It may be assumed that the decision of the Cabinet to remove me from the Boll of Justices and cancel my License as Native Interpreter rests upon:—

1. The ground that I permitted Meringa to sign form E knowing it to contain a false statement.
2. That I did so with the full intent and desire to defraud the native and that the native was defrauded by my action.

It is of course impossible to imagine that the Government should desire to deprive me of my status as a Justice and Interpreter for a mere oversight nor for an imprudence on my part which had no effect whatever in injuring the native concerned. The admitted facts are that Meringa's son received £5 (on account of the sale at £40 by Meringa) with her knowledge and consent, that £15 was paid to Meringa personally at the time of signing the transfer and declaration and that with her knowledge and consent £20 was paid to Humphries, her agent, duly authorised to receive the same.

It is contended that the declaration should have deliberately omitted all reference to the £20 not received by Meringa or her son personally; and the charge against me is that I did not omit this other sum of £20, but included it in the amount declared to as received.

I will now address myself to the first of the above paragraphs, To sustain this ground it must of course appear beyond the shadow of a doubt (a) that the declaration as sworn was false and (b) that I knew and believed it to be false and untruthful.

a. I respectfully submit that the declaration was not false but a literal fact. Had it contained a statement that £20 originally had been received by Meringa it would have been an obvious and undeniable perjury. The paragraph 4 in the declaration as to payment is intended to cover, and I venture with the utmost confidence to say will be admitted by any competent legal draftsman that these words as intended to cover, all payments made by the buyer to the seller or his or her agent. It is suggested that it does not, and that the intent and meaning of the words is to cover only payments made to the seller *personally*. Before going further I will draw attention to the curious inconsistency in the charge against me which passes over as properly included in the declaration the payment of £5 made to Meringa's son (which was not of course personally paid to her) and which in the same breath treats as improper the payment made in a precisely similar way to a duly authorised agent. What ground of distinction there is in matter of enormity between including the one payment and not including the other it passes my comprehension to imagine. Perhaps it can be explained. But I pass on. I will proceed to show that it is preposterous to contend that the paragraph is not devised to cover payments to an agent duly authorised. I will put a hypothetical case. A native sells a piece of land at £100 through an agent, who receives a deposit of £25 on account. Such sales have already been decided by the Supreme Court in more than one case to be binding and are known I believe to the legal profession to be perfectly regular and proper. The native sells as I have said at £100; the agent receives £25 deposit. The balance of £75 is paid to the native direct. Is it or is it not perjury for a native, or for that matter for a European, to make a declaration that he has only received £75 of the purchase money? Is the £25 paid to the agent to be included in the declaration or not? That is the whole question. I submit with the greatest respect that it would be wilful perjury to make such declaration, and clear subornation of perjury for any person to procure and induce a native or other seller to make the same. If it would be perjury for a native to make a declaration, which did not take into account this payment to the agent, how can it be suggested that it is perjury to make a declaration which does take such payment into account, That is really all that Meringa's declaration did. £20 had been (prior to and at the time of Meringa's declaration) paid to her: £20 had been paid to her agent. Why then was it false to state that she had received £40? Would it have been anything but a quibble to declare that she had not? Let me for a moment state the question from a different aspect. Supposing Meringa had sued the purchaser for the purchase money, £40, swearing she had received only £20, could it be contended for a moment that a Court of Justice would have permitted her to escape the penalty of perjury in so swearing, knowing as she did that her duly authorised agent had received £20 more on her behalf. Or even if she escaped prosecution, could it be seriously argued that the purchaser would not have a complete defence in the payment made by him to the agent of the balance of £20 due on account of the sale.

The reasoning above given indicates what is really the true object of the declaration known as Form E. It is to ascertain—though it is only one way of ascertaining—what money has been paid to the native vendor, or on his account, by the purchaser. I would draw Ministers' attention to the fact that none of the Frauds Prevention Acts contain any reference to or provide for payment to the *native personally*; nor do the Frauds Prevention Regulations; nor does the Declaration Form E. Why should they? There are many ways in which value may be given other than by paying in gold to the vendor himself what is due: and the Legislature anticipated this. What would have been easier than for the Acts to have stated specially that payment must be made to the vendor personally. A few words would have done it. But one may search the whole of the Legislation and every Rule made on the subject through, and find no syllable shewing this necessity. Section 6 of "The Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act, 1881," says "the Trust Commissioner shall satisfy himself that the consideration purporting to be paid or given has been paid or given." Section 4 of "The Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act, 1888," says that "the Trust Commissioner must be satisfied that the consideration purporting to be paid or given has been paid or given." Section 5 of "The Native Lands Frauds Prevention Amendment Act, 1889," says "He shall satisfy himself that the consideration purporting to be paid or given has been paid or given." The Rules of 1888 and 1890 are silent on the point. Where is there then any suggestion, much less a specific provision, that a

payment to a Maori must be a personal one; and that, what every person of common sense would treat as a payment, and what is all over the world known as a payment to the principal, is not to be so treated in native matters. But quite apart from any reasoning, what is the actual practice of Trust Commissioners on the point? Do these officers, who are of course specially qualified judges in such matters—do they treat payment to an agent as not being payment to a principal? I ask Ministers to ascertain this point of practice at once: and I affirm with great confidence that it will be found on enquiry that many of these officers, of long experience and high standing, do not hesitate to accept the agent's receipt as a receipt of a principal in such cases; and that transactions are frequently passed by Trust Commissioners where the only payment proved is payment to the authorised agent. If I am correct in stating this, I may fairly sum up thus what my contention is under this head, viz.: That the law recognises and approves payment to the agent as payment to the principal, and that the officers specially appointed to construe and act upon this law do so understand it.

*b.* If the above argument is sound, it of course follows that the charge against me is disposed of. But even assuming that the law as it stands does provide that payment shall not be deemed payment Unless made to a Native personally, can it be reasonably contended that the Statutes or the forms are clearly against me? I submit that no impartial and competent person can be of this opinion. There again one must refer to specialists; and, in common fair play, I have a right to ask that their opinion shall be asked, Will Ministers do me the justice to ask the opinion of the law officers of the Crown upon this point, or the opinion of any leading barrister in the colony? I am quite confident of the result. Any leading counsel, I am convinced, will advise that neither the Acts, nor the forms, nor the rules, in clear terms prohibit or discountenance payment to an agent; and that if the prohibition is there at all, it is certainly veiled and ambiguous. Is it then fair and reasonable to treat the declaration as false, and false to my knowledge?

2. How it can be urged that I had any desire to defraud or injure anyone I cannot imagine. If I had been a person entirely unacquainted with the proceedings of the Trust Commissioners Courts, and especially of the Court presided over by Mr. Trust Commissioner Stuart, it is conceivable that I might have plotted a piece of abominable deceit in this fashion; but I am no neophyte in native matters, and I have some knowledge of the routine of Mr. Trust Commissioner Stuart's Court. I was fully aware that in most cases Mr. Stuart insisted upon witnesses attendance by the Native in Court. I was aware that he desired as a rule summonses to be issued to Natives to compel attendance. I was therefore perfectly well aware that there would be ample opportunity for the Native to attend, and contradict the gross untruth which, in the view of Ministers, I had been a party to. I knew also that Trust Commissioners generally do not rely exclusively upon these declarations, and that Mr. Stuart invariably insists upon corroborative evidence as to payment of purchase money. I was also aware that under Rules 4 and 5 of the Native Land Frauds Prevention Rules of January 23, 1890, though form E may be used as evidence, it is specially provided that the Trust Commissioner may call other evidence to support or contradict the declaration itself. It is of course obvious that this could be no excuse for the deliberate manufacture of a false statement in the declaration. Nothing could excuse that; but, in considering whether I had the matured design of manufacturing such a falsehood in order to mislead, it is only fair to consider whether I, or any other sane person, could have, or be supposed to imagine that there was, any reasonable prospect of accomplish. ing that object. With this knowledge of procedure before me, what a perfectly idle, futile, and I might add, childish, effort should I have been making in procuring the false declaration imputed to me. This brings me to the second portion of paragraph 2—namely the allegation that as a matter of fact the Native was defrauded or injured in some way, or the Trust Commissioner misled by the misstatement, if any contained in paragraph 4 of the declaration. As I of course knew must be the case, at the hearing at the Trust Commissioner's Court Mr. Stuart carried out his duty in all respects with his quite usual caution. Meringa was summoned to appear. Her son was in attendance on more than one occasion. Evidence of payment was asked, and given on oath by Mr. Humphries, clearly showing precisely how payment had been made and when. The Trust Commissioner was perfectly satisfied with that evidence, and none the less satisfied because the payment was proved as having been made to the agent in part. How, in the face of these facts, can it be suggested that the misstatement in the declaration, if it was one, was in any way material or that anyone was misled by it? I ask Ministers whether Mr. Stuart has reported, or can report, that he took paragraph 4 of the declaration, as signed, to be directly in conflict and inconsistent with the oral evidence taken by him on his enquiry. It would be impossible for him to do so. Let us see what were the two sets of facts—the one from written, the other from oral testimony, which were before him. The declaration states that £40 was paid Meringa. Mr. Humphries' evidence shows that £5 was paid to her son, £15 to Meringa on execution of the deed, and that the balance was held by her agent, Mr. Humphries, all with her knowledge and consent. Again I say where is the conflict, where is the inconsistency; or how can it be argued that the Commissioner was misled?

Here it is necessary to state, what is possibly not known to Ministers, that the case of Meringa *v.* Humphries not only did not arise out of the alleged misstatement in the declaration, but on the contrary actually proved by the verdict of the jury the propriety and correctness of the declaration. The jury found in

substance—1. That Mr. Humphries was Meringa's agent; (2) that she received the £40, and (3) that she perfectly understood and approved of every step in the transaction from the beginning to the end, except, and this does not concern me in anyway, the overcharge found by the jury to have been made by Mr. Humphries for commission.

Now I here ask for a clear answer to a very simple question. Surely I have a right to an answer. What was the amount of money Meringa was cheated out of by my action? Is it true, or is it not true, that Meringa did not lose a sixpence thereby? The answer is inevitable, and must be in my favour.

In conclusion I may state a brief summary of my defence:—

- The declaration was not false but a *bona fide* and truthful statement of actual facts.
- Those facts were known fully to the J. P. taking the declaration, to the vendor, the purchaser, and the vendor's agent.
- The facts were fully known to the Trust Commissioner and the transaction was passed with that knowledge.
- They were before a judge and jury at the trial of *Meringa v. Humphries* in December, 1893.
- Upon those facts the jury found that the statement in the declaration was true.
- Meringa was not at the loss of a farthing in consequence of my action.

I ought to add that I am placed at a great disadvantage in defending myself through not having been supplied with a copy of the official report containing the charge against me. It has been the invariable rule to supply accused persons with a copy of such charges, a rule I should say which obtains wherever the English spirit of fair play exists; and without which a person in my position, whom you propose to peremptorily degrade and dishonor, has no real opportunity of being heard.

I have to formally request you to supply me with a copy of any official report containing the charges against me.

CHARLES BROWN.

New Plymouth,

21st May, 1894.

The Under Secretary, Department of Justice, Wellington.

Wellington,

May 23rd, 1894.

SIR,—I am directed by the Hon. Mr. Reeves to inform you that having looked into the matter, he regrets that he can see no reason to interfere with the decision already arrived at to revoke your Interpreter's license, and to remove you from the Commission of the Peace.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. J. A. HASELDEN.

Major Brown,

City Buffet, Wellington.

## [MEMORANDUM.]

Referring to my memorandum of the 21st instant, I submit for the consideration of Ministers that the decision of His Honour Mr, Justice Richmond in the case of *Wi te Ruke and others v. The New Zealand Land Company*, argued before him on March 27th, 28th and April 16th, 1884, has an important bearing upon the question.

CHAS. BROWN.

Wellington,

25th May, 1894.

The Under Secretary, Department of Justice.

NOTE: I received no reply to this.—C.B.

On the 5th June a public meeting was held in the Alexandra Hall to consider the circumstances connected with my removal from the Commission of the Peace and the cancellation of my Intrepreter's License. Appended is a brief report of the proceedings.—C.B.

[REPORT OF PUBLIC MEETING.]

Mr G. Curtis proposed Mr Paul to the chair.

Mr Paul, in taking the chair, stated the object of the meeting. He wished to state on behalf of himself and those who had joined with him in convening the meeting that there was nothing of a political Ming in it, and the meeting must, therefore, not be looked upon as being antagonistic to the present Government. The meeting was called to help Major Brown to get a fair hearing of his case. It was not called to say whether the accusations against Major Brown were right or wrong, but simply to help him to get a fair hearing of his case from the Government. He then called upon Major Brown to address the meeting.

Major Brown, who was received with applause, said that he was much obliged to those who had called the meeting and had taken the matter into consideration. He felt the position he had been placed in especially in view of the positions he had held among his fellow settlers, and the part he had taken in public matters in this Province and the colony generally. It was his aim to maintain the character that he had always held. There were some present who did not know what positions he had held, and therefore, he would briefly advert to them. He had been twice Superintendent of the Province, once Colonial Treasurer, four times a member of the House of Representatives, and had been Agent here for the General Government in difficult times, when there was no telegraph, and things were left to him to decide on his own responsibility. He also commanded the district in the war time, and had fifteen hundred men under his command. To give an instance how he had to use his own discretion, he stated that when the Lord Worsley was wrecked near Opunake, Col. Warre informed him that there were three hundred men ready to go to the rescue of the crew on his requisition. He felt that the Colonel did not know the nature of the country and the Maoris that inhabited it, and as he considered that the passengers and crew would be slaughtered he acted on his own judgment and would not let the men go. Colonel Warre wrote a memorandum on the subject in which he stated that the blood of the crew would be on his (the speaker's) head. This was one of the cases in which he had to use his judgment. He could recount many more, but would not take up the time of the meeting. With regard to the matter for which the meeting had been called, all he desired was to get a fair hearing of the facts of the case to see whether he was guilty or not of the acts which had been charged against him. If he was guilty his name should be blotted out of their memories, but if he proved that he was innocent, which he was conscious he could prove, then he would maintain that good position among them that he had always held. He had never injured man or woman, pakeha or Maori, and on his reputation he would stand. (Applause.)

The Chairman called on Mr. C. F. Richmond, who was conversant with the facts of the case, to address the meeting.

Mr. Richmond said the meeting had to consider whether due consideration had been given to the facts of the case by the Government before striking Major Brown off the Commission of the Peace, and cancelling his license. [The speaker here read the correspondence that had passed between Major Brown and the Government, and which has already been published]. They would see that the charge against Major Brown was that a Maori woman named Meringa had signed a declaration interpreted to her by Major Brown, that she had received £40, whereas she had only received £20 and, therefore, the declaration was false. In fact, £40 had been paid in value to Meringa and her agent, namely, £20 to herself and £20 to her agent. They had also the letter of Mr. Joe Ward, the Justice of the Peace on the occasion of the signing of the declaration, and that gentleman, whose name every person in the room held in high honor, in the letter referred to addressed to the *Taranaki Herald*, said he knew the whole facts; and said he was not ashamed of the part he or any one else took in the transaction. If there was any blot upon Major Brown in connection with it, Mr Ward and the others present when the declaration was signed, having knowledge of the facts, shared it with Major Brown. Mr. Ward's opinion of the case had never been asked by the Government before Major Brown was struck off the Commission of the Peace and his license cancelled. The speaker then referred to the steps that Major Brown had taken when he was notified of his removal, etc., and, in conclusion, pointed out that all they desired was to see a fair hearing given

to the facts of the case.

The Chairman stated that Major Brown was willing to answer any questions, but none were asked.

Mr. Govett then moved—"That this meeting is of opinion that so important a thing as the cancellation of an interpreter's certificate and the removal from the roll of Justices should not be done without giving the person affected the fullest opportunities of answering before some suitable tribunal any charges that may be alleged against him." In speaking to the motion he said that he belonged to a profession in which charges against its members were heard before the Judges of the land, and then one could get a fair hearing to defend himself against any accusations made. He contended that all charges should be heard before a suitable tribunal, and in the matter of a native interpreter he held that the fittest person to hear charges was the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court. When a matter of this kind was referred to a Minister, the chances were that it would not receive the fullest consideration, as Ministers were too much occupied with other business.

Mr. G. Curtis seconded the motion, and also urged that a fair hearing should be given Major Brown to answer the charges made against him.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Cock then moved—"That having regard to Major Brown's long and distinguished public services; to the fact that he has been for 40 years past a Justice of the Peace; that he was twice superintendent of the Province of Taranaki, and that he was at one time the senior officer in command of the militia; this meeting having heard the facts in connection with Major Brown's removal from the Commission of the Peace, and the cancellation of his interpreter's license, considers that a fair judicial hearing should be given to his case without delay." In speaking to the motion Mr. Cock said that he had known Major Brown from the time he left his cradle, and he had always held that gentleman in the highest respect. (Applause). If they had had a few men like him years ago, Taranaki would have been a different place to-day. (Applause). Mr. Cock then spoke on the justice of giving Major Brown a fair hearing to answer the charges made against him.

Mr. N. King seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Bewley, Chairman of the County Council, then moved—"That the Government be requested to constitute the Chief Judge of the Native Land Court a Commissioner to enquire into Major Brown's case, and report thereon." He also referred to the justice of giving Major Brown a proper hearing, and concluded by stating that the case had his fullest sympathy.

Mr. W. D. Webster seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Richmond then moved—"That the resolutions, signed by the chairman, should be forwarded to the Justice Department as soon as possible."—Carried.

The Chairman said it would give him much pleasure to carry out the wishes of the meeting.

A vote of thanks to the chair terminated the meeting.

Thomas Avery, Printer and Stationer, New Plymouth.

Front Cover

## A Co-Operative State Farm Scheme:

A Means for Providing Remunerative Employment for all Surplus Labour; a Home for the Aged, Infirm, and Needy; Ways and Means for Teaching Trades, or such other Technical Education to Our Rising Generation as will Enable them to Earn their own Maintenance; and Totally Abolishing Poor Rates.

*In Three Parts.*

By W. H. Clarke.

Wellington. By Authority Samuel Costall, Government Printer. 1894.

# Contents.

PART I.—The Poverty existing in New Zealand—How the Charitable Aid is administered—The Care and Treatment of Orphans—Social Purity—Immigration—Perfume-farming—Egg Industry.

PART II.—Estimated Complete Outlay for Buildings, Furnishing, and Stocking the Proposed Co-operative Farms—The Necessary Permanent Staff—Their Estimated Salaries and Expenses—Probable Cost of Keep and Wages of Two Thousand So-termed Unemployed—Full Details of the Estimated Annual Expenses—Full Details of the Estimated Annual Returns—The Proposed Different Industries for all Sorts and Conditions of Men, Women, and Children—In what Way it is proposed to place People on the Land—In what Way they are to be assisted—&c.

PART III.—What constitutes a State—Who form a Government—What that Government ought to do—Dividing the State—What is proposed to be done with our Juveniles.

# Appendix.

E. N. Buxton, of the Technical Institution Committee, New Bond Street, London, on Technical Education.

J. Theobald, Member of the House of Commons, on Free Education.

Sir G. Grey, on Technical Education.

W. L. Rees, M.H.R., on Technical Education.

Platt, on Poverty.

&c., &c., &c.

# Preface.

IN introducing my State co-operative farm scheme to the public, I know I have undertaken a great task, especially when I compare my abilities and education with those of learned men who have written upon this great subject before me. But I claim to have as fair an amount of general knowledge upon the subject as the writers I refer to; and I claim to have solved, and worked out in detail, the great problem of relief, which other writers have failed to do. I am sensible of my lack of power to set my plans before the reader in a taking style, so I ask the reader to overlook defects of style and language in this essay, and to look well and carefully into the details and workings of the whole scheme as compared with those of similar scope propounded by other writers. The scheme I now propose has for its object the relief of poverty and unemployed, the settlement of the land, the introduction of good immigrants, the saving of hundreds of thousands of pounds in getting them here, and great improvement in the training of our orphans. I have read numerous writers upon this matter, but neither Henry George, Herbert V. Mills, W. L. Rees, Platt, nor Bellamy has shown even a starting-point. Mr. W. L. Rees's co-operative system is very good; Bellamy's would be good if attainable; Henry George and Platt show what is needed; but Herbert V. Mills shows the clearest and most practicable way to attain relief of any I have read. It is all very well to say the land belongs to the people. Henry George tells us that every man is entitled to as much land as he himself can utilise in order to earn for himself and his family the necessaries of life. But, I ask, how is this to be obtained? In this and nearly every country the most of all available land around or near any market town is owned by some person; so that when those who are outside, so to speak, wish to settle upon waste lands, generally the price of the land is required. Then there are the expenses of travelling to the spot, next a home of some sort is required, to say nothing of stock, fencing, a few farm implements, a little capital for temporary wants, and seed for cropping. How, then, are the majority of the public or unemployed to become possessors of even as much as they themselves would be able to cultivate for the maintenance of themselves and their families without some assistance? Such assistance must necessarily come from the Government, acting in trust for the whole community. But this needs to be done, if possible, in such a way that the country shall get no further into debt, whereby heavier burdens would be laid on the already overburdened taxpayer. Again, where numbers of people are settled upon land it is absolutely necessary to have roads. Thus, the whole work of doing away with poverty and settling people on the land must be undertaken by the Government in trust for the State. To do so money must be had. Then who shall pay the interest? Those who are going to be directly benefited, I should say. But such great reforms can only be accomplished by following some direct practical and systematical plan or system. Such plan or system should be well and carefully looked into, as to the possible, practical, and probable results. If considered good and practicable, adopt it at once; half-measures will not do; it must be a thorough reform.

To deal successfully with the want and wretchedness of the helpless and unemployed requires something more than temporary relief. Then, we must provide permanent homes for the aged and needy, and remunerative employment for all surplus labour, thus enabling those at present unemployed to enjoy the fruits of their own industry instead of spending their days in enforced idleness, eating the bread of their fellow-workers. I hold it to be the duty of the State to provide for all who are unable to provide for themselves: thence, I say, State co-operation in production of the necessaries and luxuries of life is absolutely necessary. Again, in these times of growing competition, it is more necessary than ever that the State should make some provision for the aged and infirm. At the present day employers in any capacity, be they individuals, companies, local bodies, or the Government, when wanting labourers, invariably all want young people, whether it is for male or female employment. The result is that boys and girls are filling the places of men: thus the aged are crowded out in the struggle for life, and must become paupers. Would it not be wiser if the Government and local bodies were to employ the aged, even though they required more men, paying them according to their abilities? Young men are better able to travel from one end of the country to the other, or to go to the gold-, silver-, or coal-mines, or

to the gumfields, than the aged married men. Thence, I say, the necessity for Government to provide some permanent home and employment for the aged.

W. H. C.

Auckland,

*April, 1893.*

# Co-Operative Farm Scheme.

## Part I.

### Chapter I.

## Is There Poverty in New Zealand?

A GENTLEMAN writing from the Waikato in 1880 said a few years ago that the cost to the colony of relief to the unemployed was £80,000, and it only partly relieved the distress. It is impossible for charity aid to reach the wants of a large and growing community like that of New Zealand. During the distress of 1886 and 1887 £50,000 was placed on the estimates for relief of the unemployed in Wellington and £80,000 for a like purpose in Dunedin. What it cost for other parts I do not know.

Speaking in the House of Representatives in 1887, Sir George Grey said, "What I wish to impress upon the House is this: that there is a very large amount of distress prevailing in New Zealand at the present time. For instance, I am informed that in the City of Auckland 1,036 individuals are at the present moment receiving relief, and absolutely require that relief. Then, we have been told that a large number in Christchurch are in distress, and men were at relief works for 2s. 6d. per day." Mr. Taylor, M.H.R., speaking of the unemployed, said, "Then, I have only to repeat what was said by the honourable member for Christchurch South; and I may say that the number of cases of unemployed brought before the Government does not represent a tenth part of the people who have nothing to do. There are hundreds of people throughout the colony who do not know how to get their daily bread. It is not the few who come before the public in so prominent a manner who are suffering most at the present moment. There are a great many more who, rather than go to the Charitable Aid Board for work to support them, would spend their last sixpence and part with every stick of furniture so that they might retain their independence."

Mr. Fish, M.H.R., said, "There can be no doubt as to what the last speaker has said being true. I believe it is a fact that, for even one who asks the Government for relief, there are dozens who suffer and make no complaint. It is also a fact that the very best of our bone and sinew are leaving the various ports of the colony by dozens and dozens every week. I do fear that the Government do not realise as they should do the vast amount of distress which exists] in the country at the present time, nor do they recognise as they should that the question of questions is to devise means to relieve the distress which exists. It is a question which the Government should take up more seriously than they do at present." Mr. Seddon, M.H.R., whilst admitting the great amount of distress of the unemployed, thinks that "the great remedy is that something should be done in the way of commencing public works which would afford legitimate employment for this class of men. And, whilst admitting something must be done, it must not be done on a charitable-aid basis. There are always a great number who are unwilling or unable to work. It is one of the most difficult questions that can occupy the attention of any Government. I quite admit there is no doubt, as has been asserted during this discussion, that there are a large number of very deserving cases, and it must not be imagined for a moment that I have not sympathy with those cases. I merely wish to point out how extremely difficult it is for this or any other Government to meet and grapple with such a great and difficult problem."

I cannot but think that when honourable members have carefully perused my scheme they will be bound to

acknowledge that it is the one and only true remedy that will at once and for ever set at rest that great and difficult problem, A Remedy for Poverty.

At an interview with the Hon. Mr. Richardson, Minister of Lands, in January, 1889, the Minister assured me that he did not think there was any poverty or any unemployed then existing in New Zealand. The bountiful crops and want of hands to gather them, and the great demand for our produce, and the prices realised, were a guarantee of the prosperity of New Zealand. On the face of the Minister's statement, in July of the same year, the Hon. Sir Harry Atkinson, then Premier, in his Financial Statement, acknowledged that the colony had suffered a loss in about two years to the number of 9,580 souls. An article which appeared in the *Auckland Evening Star* of the 14th March of the same year, about two months after the Minister's statement, headed "Why is there Poverty in New Zealand?" reads as follows: "We have shown by reliable statistics that the value of produce exported from this colony for the past twelve months exceeds that of previous years by more than a million sterling. All this is good, and it is as true as it is good; yet we find during the month of February of the same year there were 951 souls living on charity 115 were new cases: thus showing the Minister of Lands had very much erred in his judgment. It is quite possible that, at different parts in which the Minister had just travelled from Wellington to Auckland—through Hawera, Opunake, Normanby, Stratford and New Plymouth—crops may have been bountiful, and hands may have been wanted to gather it in; but who amongst the unemployed in Auckland, if they had £3 in their pocket, would risk the spending of it to go to either of these places, not knowing whether they would get employment or not?" But my scheme is not intended so much to benefit the strong able-bodied man as it is to aid the aged and needy, and those who, whilst able to earn barely sufficient for food and clothes, are not able to earn at the same time sufficient to support a home.

I think the reader will admit that the statements which I have called attention to prove beyond a doubt that a great amount of poverty has existed, does exist, and always will exist until some great reform by Government takes place.

As a further proof, Dr. Hodgkinson, M.H.R., speaking on the Hospitals and Charitable Aid Bill in 1888, said, "Within the last ten years, since abolition, £3,400,000 had been distributed from Wellington amongst the several local bodies, thus showing a cost of £340,000 a year." Oliver Mays, who ought to know something about the distress, speaking in October, 1889, at Devonport, on Colonial Pauperism, said the population regulated by the Auckland Hospital and Charitable Aid Board was about eighty-three thousand, and of that number thirteen hundred received charitable aid. If the same ratio existed over the colony there would be nine or ten thousand paupers, costing £90,000 or £100,000 a year. I ask, Is it not a shame that in so young and grand a country as New Zealand so much poverty should exist?

## Chapter II.

### Charitable Aid: How Administered.

DURING the months of April, May, June, July, August, and September of 1887, 3,427 children and 2,134 adults were relieved, giving a total of 5,561 adults. They had £1,266 15s. 6d. distributed between them during those six months, which, if equally divided, would amount to one shilling and a penny farthing per month each, not quite a halfpenny per day. Poor miserable creatures! I wonder if they would be counted fit to eat of the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table! The Rev. Mr. Hill, who sat one day with the Charitable Aid Board, remarked, "An applicant comes one Thursday before a strict committee and is dismissed, it maybe, with one ration, or none at all, and a lecture; next week he or she comes before two or three easy-going committeemen, and gets the rations doubled, and slips through without further trouble."

Then, the overlapping of charities promotes imposition, and render detection less easy. Recently, to avoid this state of things, the Board communicated with the Benevolent Society, asking for a list of persons relieved, as a check, but simply got an acknowledgment of the letter. Yet that society only last week got £100 from the Board as part of its subsidy. The necessity for a change in the relations existing between the two bodies will be obvious when it is stated that a case came up last week at the meeting of the Board where the Board had been giving two rations, also a meat ration supplies of firewood and coals, and finding the recipient a house rent-free, while the Benevolent Society had been giving the same party 6s. a week for rent and 4s. a week for groceries, neither organization being aware of what relief the other was giving. New wonder this recipient had been on the books about five years. In another case a fine stalwart-looking navvy "could get no work"—wanted rations. The inspecting officer, Mr. Strahern, observed. "Why do you spend your time in the Police Court, instead of looking for work?" "Oh, Mr. Strahern, how can you say so!" replied the applicant, "Gentlemen of the Board, I'll tell you

the [*unclear*: God] truth; I've only been at the Court three times this week, and this is Thursday." This applicant gets a week's rations, and is found employment. Now comes a very distressing case: a family residing in Albert Street, in a wretched shanty in a back yard. The husband is away on the East Coast working in a prospecting party, and sends his wife the little he can save. The wife is almost deformed by rheumatic fever, succeeding typhoid, and the joints of her hands are so distorted that she cannot even sew, and has to be helped in and out of bed. There are four little children on her hands. Her brother-in-law, living in the house, had been ill for four years through an accident met with in gold-mining. For three years one set of relations had kept him, and for the last year he had been with his sister-in-law. When the wife's pittance came from her husband the landlord got nearly the half for rent, although sorely needed for food for her children, but, as she told the reporter, she struggled on, though strongly tempted to ask for aid from the Board. Within the last month the brother-in-law has got a ration—a little rice, oatmeal, sugar, tea, and bread, but no meat, and nothing in the way of the medical comforts needful for a man in his condition; and his sister-in-law was unable to give them to him, though, in addition to his original complaint, consumption was fast making inroads upon his frame. He managed to move about till Friday night, but on Saturday passed away. As the reporter looked upon the "bag of bones" stretched upon the little pallet, and the sickly-looking mother in that wretched hovel, the victim of insufficient nourishment, and called to remembrance the "sturdy beggars" he had seen on "full rations," he could not help thinking that there was something deplorably at fault in our system of official relief. No Church had inquired into her case, no official charity had been hers, because she had endeavoured uncomplainingly to maintain self-respect and womanhood.

Now, I wish to call the reader's attention to one or two other cases. At Wellington, in the month of September, 1889, some extraordinary statements were made at a meeting of the Benevolent Trustees as to the manner in which persons are recommended for relief by local bodies. The Chairman said that three years ago the Mayor of a borough recommended a person as being a proper subject for relief. An allowance of 5s. per week for three months was made. The Mayor, who was a storekeeper, supplied goods for thirty-three weeks. Some demur was made about paying this, but the relief had been kept up for three years, the Mayor having received £37 for goods supplied. The Inspector visited this woman; her statement was that she never required relief, as she had plenty of work, but she was persuaded by the Mayor and others that she ought to have it. In the *New Zealand Herald* of the 31st December, 1891, appeared the following cases: A woman, sixty-two years of age, owner of a cottage, 4 acres of land, and six cows, with three daughters at service and a boy at home. Relief discontinued. A man and his wife, aged seventy-one and seventy-three, living upon 22 acres of freehold, free from mortgage, with £280 on deposit in the bank and one married son in business. Relief discontinued. A widow living in her own house, free from mortgage, with one daughter earning £100 a year as teacher, another at service. Allowance reduced to 5s. a week. A widow of thirty-six years, living on her freehold; two boys earning £1 a week, herself earning 10s. a week. Allowance reduced from £1 to 5s. a week. These few illustrations will be sufficient, I think, to convince the reader of the poverty existing, and, if charity is to be distributed in doles, it requires some better method of doing it.

No one will deny that it is the duty of the State to provide for people who are incapable of earning their own maintenance. And that provision should consist of a home with all reasonable comforts, not luxuries. No one ought to feel that he is a pauper depending upon the miserable pittance doled out to him taken from his brothers' labour. Those who are able to work but unable to obtain it would be depending upon Government for employment, but would be quite independent as to the remuneration they received, because in no case would they receive the full equivalent of their labour, but each would be paid according to his abilities and willingness to work.

The fact that two old men were recently sent to gaol at Auckland for the crime of being poor has been widely circulated through the English Press, and much commented upon. If I had known of any reasonable explanation of the apparently disgraceful case I should have sent it to the *Pall Mall*, which had a nasty paragraph on the subject the other day. "Surely," it wound up, "Auckland is a thriving place, and rich enough to provide accommodation for the destitute, without making criminals of them."

## Chapter III.

# Care and Treatment of Our Orphans.

THERE is no doubt of the good and kind treatment received by the children maintained in the orphan homes. But is it wise or right to let them out on hire at so tender an age? In the *New Zealand Herald* of June, 1889, is a

report of a case in which a woman, Mrs. Williams, was charged at the Thames Police Court with unlawfully assaulting a girl about twelve years of age, who was formerly an inmate of the Thames Orphanage, but who in April last was licensed to the defendant for thirteen months. During the last two or three weeks the defendant, it was alleged, had beaten the child in a most brutal manner, inflicting numerous bruises on the arms and body, besides scratching her on the neck with a knife. In consequence of this ill-treatment she ran away from the defendant, and, meeting Constable Bullen, she made known her trouble to him, and he took her to the Hospital for examination by Dr. Williams, who found the child's back literally covered with bruises. Her arms were also badly bruised, whilst the neck was scratched as if with a knife. There were blue marks on the front part of the body, and one about the groin which was apparently caused by a kick or a blow. The defendant denied the accusations altogether. The Bench dismissed the case; but the decision did not find favour with the public.

The same newspaper gives an account of another case which happened at Christchurch in August of the same year. Mr. and Mrs. Abbott were charged with wilfully failing to provide Esther Pond-rich, an orphan girl adopted by them, fourteen years of age, with necessary food, thereby endangering her life. This girl gave all particulars of the brutality, assigning the principal cruelty to Mrs. Abbott, who had dragged her by her hair, held her head under water for a lengthened period, deprived her of food, and otherwise maltreated her during the previous six months. Marks of violence were all over her body, limbs, and head. Mr. and Mrs. Abbott got twelve months' imprisonment each.

Here are two cases of the treatment of our orphans as brought under the notice of the public. How many similar cases are there which never come under its notice? Is it wise, I ask, to let our orphans out at such a tender age, especially when we take into consideration that the law compels parents to send their children to school until they reach the age of fourteen, when numbers of parents would be glad to have their children at some employment to bring in a few shillings so much needed to help to keep a home? Can we not trace the cause, to a great extent, of juvenile crime in this chapter? When our orphans are hired out at such a tender age to such cruel creatures as those just referred to, can one be surprised if they run away? Not likely; or, being afraid to return to the orphanage, they roam about, till at last they fall into the hands of some unscrupulous wretch, who, under pretence of kindness, takes them to what he chooses to call a home, and trains them, and lives upon their dishonesty and vice; and, if brought before the Justices, in numbers of cases these children are sent for a term to mix with hardened criminals in gaol, where, instead of improving, they grow worse. The Inspector of Prisons, referring to juvenile criminals, in his report of August, 1889, says, "There has been a slight decrease in the number of children under ten years of age confined in the gaols, though it is a matter of regret that there are still twenty-two of that age serving sentences in prisons." It was a source of satisfaction to him that Justices were turning their attention to juvenile crime. It is earnestly hoped that this important subject will receive the serious consideration it deserves. Colonel Hume concludes his report by protesting in strong terms against the present system of dealing with drunkards, which he says is a sham and a delusion, and an expensive and useless cruelty. Referring again to juvenile crime, he says the remedy is to send children to industrial schools at the expense of their parents. I would ask, what better place could you have for drunkards, beggars, and juveniles than a State farm?

## **Chapter IV.**

### **Social Purity.**

THE Rev. Mr. Monro went to a great deal of trouble to ascertain some startling facts as to the social purity of Auckland, making a house-to-house visitation in company with a detective. Mr. Monro says, "Our visits were not confined to what may be called the slums, where the criminal and depraved are expected to congregate, for we entered places of questionable repute in some of the most respectable localities, and certainly I could not have believed that there were such large and magnificently furnished "homes" in a comparatively small city like Auckland, with its commercial depression. We entered twenty-four houses, and called at about thirty, and in these houses we found over sixty girls, many of them intelligent, well educated, and who, judging from appearances, must have once moved in respectable circles." And there are about four hundred professional prostitutes, the majority of the girls being between the ages of fifteen and twenty. The Rev. J. S. Hill, speaking of charitable aid, says, "The great draw upon our charitable aid is the ever-increasing illegitimacy of births." The annual report of the Benevolent Asylum in Sydney, of August, 1889, discloses a shocking state of immorality. It shows that over seven hundred illegitimate births are registered annually, and last year forty-four children were abandoned. Can we be surprised at this, after reading the Rev. Mr. Monro's

report?

May I ask what is the cause and what is the remedy for this great social evil. The cause, I think, can be traced to a great extent to the long hours and small pay of the sweating manufactories and other employers, and lack of employment in other cases. When employment cannot be obtained, and when honourable work is ill-paid, the temptation to dishonourable callings are increased. The remedy may be found by offering a home and employment to all such as are in need at the State co-operative farms, where every opportunity would be afforded for them to become good honest settlers. Repeating the words of the Rev. Herbert V. Mills, "We ought no; to overlook the blessed influence which such a reform would exert over the women of the poorer classes. The rich may be tempted to degrade their bodies sometimes out of pure indolence and for lack of other excitement. But it is not so with the poor. Hard work and simple fare makes them think of other matters. When the young women of the poorer classes fall into immoral methods of gaining a living, in seventy-five cases out of every hundred they are driven into it by the difficulty of obtaining honourable employment of any other kind." The first violation takes place frequently when our wretched sisters are half-starved. If, then, we can offer at such farms employment and a home with comfort to those who are in want, it would do away with poverty and the sweating system, and thus be a great check upon immorality, dishonesty, and vice. Evidently; it is the duty of the State to provide for such classes of the community.

How is it that Governments will not strive to provide a remedy for the relief of all poverty and want of employment? There are three reasons. The first is that the majority of the members of any Government are capitalists and employers. The second is that to relieve all poverty, and provide permanent employment for all surplus labour, would be to deprive capitalists of the luxuries which they now enjoy at the expense of this surplus cheap labour. The third reason is, as wealth is power, so to raise poverty and the unemployed to a state of independence would be to reduce the power of capitalist employers.

How are these things to be remedied? By the weapon that G.O.M., Sir George Grey, has placed in the hands of the people—"one man one vote"—and not by any revolutionary movement. The writer has tried to place before all people a remedy for poverty, The author wants all people to read and judge for themselves of the practicability of the scheme now placed before them. If you, the people, who are the State, approve of it, you, the people, have to choose from amongst yourselves a number of men whom you call Government, and that Government is supposed to do the will of the people; but hitherto you have chosen men who do as they like, and make the people do as they please. But now that G.O.M., Sir George Grey, says you have the power to choose whom you please to carry out your wishes. Is it your wish that all our brothers and sisters shall have food, clothing, and shelter? If so, and if you think this scheme of State co-operative farming will supply those necessaries, send no men to Parliament but those who will undertake to carry out your wishes.

## Chapter V.

### Immigration.

IF the Government, instead of spending the hundreds of thousands of pounds, as has been the case in the past, in bringing people to the colony, would advertise throughout Great Britain that the Government of New Zealand offer to all good immigrants paying their own passage to New Zealand six months' or twelve months' work with a comfortable home immediately on their arrival, and afterwards to place them on a small farm of their own, on the perpetual-lease system, assisting them to the extent of £50 per family, I think there would be no difficulty in getting thousands of good farming men to come and settle here. Had such State farms been in existence during the years 1887 to 1890, instead of lamenting our departed ten thousand, with about a quarter of a million of money, and a reduction in the revenue of about £60,000 or £70,000, the country would have been in a flourishing state, with an additional five or ten thousand small farmers. I am fully aware what has thrown this grand country into its present unfortunate position. It was not the money borrowed, but the way it was misapplied. What is required now to advance the colony is more borrowed money. First of all see what the money is required for, and then use it for that purpose. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in Dorsetshire in 1889, says, "Every Englishman is attached to his home, and it requires a great deal to make him leave it voluntarily, and as to his going involuntarily, it would need a return to the cruel and horrible process which some thirty or forty years ago was applied to a portion of the population of Ireland to force the people to leave their native country." Then the question arises, How are they to be kept at home? The agricultural labourer, as he is commonly called, has a strong desire to attach himself very closely to the land. To induce him to attach himself more closely to the land should be a great object of public policy, and is the duty of all statesmen of all parties. Until lately

there was no local authority that could be trusted for the purpose of taking the important trust connected with the attainment of this object. I rejoice, therefore, to think that the reason exists no longer. By the legislation of last year we have seen brought into existence an elective authority which is extended to our counties. This principle of local freedom and local self-government which has been enjoyed for some time will be of immense advantage. We can look to what are termed County Councils for the purpose of encouraging and accomplishing under reasonable conditions and limits this access to the land. Local freedom and local self-government is one great aim of the scheme. That also is the great aim of this scheme. If the results should prove as my calculations show, in five years the Government would be in possession of sixteen farms, well stocked, in good working-order, and free from debt. I then propose that the Government hand over these farms, stock and all complete, to the local-governing bodies of the districts they may be in, to be enjoyed together with any other endowments such local bodies already possess.

To explain my scheme, I propose four farms in each of four districts, as, for instance, for the North Island, suppose one was at the Waitara, one at Hamilton, one at Gisborne, and one at Whangarei. If such farms were in existence, on the arrival of immigrants they would be taken direct to such farms, and so escape the fleecing that hundreds have received; and the few pounds and other valuables they brought out with them would help them to form a comfortable home after having worked six or twelve months at a State farm. If men were ever such good farmers in the Old Country, six or twelve months at a State farm would be of great advantage to them. I would that every man who is able had as much land as would be sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his family. How are they to come into possession of such? Not, I hope, by a wholesale confiscation system, such as that proposed by Henry George, but by an Act of Parliament prohibiting the sale of any more land. The Government should not sell any more land, but should become the purchaser of all lands that come into the market from time to time in trust for the people. By that means the Government would soon become the possessor of most of the land, without force or injury to any one. No person to whom the State has to give assistance should be allowed to sell out his improvements until he had been a *bonâ fide* settler five years, and then he should only be permitted to sell to some one who was going to become the occupier immediately on vacation of present holder. Thus the land would always be under occupation and cultivation, Then the country must be prosperous. Why do I advocate perpetual lease? In order that large blocks of land shall not fall into the hands of capitalists; also to prevent people from becoming paupers. Men may be drunkards or gamblers, but if they hold their land on perpetual lease they can neither gamble nor sell that by which and from which they and their families must live. Mr. Gladstone, in the speech I have quoted from, says, "Look across to France, and see the millions of holders of small portions of land who, by the raising of fruit, vegetables, and flowers, raise themselves to a position of comfort and independence, and add wonderfully to the wealth of the country." In the struggle for existence there are numerous failures of people in all trades and callings, who, in times of depression, would feel they had a claim on the State farm, and that by going there they were not paupers. These farms would be homes provided by the people for the people in want, and every one who was able would be found something to do whereby he would earn as much as he would cost to keep. And those who cannot work it is the duty of the State to keep. As this scheme proposes to provide for the wants of these colonies, and as Herbert V. Mills's book is a good and well-worked-out reform for the prevention of poverty, I beg leave here to introduce a small copying from his book. "You ought to see the beggar colonies in Holland," said a friend to Mills; and so he did. This is what Mills says of it: There is, first, the relief of the poor at Fredericksvord. This is a private philanthropic organization, which consists of an agricultural colony extending no less than sixteen miles from extremity to extremity. Here the poor are received voluntarily. It is a privilege to live there. There is next the relief of the poor at Veenhuizen and Ommerschans; these are also enormous colonies, both of agriculture and manufactures. Here the poor are sent by Magistrates, compulsorily. It is intended to be educational in its influence, but to be also a disgrace to live at the "beggar colonies" of Veenhuizen and Ommerschans. Originally these two colonies were private charitable institutions like Fredericksvord, but in the year 1859 they were taken over by the Dutch Parliament; and an Act was passed in 1870 which gave strict orders to the police to arrest all beggars. After his arrest the beggar must be taken before a Magistrate, who sentences him to prison for a period varying from two weeks to three months, after which he must go to Veenhuizen or Ommerschans for two years. The effect of this law is that it is almost impossible now to find a man or woman begging in the streets of any town in the Netherlands. The Magistrates seem to have a certain amount of discretionary power in regard to the term of imprisonment, but none in regard to the length of time to be served at the beggar colonies afterwards.

Mr. Mills says, "I found men of every rank of society enduring the restraints of compulsory labour at Veenhuizen for being idle beggars. For the most part, the beggars do not like to be anywhere else but in these colonies. Attempts are made to give them a new trial in the ordinary ways of life, but very few avail themselves of the offer. Every week the men are paid a small wage by way of encouraging them to work. It is not intended, in any sense, to be a remuneration for the work done. They all receive the bare necessities of life, and, in

addition, a wage, which varies according to skill and industry from 7d. to 1s. 8d. per week, two-thirds of which they may spend in luxuries, which are not otherwise obtainable on the estate, but one-third is kept back for them on the day of their release, so they may not go into the world again without money for their immediate wants. The utilisation of the labour of beggars has converted an enormous estate from a wild waste into a garden—from a deserted plain into a home of industry, and, strange to say, a home of contentment. One man, a gardener, clever at his work, had been sent to Veenhuizen no less than fifteen times for begging. Colonies of that class are much better than the workhouse system of England. We endeavour to make the life of a pauper a life that no man would submit to unless under absolute necessity." These are the exact words of my guide, spoken as he led me through the parish workhouse. And again, "The theory of the workhouse is that it is to be a place made intentionally uncomfortable."

It is acknowledged by every member of every Parliament in New Zealand that some great change is necessary for the relief of the poor and unemployed. It is also acknowledged that it is the greatest and most difficult problem every Government has to contend against. I claim that my plan of State co-operative farming and storekeeping will at once and for ever settle that great problem, and I ask the reader to give it a full and careful consideration in all its details as worked out. Herbert V. Mills says the beggar colonies of the Netherlands are better than the workhouses of Great Britain. And State farms are certainly much better than the beggar colonies of the Netherlands. In my next chapter I will deal with the various kinds of employments, and technical educational training of our children and orphans.

## Chapter VI.

# Provision of Remunerative Employment for Surplus Labour.

I PROPOSE that sixteen blocks of land of from 20,000 to 25,000 acres each block be selected by the Government; that large and commodious buildings be erected, with all necessary outhouses; that the land be fenced and well stocked; and that the blocks be called State co-operative farms. It would be necessary to employ a permanent staff to instruct those employed, to see that the work is done, and to maintain order. The permanent farm-hands and the strong able-bodied unemployed would break up the land, erect fencing, and do all the hard work, such as clearing the land, making roads, bridges, &c., thus paving the way for light employment for others. When such farms are in working-order I propose that all the boys and girls in our orphan homes, at the age of ten years, be sent to such farms, where they will be under a schoolmaster and schoolmistress, who, in addition to mental, will also commence to give them technical education in the art of flower-culture. During the first two years we may fairly expect they have learned as much as will enable them during the next two years—that is, from the age of twelve to fourteen—to earn the cost of their maintenance. On first arrival at such farms each child will receive an allotment of ground which has been specially prepared for them, small blocks for a flower-garden, such as a father or mother would allot to children. The schoolmaster and mistress would encourage the children by-giving small prizes to those who keep their little gardens in the neatest and best order, and to those who produce the most and the best flowers. That would be a pleasing way of directing their minds whilst young to something useful. Herbert V. Mills says, "In Liverpool children going to school and working half-time are actually earning 2s. 6d. a week at the age of ten years only." I know myself at the present time boys at the age of thirteen or fourteen receiving from 8s. to 10s. a week; therefore we may fairly calculate that children at any light employment would earn the cost of their maintenance at the ages of from twelve to fourteen. At the age of fourteen I propose to have them made State apprentices, but from fourteen to sixteen they would only work half-time, and school half-time, and night-school if they wish it. The first two years—that is, from fourteen to sixteen—are allowed for them to try any and every trade, and choose the one best fitted for them. From the age of sixteen to twenty-one they would work full time, having the option of a night-school. During their apprenticeship, by my calculations from reliable tradesmen, they would be worth for the first and following years, in addition to their home, food, and clothing—first year, 1s. per week; second year, 2s.; third year, 4s.; fourth, 6s.; fifth, 8s.; sixth, 10s.; seventh, £1 a week. During those seven years propose that the manager may give to each apprentice the sum of £17 12s. as pocket-money; and, if the apprentice, on completing his time at the age of twenty-one years, has given satisfaction, the manager may give him £50, with good credentials, to start life on his own account. That would be a good inducement to good behaviour. And surely it would be a means of reducing larrikinism, crime, and vice in our towns and cities, and

so make good men and women of our orphans. If such results would be realised, our orphan apprentices would have earned £132 12s., and have received £67 12s. Thus the State would be a clear gainer by each orphan apprentice of £65, or at the rate of £9 5s. 8d. a year. Numbers may object to all orphans being made State apprentices; others may object to the State letting out orphans on hire to such people as Mrs. Williams of the Thames, and the Abbots at Christchurch. Will any one take and train those orphans in domestic duties, or receive them as apprentices, except with a view to be directly or indirectly benefited by them? Then, I ask, is it right that the State, whose duty it is to look after our orphans, after having kept them from their infancy at the expense of the people up to the age of eleven or fifteen years, as soon as such orphans become useful and able to earn more than the cost of their maintenance, to let them out on hire? Surely the State is more likely to take a further interest in them than any individual, and, if any benefit is to be derived from the work of the children, then who but the State has the most right to it. And the reader must bear in mind that any benefit so gained by the orphans, or by the cheap labour of the unemployed, or by any productions from such farms, goes towards providing a home with comfort for the aged and needy, and relieving the masses of the poor rates.

We have done well by the boys; let us now see about the girls. We will suppose the girls have also earned the cost of their maintenance from the age of twelve to fourteen. At the age of fourteen I propose they be taught all the domestic duties of a home, such as cooking, washing and ironing, the mending and making of socks and stockings, the mending and making of all kinds of ladies' and gentlemen's wearing apparel, knitting and embroidery, and numerous other industries.

On such large estates, where so many people have to be provided for, see the quantity of vegetables that would be required daily. Then soon a quantity of fruit would be grown. Then soon we should require fruit-, jam-, and pickle-factories, which would provide lots of light employment. I should suggest that flower-culture be carried on on a large scale, with perfume-factories. By establishing and carrying on such industries we provide employment for all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children, and thus we relieve all poverty so far as it is possible, and we keep our tens of thousands of pounds in the colony instead of sending the money away to support the unemployed with cheap labour in some other country.

Such farms would also offer a home to unfortunate women. And would not such unfortunates sooner go to such a farm, where they would be away from all their haunts and associates? But I should suggest that all who have brought trouble on themselves should, after they are restored to health, be called upon to satisfy the State by cash or by labour for the cost of their maintenance. Why should the hard-working industrious man be continually having fresh burdens of taxation laid upon him through the prostitution of such women, or for the maintenance of the illegitimate children of unfortunate women? What, I ask, is the result of the present treatment of this class? They go to homes provided for them, have the best of treatment, are restored to health, and on the very day of gaining their liberty are met by their old associates and feel that they have a new license; and should they again get into trouble they have nothing to do but go back to the home again, plead a desire to do better, and be again admitted. Surely such women are more deserving to be sent to gaol than unfortunates who have no lawful visible means of support. Then, as to those we term "unfortunates," are we not holding out inducements to them by letting them know, if they give way to their would-be seducer, and, as is most natural, get into trouble, "Here is a home for you where you will receive the best of attention until you are strong; then you must go to service, and be more careful in future"; and their child is put to one of the homes, and saddled on the taxpayers. Women under such circumstances should be made to tell who the father is, so that he may be made to pay the expenses, or the mother should satisfy the State. What is it that brings numbers of our women to such a position? The want of employment in many cases; the sweating system at starvation-wages in many others. How will you prevent one or both of these? By offering to all in want a home and employment, free from temptation or vice, at one of the State farms.

We have no large manufactories in this country; but people your land with thousands of small farmers, as in France, and then you make room for capitalists to come and buy your productions and to supply your requirements. England and Wales have provided 649 workhouses for their poor. God forbid that this grand country should come to such! But the Government of New Zealand have provided no place for their aged and infirm poor. It is certainly their duty to do so. Then, what shall it be? Let it be something that will support itself if possible. Let the Government give employment to all surplus labour, and provide a home for the aged, infirm, and needy, relieving the taxpayer, and the people will bless them.

## Chapter VII.

### Perfume-Farming.

LET me call the reader's attention to the amount of light and pleasant employment this industry offers. The following article appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* of the 14th July, 1887:—

*"Several months ago we published from the Christchurch Press a series of articles by Mr. Girling Butcher upon perfume-farming in New Zealand. Since then we have had an interview with Mr. Butcher, and learned that he had decided upon starting the industry in the middle Waikato district. The following particulars of this new industry have been furnished by Mr. Butcher to the Weekly Press at Christchurch: Mr. John Brooks, of Churchhill, Waikato, has some thousands of acres of land which are in the opinion of an expert admirably suited in the various requirements of soil and climate needed for both English and French perfume-farming. This land it is proposed to cut up into small farms of from 20 to 50 acres, which settlers are invited to take up on advantageous terms. Mr. Brooks's idea is that on his undertaking that an expert's knowledge and practical experience shall be at their disposal the settlers would be glad to enter into the cultivation of such plants and flowers as he should direct; and that, when the produce of such part of the land as they would devote to this special branch was ready for the manufacturer's hand, he would purchase at a fixed and remunerative rate all they could grow. This plan commends itself at a glance as benefiting both parties. The small farmer will be saved the expense of the machinery necessary to render the produce of his few acres fit for the market; he will be enabled to utilise the labour of his children whilst at home from school, and be certain of a market for whatever he produced. In Bulgaria, the valley of Kezanlik is called the valley of roses, because there the ottar of roses is the principal industry. The latest statistics, dating from 1885, give the total production of this region as 1,650 kilogs of this perfume, representing about 1,000,000 francs. Consequently the population of this region is fairly prosperous.*

"The following is an extract from one of a series of papers on 'Our Barbarous Prison System,' contributed to a London journal: 'Amongst the many employments followed by the women in Sherborne Prison, Massachusetts, is that of rearing hothouse-flowers, which are sold in the Boston market, and are a very fair source of revenue to the prison. It was most encouraging to witness, as one passed through the gay and perfumed hothouses, the evident pride and pleasure the toilers took in their toil. "You see, the flowers can't answer them back, or irritate them," said the governor; "and it is amazing how soon they become gentle and well-behaved, and how greatly they enjoy being set to work in the houses. Then, the women, who have attained the fourth—that is, the highest grade of good conduct—are allowed to have flowers on their table at which they have meals, also a white tablecloth."

"On the coast of the Mediterranean, within fifty miles of Marseilles and of Nice, the manufacture of perfumes from flowers is a special and lucrative industry. The climate approaches that of New Zealand and Australia, with, however, colder winds at times during winter. The old-fashioned, and not the latest florists' novelties, are the plants chosen, on account of their stronger perfume. The harvest is continuous. First, the violet, jonquil, and mignonette are gathered from February to April; these are succeeded by roses, orange-blossom, thyme, and rosemary until June; jasmine and tuberose come in July and August; lavender and spikenard last till September; and the floral harvest is terminated by the acacia in October and November. The rose and the orange-blossom season of May and June is the time of the greatest activity. Peasant proprietors supplement the growth of the grape and the olive with the lesser industries of thyme, rosemary, and lavender. Their simple distilling apparatus suffices for inferior essences, which are used to dilute the products of the large establishments.

"The history of a typical example of a flower-garden is furnished in the 'Journal of the Society of Arts' for August of 1887. At Scillian's, near Nice, twenty miles from the Mediterranean, and situated at an elevation of 2,000ft., the proprietor of a steep hillside plot of ground, 23 acres in extent, and worth as many pounds a year in rent, determined in 1881 to commence flower-culture. The steep slopes were terraced by means of walls, and the spring of water at the top was utilised for irrigating. In the Autumn 450,000 violet-tufts and 140,000 roots of the white jasmine were planted. During the following spring the laboratory was erected, and geraniums, roses, tuberose, and jonquils were planted. Five years after the value of the produce was £8,630, giving a net profit of £1,553, or a clear profit of £310 a year.

"How many thousands of acres of such hill-sides have we in New Zealand well adapted for flower-culture, but of little value for any other purpose.

"In the *Petit Journal* Mr. Thomas Grimm describes the method by which, in the districts of Cannes and Grasse, enormous quantities of perfumes are annually manufactured. Mr. Grimm estimates that something like 62,000 acres are given up to the growth of flowers between the right bank of the Var and the chain of the Esterel. At one of the largest perfume-factories of Grasse, Mr. Grimm found that the three principal operations in the making of perfumes were the preservation of the odour of the flowers by distillation, by enfleurage, and by exhaustion. The last-named process, which is applied chiefly to roses, is perhaps the most important. The *Liverpool Mercury* remarks that 323 tons of cut flowers sounds an enormous amount—and so it is, no doubt: yet this was the weight of the cut flowers packed and sent out during the four months from November to

February from Cannes alone. Their value would be estimated at £65,268. And the trade is said to be increasing."

## The Egg Industry.

An article which appeared in the *New Zealand Herald* of the 28th July, 1891, shows that the egg industry is making rapid strides in Austro-Hungary, the exports having largely increased. During the ten months ending with October, 1889, those exports amounted to 915,500 cwt. gross. As there is 102,536,000 lb. weight in 915,500 cwt. gross, and allowing an average of six eggs to a pound, the number of eggs exported would amount to 615,216,000; and if each hen averaged sixty eggs a year, as laid down in my calculation, it would require 10,253,600 hens to lay that quantity of eggs. In another article of the same paper of the 4th April, 1892, it is shown that the egg trade between Canada and England is developing rapidly. Consignments have been pouring into Liverpool, and it was expected that one Canadian exporter alone would send upwards of thirty million eggs to the British market. In my annual returns from poultry I show 1,600,000 eggs at 6d. per dozen, amounting to £3,333 6s. 6d.; 160,000 fowls reared and sold at 1s. each, £8,000; 160,000 ducks reared and sold at 1s. 6d. each, £12,000; 16,000 geese reared and sold at 3s. each, £2,400; and 16,000 turkeys reared and sold at 3s. each, £2,400: thus showing by egg and poultry industry an annual return of £28,133 6s. 6d. I have allowed in my expenditure that one middle-aged man or woman could look after 200 fowls; and if they average what I have calculated for in my I returns—only 60 eggs a year each—that would be 12,000 eggs. We sell 10,000 at 6d. a dozen—33 dozen, at 6d., £20 16s. 6d.; rear and sell 2,000 fowls at 1s. each, £100: showing a total annual income from 200 fowls of £120 16s. 6d. If this unemployed man or woman was in receipt of 8s. a week and a home, the cost of which is calculated at £16 5s. 7d. a year, amounting in all to £37 1s. 7d. a year, the balance of credit over expenditure for 200 fowls would be £83 14s. 11d., or at the rate of about 8s. 6d. per head per annum for ducks and fowls.

These striking proofs of what may be done in perfume-farming and the egg industry alone show what a lucrative industry they are. And what better employment could the Government provide for our aged, infirm, and needy, also for boys and girls? And to [unclear: wh] better place could you send our juveniles, or habitual drunkards or aged criminals than to a State farm?

There is an Agricultural Training College at Lincoln, where people may send their sons to learn the art of agriculture on paying £30 a year. The Government have no right to provide better terms for one portion of the community than for the other. I cannot accept the argument in this case that it offers a benefit to all classes alike, as it is beyond the means of the working community. Just so in regard to our schools. We are told that any man's child may attain the highest standard and raise himself to the highest position in the colony. That is very well; but ninety-nine out of every hundred of the toilers require their children at home as early as possible to help to earn the necessaries of life. So, you see, the toilers have to pay for the higher education, also for the technical education, of those who are in a position to pay, and who ought a pay, for such training. Adopt State co-operative farms, and all may be taught free, as every one would be found employment of some sort which would be remunerative, and no one would be paid the full value of his labour—it would never do, it would be offering inducement to people not to seek other employment.

I should suggest that prisoners of good behaviour be allowed to complete their term of imprisonment at such farms on probation the manager allowing them some remuneration, which he would hand over to them on completion of their term. Then such prisoners would not be sent into the world again empty-handed. But such prisoners may, if they choose, be kept on at the State farms, receiving the same privileges as other men. That would be a means of preventing them from falling back into their old ways. Is not our present system partly the cause of our gaols remaining full? There are numbers continually going in and out of gaol, as the police know. The most of them, when they come out of gaol, have no money, and it is very difficult for them to get work, and if they are seen to beg, steal, get drunk, or sleep out, they are run into gaol again. Thus they have no chance to redeem the past, and in consequence they are a constant burden on the taxpayer.

In conclusion, allow me to enumerate the various employments such farms would offer. There would be clearing the land, fencing draining, and road-making. There would be farming proper for the requirements of the farms. There would be a bone-mill to grind the bones; a boiling-down and bottling department for neats-foot oil and jelly; jam-and pickle-factories; blacksmithing; carpentering; coach-and wagon-making; bootmaking, tailoring, matmaking, upholstering. A great quantity of vegetables would be required daily. There would be cooking, cleaning, washing, and ironing, the mending and making of all kinds of ladies' attire, besides numerous other industries, together with the great amount of light and pleasant employment in perfume-farming and the egg industry.

Now, it is quite evident that all these numerous industries could not be carried on, and accomplish all that it is intended to do, in any other way than by the adoption of State co-operative farming and storekeeping.

Allow me now to introduce the reader to my calculations of expenditure and returns, the various ways I have allotted the duties, the wages, the quantity and quality of the daily food consumed on the farms, the way I propose settling people on the lands, the method of assisting them, their probable production and requirements, and how they can find a market for their products.

"What a blessing it would be to have this curse of poverty removed from our land, so that each being in whom nature has planted the genial rays of brotherly love may lift up his head from the mire and filth of poverty, and be able to dwell in peace beneath the silver sheen of Heaven, and hail with delight the smiling sun of prosperity."—Pitman.

My only claim is this:

With labour stiff and stark,  
By lawful turn, my living to earn,  
Between the light and dark;  
My daily bread, and nightly bed,  
My bacon, and drop of beer;  
But all from the hand that holds the land,  
And none from the overseer.

No parish money or loaf,  
No pauper badges for me,  
A son of the soil, by right of toil  
Entitled to my fee.  
No alms I ask—give me my task;  
Here are the arm, the leg,  
The strength, the sinews of a man,  
To work, and not to beg.

—Hood.

## Part II.

### Chapter VIII.

# The Great Problem Solved.—A Remedy for Poverty by State Co-Operative Farming.

IT offers the following great advantages:—

- A home to all who are in want, and cannot work.
- Remunerative employment for all surplus labour.
- It will totally abolish the poor rates.
- It will find out impostors.
- It provides for settlement of the land.
- It provides means to obtain good immigrants.
- It provides for giving trades or such technical education to our orphan boys and girls, also to the children of all parents desiring it, as will enable them to become good settlers, able to earn their own maintenance anywhere.
- It will improve the morality of our rising generation.
- It offers the best means of providing for local self-government ever yet brought before the notice of the public.

I propose that £400,000 should be expended as follows:—

Here I will show by my calculations the annual expenses to keep or support these sixteen farms, with a staff of 432 persons, and 2,000 so-termed unemployed, at the following rates of wages and their keep, allowing very liberally for wear, tear, and breakages, fires lights, and medical comforts:—

Thus we have provided employment for 480 labourers for fifty-two weeks at an average cost of £1 per week each and their keep. We have erected sixteen large buildings capable of accommodating from three to four hundred people each, with a hospital for males and one for females to each. We have furnished the buildings with everything necessary; we have well stocked the farms; erected all necessary outhouses, such as stables, cowsheds, piggeries, fowl-houses, &c.; provided all necessary machinery, working implements, wagons, seeds, &c.; and have stock worth £30,000 in the stores to commence with.

And these farms will offer remunerative employment to all surplus labour; they will provide a home for the aged and needy, and so totally abolish the present degrading system of relief by charitable aid. This scheme, when carried out, will give trades to all our orphan boys and girls, or such other technical education as will enable them to become good colonists, able to earn their own maintenance anywhere. It will offer the same privilege to the children of all parents desiring it. These farms will offer these same privileges to those who are in need for all coming time, and will be more than self-supporting. Is such an object well worthy of the spending of £400,000?

Allow me to show here the possible annual returns:—

As I propose placing four hundred families on the land five years in succession, assisting each family to the amount of £50, they [paying 5 per cent, for the assistance, let us see what the amount of the returns will be in five years:—

As two thousand families are to have 100 acres of land each, at supposed a value of £1 per acre, let us see how much is returned to the State in five years by rent from land:—

It is evident that each family so settled ought to produce fruit, grain, or other products to the value of £30 to pay the interest on money, the rent on their land, and to feed and clothe themselves propose that the manager of each farm become the purchaser, this securing the settler a ready market. The manager would be able to give more than the producer could get in any other way, and the manager would be the person to find an outlet for the products. Allowing the manager net 2 per cent., let us see what the result would be for five years:—

Each family would require from the stores annually clothes or groceries worth at least £20. The managers would be able to supply such settlers at cheaper rates than they would be able to get supplied anywhere else, allowing the managers only net 2 per cent, profit. Let us see the result:—

Six thousand families have been supplied, although only two thousand are settled.

The £50 which I propose to assist settlers with as we place them on their own small farms, after having worked six or twelve months at one of the State farms, would consist of the following, or any other thing most needed:—

All of these would be supplied from the State farm. The managers of the State farms could also become the purchasers of all products from such settlers. Thus, as Mr. John Brooks, of Church-hill, Waikato, remarks, the small farmer will be saved the expense of the machinery necessary to render the produce of his few acres fit for the market, as he would be certain of a market for whatever he produced. Does the reader say the Government has no right to trade in this way? Let him not forget that the Government is dealing with that portion of the State in such a way as will provide a home and employment for all those who would otherwise be living upon the industry of the other portion of the State as paupers.

My total income for five years is made up by productions from the following resources:—

This grand total is made up as follows:—

I am told by farmers and others that lambs will not realise 10s. each, whereas I show proof they will realise 14s. 3d. each. For instance, to feed the people on the State farms, I have shown it costs the State 3d. per pound for meat; but the State has not to buy the meat, it is bred and fed upon the estate, and lambs this year are sheep next year, and we do not require to eat the lambs. The State has 200,000 sheep to start with; I have calculated they will produce 160,000 lambs annually; the State gets rid of 160,000 annually, thus keeping up a standing number of 200,000. I have calculated 16,000 are required annually as food, and allowing they weigh 40lb. each, at 3d., it will amount to 10s. each. I supply settlers at the rate of 4,000 annually, at 5s. each, and send to England 140,000 annually frozen; and, if they only average 50lb. each, and are sold in a London market at 5d. per pound, it will amount to £1 0s. 10d. each. By my calculations I have allowed the State to net 10s. each. If so, there would be 4,000 annually supplied to settlers at 5s., 16,000 used on the farms for food at 10s., and 140,000 sent to England frozen at 15s. each: total, 160,000 sheep disposed of annually at the afore-mentioned prices, and the result is 14s. 3d. each. I am told calves would not be worth 10s. each. But the State will kill 1,000 annually for food, and calves at three or four months, if they only weigh 150lb., at 3d. per pound, would amount to £1 17s. 6d. each. Those not used would grow into cows or bullocks, and so replace older ones. I have

only priced sheep's fleeces at 2s. and lambs at 1s. each, and sheepskins at 2s. 6d. each. It is a well known fact that sheep's fleeces will average from 3s. 6d. to 4s., and lambs from 1s. 5d. to 2s. each, and sheepskins will average 4s. each. It will thus be seen that I have allowed a big margin for expenses; so that the State would net what I have stated.

I have provided for 2,432 people, divided amongst sixteen farms: that would be 152 to each farm. I allow eleven of a staff to each farm as non-productive, thirty-one so-termed "unemployed," who only earn their maintenance, thirty others who earn 5s. or 6s. a week more than their maintenance, and sixty-five able-bodied unemployed who earn from 8s. to 15s. a week more than their maintenance. Then we have five tradesmen and ten permanent farmhands, who earn what they receive. Allow me now to apportion their respective duties, showing as plainly as I am able how it can all be carried on. We should have—

- 11 of a staff non-productive;
- 10 who earn their maintenance, could attend to 1,000 fowls;
- 10 who earn their maintenance, could attend to 1,000 ducks;
- 6 who earn their maintenance, could attend to 250 geese;
- 5 who earn their maintenance, could attend to 250 turkeys;
- 15 who earn 5s. or 6s. a week, look after 12,500 sheep;
- 15 who earn 5s. or 6s. a week, look after 200 cows;
- 8 able-bodied men, at from 10s. to 12s., look after 16 horses;
- 8 able-bodied men, at from 10s. to 12s., look after 16 bullocks;
- 4 able-bodied men, at from 10s. to 12s., look after 50 pigs;
- 5 tradesmen earning what they receive: thus leaving
- 10 permanent farm-hands, and
- 45 able-bodied so-termed unemployed, ploughing and fencing,—and producing all the requirements of the farms. It only
- 152 requires a little thought to see how beneficial such a system would be to the colony. See the thousands of acres of land which would soon be under cultivation, the miles of roads that would be made, the country opened up, and the great increase of revenue by railway traffic.

To the credit balance, which I have shown in five years to be £743,310 16s. 4d., would have to be added the number of orphans who under a co-operative State system would be earning the cost of their own maintenance from the age of twelve to fourteen. This number may be fairly placed at five hundred, which, at a cost of £1 5 per head per annum, would be a saving of £7,500 a year. And I have shown that apprentice boys earn in addition to the cost of their maintenance £132 12s. each, and they only receive £67 12s. each. I shall allow there are three hundred such apprentices, from each of whom the State will be gaining £9 5s. 8d. a year, or a total saving per annum of £2,785.

I think I have shown very clearly that a home with all reasonable comforts can be provided for all in need, so doing away with our present unsatisfactory and degrading system of relief. What is it makes people so selfish to-day but the fear of old age or adversity coming upon them and finding them without any means of support, and nothing but poverty and suffering staring them in the face? Then, we, the people, are one national family, and are bound to provide for our unfortunate sisters and brothers; and in what better way can we do so than by State co-operative farms?

## Part III.

### Chapter IX.

## What Might and What Ought to be Done.

To make this grand country like France we must people it with thousands of small farmers, and this may be accomplished under the State co-operative farm system. The State is the guardian of our orphans, and should retain that function until they are of the age of twenty or twenty-one. Every orphan boy who is physically able should be brought up to farming and be instructed in every branch of the industry, with the view of becoming a farmer.

Any person of common-sense knows that the people constitute a State as land constitutes an island or a

country. The people select from amongst themselves a number of intelligent men to rule or guide the State, whom they call a Government. In order that I may be better understood, I will, so to speak, divide the State. All who are depending upon Government for assistance, such as the inmates of the hospitals, asylums, orphan homes, and gaols, the destitute and unemployed, I will call the State. The remainder, who can live without the assistance of the Government, I will call the people. Now, we have the State on one side and the people on the other. The people can live without the State, but the State cannot live without the people, so the Government have to tax the people to support the State. The people expect that a wise intelligent Government will make wise and equal laws for the good of the people and the State alike, expending all moneys and supplying all wants on the best and most economical principles possible. Then, in order to accomplish such things, would it not be wise for the Government to have State co-operative farms and stores, so as to provide remunerative employment for all surplus labour, and let that surplus labour produce, so far as it can, the requirements of the orphan homes, hospitals, gaols, asylums, and the aged and needy? And why not have their own mills and grind their own grain and corn, producing their own flour and oatmeal? Why not have their own tanneries and make their own leather? Why not have their own woollen factories, working up their own material into blankets, producing all wearing apparel, and so supplying those hospitals, gaols, asylums, orphan homes, and the hands on the State farms?

The reader may object, and say the State has no right to go in for all this commercial industry. Have I not already shown, and have you, the people, not already experienced, the heavy tax you have been called upon to pay to support such places, and how un-satisfactory it has been done? Again, have I not shown that the people are able to support themselves? Now, a good and a wise Government may relieve the people of the charitable-aid or poor-rate tax, and try to make the State support itself. Amongst the people there are a number of contractors who not only live, but actually enrich themselves, by contracts to Governments for supplying the requirements of the above-named institutions. Let me put before you, the people, this question: Suppose the Government invite tenders for the supply of meat, bread, butter, milk, &c., for those places, and twenty tenders are sent in, only one is accepted; but the other nineteen people continue to find a living; and so would the twentieth if he had not got the contract. Then, let the Government, by all means, provide a method by which the State can support itself, at all events in the industries already mentioned. Such a Government would be a truly Liberal, yet an economical, Government, and a friend to humanity. I have shown clearly how unfairly our poor rates are administered, and have proved how numbers suffer hunger and privation rather than appeal for help by charity. I hope the reader will not misconstrue such a system as this as a system of charity. It is no such thing. It is simply providing a means whereby all who are able may earn their own maintenance, and be saved from becoming paupers. As I have already said, we, the people of New Zealand, are one national family, and it is our duty to provide a home for our brothers and sisters who are in want and unable to provide for themselves. There is no charity in it; it is a right and a claim they have upon their stronger brothers and sisters. Surely we who are strong and healthy, and able not only to earn our own living but luxuries also, ought not to begrudge reasonable necessary food, clothing, and shelter for our less fortunate brothers and sisters.

I am not one of those who would bring all men on an equality; but I do contend that no one, be he who he may, has any right whatever, either by the laws of God or man, to five, ten, or twenty thousand pounds a month or a year whilst we have others wanting food, clothing, and shelter. Provide food, clothing, and shelter for the needy; then and not till then should the wealthy enjoy their luxuries.

## **Chapter X.**

### **What Was Rroposed and is Being Done.**

SOME of my readers may not know what Governments have already done, or have proposed to do. During Sir Harry Atkinson's Government of 1887 to 1890, at a meeting held at Wellington in July, 1889, to consider juvenile crime, it was shown that there were five hundred children roaming the streets between the hours of 7 and 10 o'clock in the evening. The following resolutions were carried: Firstly, that the imprisonment of children be altogether discontinued, and that they be either birched, or dismissed, or sent to the industrial school. Thirdly, that a distinction be made between children who are criminal and those who have been merely unfortunate or neglected, and that the two classes be separated and placed in distinct establishments. Fourthly, that farms be set apart, one for each set of children, where they may be taught fruit-and vegetable-growing, the management of horses, cattle, &c., with a view of their becoming useful settlers upon land on reaching manhood. And fifthly, that the Court to exercise jurisdiction in these matters should consist of a committee of

seven Justices, to be annually appointed, of whom three should form a quorum.

On the 10th July, 1890, in a debate in the Legislative Council on the treatment of neglected and destitute children, these resolutions were confirmed. In *Hansard* of 1890 is a report showing a training college at Lincoln, which only partly supports itself. And on the 18th July, 1890, Mr. Goldie asked, in the House of Representatives, that £3,000 might be placed on the supplementary estimates as a grant towards the foundation of working-men's colleges and technical institutions for Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, seeing that £1,000 was provided for a like object in Dunedin. Again, *Hansard* of the 15th July, 1888, shows that 5,000 acres of land had been set apart for the establishment of a home for aged and infirm miners on the West Coast of the South Island. And, once again from *Hansard*, No. 17, of August, 1890, it may be seen that a quantity of land was asked for on which to build agricultural prisons. It is evident, if they have farms for juveniles in Wellington, all other towns will expect the same. The same may be said respecting working-men's colleges and technical institutions. And are not the aged and infirm of any class as much to be considered as the miners on the West Coast? And here let me ask, how long would it be before such farms and institutions would be ready, and what good purpose would they serve, and at what cost to the country? I contend it is the duty of Government to provide and to offer the same benefit to all State subjects on equal terms, the same for the poor as for the rich. If the rich want something better than the Government offer, they are in a position to pay for it. Then, in sixteen State co-operative farms we have sixteen working-men's colleges or technical institutions; sixteen farms where all juveniles may be taught fruit-and vegetable-growing, the looking-after horses, cattle, &c.; sixteen farms to which all juvenile offenders might be sent, instead of being associated with hardened criminals—sixteen farms that would answer for agricultural prisons—sixteen farms that would answer for those people whom the Inspector of Prisons refers to in his report of August, 1889.

The Inspector of Prisons says, "The large increase in the average of sick is due to drunkards and old and infirm people being sent to gaol as vagrants, instead of to refuges." "This," the Inspector says, "is a serious blot on our administration, and a gross injustice to the unfortunate aged people too old and infirm to earn their own bread." Mr. W. L. Rees, M.H.R., in his "National Policy, and Local Self-government for New Zealand," says, "If we can turn the vast estates of the Maoris from a mine of litigation to fields for settlement and the homes of men, if we can restore to the people the power of local self-government, and free the General Assembly from the domination of local interests and selfish cliques, we shall accomplish a good and useful work, and lay the foundation for future prosperity and improvement on the eternal principle of justice and fair dealings."

An article which appeared in a Sydney newspaper of March, 1890, says, "There are nearly two thousand men sleeping out in the open air," and goes on to say, "The effect in Sydney has already been to build up a large class who systematically look to Government for support. This is one of the most serious evils that have arisen out of State ownership of railways, and the gigantic system of works constructed out of borrowed money that has obtained in all the colonies. But it is manifest there must be some finality. Governments cannot, with justice to the majority of the community or with safety to the State, go on borrowing money merely with the object of finding employment. It would be far better for them to face the difficulty at once and devise some scheme, either of land-settlement or dispersion of the city population throughout the country districts, that will permanently solve the problem."

The reader will notice here what Mr. W. L. Rees has just said, also what this Sydney article has said, and then he will see that that is exactly what my scheme will accomplish. It is a permanent and sure reproductive way of relief from poverty. It for ever sets at rest the ever-increasing difficulty of the unemployed. It relieves the thickly-populated cities, and offers the best means yet devised for local self-government. The General Government, carrying out this reform as I propose, would in five years have sixteen farms in good working-order, well stocked, and everything complete, worth £380,104. I then propose that the General Government hand over those farms, stock and all complete, together with any other endowments they already possess, to the local governing bodies. We are living in an age of social reform; social reforms are better than, socialistic wars. Some great social reform is wanted to place the masses of humanity in a better condition. If the Government of New Zealand should adopt this scheme it will be setting a grand example to the world. It is a remedy against the sweating system, against strikes, and against that great labour agitation which is revolutionising the world. Should we adopt it in this colony we may escape what appears inevitable in the Old Country—namely, a great social revolutionary war.

After twelve years' correspondence with Ministers of the State, and personally explaining my scheme to them, let us see how they act towards me. At an interview with Sir Harry Atkinson, then Premier, on the 11th February, 1889, explaining my scheme at length, he offered to have my scheme put into form for publication, and, if he was satisfied that the idea would be useful to the colony, to have it printed at the cost of the Government. I declined the offer, saying the position was similar to that of Mr. Hannaford and his lighthouse, which the Government would not adopt, although they used his ideas in the construction of the lighthouse for Cuvier Island. Corresponding with Sir Harry Atkinson immediately after this interview, he evidently thought I

should forward my manuscript to Wellington, for Sir Harry, addressing a public meeting at Napier on the 20th of same month, says, "Among the new things, Government would probably propose to establish pauper farms, where able-bodied paupers should be compelled to work for relief." You will notice Sir Harry finds another name—he calls them "pauper" and not State farms. However, 1889 and the following session passed, but not a word was said about either pauper or State farms. Why was this so? I had not sent my manuscript, so Sir Harry had not got my ideas, as his Government managed to get Mr. Hannaford's. After a long interview and a lengthy explanation respecting my scheme with the Hon. Mr. Ballance, Premier, on the 19th December, 1891, Mr. Ballance acknowledged a number of good points in it. I asked the Premier to have my manuscript published, according to the recommendation of the Public Petitions Committee of the 21st August, 1891, so that the Government and the country might have the benefit of my ideas; but no, this could not be. Yet we see by the *New Zealand Herald* of 11th February, less than two months after my interview, that the Premier is going to adopt, not State farms, but industrial farms, which is only another name, thus making it appear as if the idea originated with the Ministry. At last they call it by its right name—State farms. At last the Hon. Mr. Ballance acknowledges that he is strongly impressed with the need for some important changes, or, I might say, a complete revolution, and he says, "My idea is that it will come to State farms, with practical organization upon these farms."

Have I not worked out a thorough systematical and practicable plan as laid down in this pamphlet? Yet it appears Ministers would like, by some means, or by any means, to deprive me of the credit, It is such things as these which drive good citizens to become extreme revolutionists, and cry for "*Liberté, égalité, fraternité.*"

## Appendix.

### Technical Education.

ONE or two extracts from the *Essex Herald* of May, 1891, may help to convince the reader what an important question that of technical education is becoming:—

#### **"Technical Education in Rural Parishes.**

*"SIR,—It will be in the recollection of your readers who are interested in technical education—already a numerous class—that the provisional scheme submitted at the last meeting of the County Council left to each urban authority the responsibility and privilege of administering its share of the money to be spent in the county for this purpose under the provisions of the Technical Institutions Act, such grants to be based on 1d. in the pound of assessment. Local self-government was the key-note of the scheme. It is now suggested that this principle should be extended to the rural parishes as well. Thus, if this proposal is carried at the next meeting of the Council—and there is little doubt that it will be—it will be in the power of each parish to provide its own scheme of technical education according to its needs, subject to the approval of the Council. The amount in many cases would be so small that probably when convenient and possible a better scheme will be produced if one or more parishes combine together for this purpose. It is at the request of some of my colleagues that I venture to publish this proposal, and to anticipate the decision of the Council, because it is of the greatest importance, if anything is to be done this year, that the parishes should lose no time in turning their attention to this matter and considering their scheme. Eight hundred copies of the scheme as it at present stands were sent out last week to clerks of Guardians for distribution among their Boards. There ought therefore to be by this time a copy in every parish in the county. More can be had by sending a post-card to the Technical Institutions Committee, 35, New Bond Street, London, E.C.*

*"E. N. BUXTON."*

#### **"Free Education.**

*"SIR,—As in a paragraph in your issue of the 8th instant you mention me as entertaining objections to the principle of free education, I hope you will allow me to say that, instead of that being so, I am a supporter of free education in its widest sense. What I object to is that free education should be given only to those attending Board Schools. What I maintain is that free education should be given to children, and that that education should embrace such technical and other education as would enable, or at least materially help, the children to pursue some calling, and that the girls should one and all of them be taught cooking, a knowledge of which is of the utmost importance to the wives of working-men. This education is, to my mind, of far greater importance than what is taught in the higher standards. What should be aimed at is a practical education of all, instead of only a portion of the children.*

"J. THEOBALD.

"House of Commons,

11th May, 1891."

Sir George Grey, addressing a public meeting in Wellington, said our present system of education was only what he might term partially educating the man—that was, what he might term the mental part, leaving the bodily part entirely uneducated, except so far as athletic exercises were concerned.

Mr. W. L. Rees, M.H.R., addressing a public meeting in Auckland; shortly after his return visit to England in 1890, said there were fourteen hundred thousand less labourers in England at the present day than there were a few years ago. In answer to a question, he said no doubt this could be traced to our present system of education.

Speaking in the House of Representatives on our system of education in July, 1891, Mr. Rees says hundreds and thousands of boys and girls go through school, and have learned no trade; and at the age of fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, when they leave school, they have to begin to learn a trade to earn their bread, whereas, if between the ages of ten and fifteen they were taught technically in different branches of practical education, then they could go forth somewhat fitted to become breadwinners.

At an interview with the Hon. Mr. Ballance the writer asked this question: "Do you not think the day is fast approaching when Government will find it as absolutely necessary to compel children to receive such technical education as will enable them to earn their own maintenance as it is for Government to compel them to receive mental education?" The answer came at once, "Undoubtedly I do; and had I the power I would bring it in force to-morrow."

I have quoted different authors and statesmen on technical education in order to show the reader the thoughts and doings of the present age. And what an age it is!—towns and cities overcrowded, the country and the soil neglected; and why is this so? Can it not be traced to our present system of education? As Mr. Rees says, Boys and girls go through school, leaving school at the age of fourteen or fifteen, then they have to begin to earn their bread, and they will not leave the towns, and girls are filling the places of boys and boys the places of men.

An article in the *New Zealand Herald* of the 26th April, 1893, headed "State Farms; Unemployed Settlement Scheme," shows that the Government have 10,000 acres upon which they are going to experiment. It is to be let to bushfelling parties, but none but strong able-bodied men will be accepted. So that even the Government ignore the aged or middle-aged men, who must of necessity become paupers if a home is not provided whereby they can earn their own maintenance. The late Hon. Mr. Ballance, when Premier, speaking upon this subject in the House of Representatives, in August, 1891, said, "I contend that it is the duty of the State to provide a home for the aged and needy—a home not like the workhouses in England, which might be termed workhouse gaols, but a home where they might spend the remainder of their days somewhat in peace and comfort." I am sorry to see no step has yet been taken in that direction, but everything is being done for the strong able-bodied man who ought to be able to do for himself. It is evident that no great social reform such as I have tried to bring before the people can be carried, except in a regular systematical manner; and no individual could lay down a great plan of reform such as this that would be perfect from its inception. If perfection is to be attained, it must be by progression. I would suggest that no intoxicating liquor be allowed to be sold within a certain radius of such State settlements. It would be the duty of a Government to draw up a code of rules and regulations for all connected with such farms, and to fix it in a position where all might see and know them. If the reader will allow that the State has a right to provide for all who are unable to provide for themselves, and give me credit for being in earnest in my endeavour to show the way this can be accomplished, and urge it upon the Government, my labour will not have been in vain.

For every evil under the sun  
There is a remedy or there is none:  
If there be one, try and find it;  
If there be none, never mind it.

**Platt, on Poverty.**

UNEDUCATED as I acknowledge myself to be, my opinion is that Mr. James Platt, F.L.S., author of "Business," "Money," "Economy," "Piatt's Essays," &c.—my opinion, I say, is that Mr. Platt points out some of the best ideas of many writers upon this great and difficult problem. Mr. Platt says, "Poverty has been one of the most difficult social problems of all ages; how to lessen it has been the aim of every good man in every country; how to extirpate it, how to make men equal, has been the dream of those who will not recognise the inevitable and strive after what is practicable. My opinion is that the only possibility for the diminution of poverty is to start every one in the race resolved to improve his condition, and to make them understand that to achieve this result they must be more apt and skilful in their respective avocations than their predecessors or rivals, but, above all, to be actuated by a desire to develop their better self, the higher part of their nature, so that, as they become wiser and more intellectual, they will also become better men and women, more sympathetic, more kindly disposed to feel for those less favourably equipped for the battle of life. If a man can and will not work it may seem cruel, but it is real kindness, to say to him—'Neither shalt thou eat.' Poverty and vice both have their causes, direct and indirect; those who begin their lives the inheritors of wise, moral, thrifty progenitors have much to be thankful for, and should have more pity for their less favoured brethren. I am afraid that 'poverty will never cease in the land,' but I do most sincerely believe that we have it in our power to lessen it, and reduce it to its minimum." And I say the following remark of Platt indicates the true and main thing to be attained, namely: "The first thing is to develop in every boy and girl, whilst young, that technical or artistic skill by which, anywhere and everywhere, they can earn their own living." Now that has been the great difficulty, and Platt, like other writers, whilst admitting the necessity for some social reform to raise humanity to a higher standard, has failed to show us the way. I claim that I have laid down as practicable a plan, in all its details, as can reasonably be expected by a single individual. Improvements and perfection may follow, if possible, as progression goes on. Mr. Platt says, "We want more industrial, domestic-cooking schools. We want schools in every parish that will give scope for the practical exercise of the talents and capabilities of our people. Instead of being so anxious for a higher education, for cramming their brains with a lot of useless luggage, let our efforts be devoted to training the workers of every district in its speciality, so that, by cultivating and perfecting the different kinds of handicraft, the nation shall excel therein, and thus benefit the nation, and secure to the working-class the means of earning an honest livelihood. We want an organization in every parish for developing the skill and practical intelligence of the working-class. We want facilities in every parish to enable our young people to obtain sound instruction, theoretically and practically, that will make the men good workmen, the women good housewives. We do not want 'poor-houses' in every parish; we want real 'workhouses,' where the workmen shall be taught to work. Men must live, and, if not trained to earn their own living, they must live by taking it from others. To get rid of poverty we must take such steps as will improve the race. We want the industrial and technical schools to take the place of the old apprentice system. By co-operation for mutual benefit we aim the surest blow at 'poverty,' and at the same time are acting in accordance with the soundest economic principles for the progress of the nation."

Samuel Costall, Government Printer, Wellington.

But who in this Christian land  
Will hark to a poor man's cry?  
And how can you make us understand  
Why Christians let men die?

It's tears of blood we shed,  
As we starve, and toil, and freeze;  
It's work we want, not money and bread  
In doles from the charities.

What wonder that men go mad  
With trouble and toil and maze?  
What wonder that women go bad,  
If nothing but badness pays?

Other refuge have I none, O New Zealand! but in thee;  
Old I'm getting, I've no home: will you find some work for me?  
Old men's refuge I don't want—"Find me work," is all my cry.  
You, the Government, I'm asking—I don't want your charity.

ANARCHISM: ITS ORIGIN AND AIM.

A. Lecture Delivered in Wellington by J. D Findlay, LL.D.

vignette of horseshoe Dunedin Printed at the Evening Star Job Printing Works, Bond Street 1894.

It is a familiar saying that "it has taken all the past to make the present," but this profound truth owes what currency it has rather to its paradoxical expression than to any general appreciation of its significance. The roots of things hidden in the past escape attention, and oftentimes what is deemed the original invention of to-day is in its main essentials as old as Aristotle. Of nothing is this truer than of systems of thought. Human thought, like human nature, is a growth, and doctrines which appear to the less observant to be the creation of this decade or the last are but the lineal descendants of the philosophies of hoary antiquity. I premise this because I hope to make what I have to say forcibly illustrate it. My first purpose is to trace

## The Origin of Anarchism.

First, then, what, shortly put, is this Anarchism whose history we seek? It is that doctrine which declares that men can and should live according to the law of nature alone; that the curse of the race has been our human laws and institutions, whose fruit is seen in all the world's deep misery and woe; and that no remedy for this widespread wretchedness exists but the annihilation by all means fair or foul of all established rule and external authority. Such is the cardinal tenet of the Anarchist; and if it seems to many but the crazy product of delirium let it be remembered that it counts among its advocates writers of such ability in literature and science as Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus—that for its sake men have readily—nay, cheerfully—laid down their lives, and that notwithstanding a repression almost as fierce and thorough as that directed against Christianity under the early Roman Emperors it nevertheless grows and spreads like a cancer, threatening the very life of the body politic. Now, let me say here that I am not concerned to-night with Socialism, but with Anarchism. The two doctrines differ as the poles—the one aims at the further development and elaboration of our social system; the latter at its overthrow and destruction. With this distinction kept in view, I first proceed with the consideration of the origin of Anarchism. To trace its roots, it seems to me that we must turn to Ancient Greece, the home of the intellectual fathers of the world. Among all the teachings of the early Greeks, none, perhaps, has so profoundly influenced the development of the law, morals, and institutions of mankind as the Greek conception of Nature. With them the fundamental idea conveyed by the word *phusis* (Nature) was the manifestation of some primordial law, the operation of some great single principle. It was the chief mark of the Greek mind to search "through all it felt and saw and reach the law within the law." From Thales, the father of Greek speculation, up to Zeno the struggle still was to find the *En kai pan*—the one in many, the enduring and unchangeable. In the Stoic's conception of Nature there are two elements—first, primordial matter, or the passive element, from which all things are formed; and secondly, an active element which forms things out of matter. This is Reason or God; this active element so forming things gives to matter the laws which govern it. Hence Reason is the great creative law of the world. But the operation of this principle was not confined to the physical world only, for with the Stoics at least it embraced the conduct, thoughts, and observances of men. Everything physical, psychological, and moral is subject to this great general law; and, if man would *know* it, his one rule of life is this: "Live harmoniously with Nature." To follow this rule man must cultivate and employ fortitude, self-control, and all the other cardinal virtues, and hence in so far as any law or custom dictated the observance or performance of these virtues it was deemed to be consistent with Nature's rule. Tested by this touchstone, it was believed that her last code might be discovered, and such a system of laws and institutions established as might again produce that golden age of which the poets, from Hesiod downwards, have delighted to sing. From the Sophists to the Stoics the distinction between natural law and the laws of men was a favorite subject for disputation and inquiry, and wherever imperfections and unfairness were found that indicated that the origin of the inequable law was man and *not* Nature. But the influence of this Greek conception has been exerted in later ages, chiefly through a Roman medium. When Greece became the vassal of Rome the philosophy of the Stoics was enthusiastically embraced, at least in theory, by the Roman lawyers. The main features of this law of Nature were supposed to be simplicity, harmony, justice, equality, and all these features stood out in striking contrast with the complex ceremonial and formalities, the class distinctions, and brittle

formulæ of the civil law. Ulpian, the Roman jurist, is but employing the moral ideal of the Stoics when he declares: "*Quod adjusnaturale, attinet omnes homines aequales sunt*," that by Nature's law all men are equal—a doctrine, let me say by the way, the misconception of which has done more harm in modern times and produced more absurd and dangerous nonsense than any other maxim in existence. With the Romans, then, this *jus naturale*, or law of nature, became the ideal law. The pattern for all law made by men and the growth of this doctrine among them led the jurists to identify in theory, at any rate, their *jus gentium*, or the simpler and more equitable part of their law with the lost code of nature. Whatever part of their law had the features of simplicity, justice, and equality they began to declare was but part of natural law, and in framing all that system of law which the prætor or Roman magistrate erected upon the original civil law he was supposed to be guided by this ideal *jus naturale*. It does not appear that they contemplate any past condition of the race—any early state of nature in which man lived subject to this beneficent code of hers. That contemplation appears to have been almost exclusively confined to the poets; but the contemplation of this ideal and perfect law afforded the Romans a test and a paragon, by the aid of which they made their system the finest in the world. Passing from the age of Justinian to later times it is interesting and essential to my purpose to show the influence of this theory of the law of nature upon the minds of the French lawyers. When about the year 1250 anno domini the scientific study of Roman law spread from Bologna over Western Europe, France was cursed with a confusion and diversity of laws and customs that perhaps existed in no other country in the world; and the French lawyers, hopeless of any reform of this tangle of theirs, turned with delight to the Roman view of the law of Nature. The virtues of this ideal law with its simplicity and uniformity were contrasted sharply with the vices of French law proper. The former's supposed opposition to class distinctions and the equality and perfect fairness which were deemed its leading features were the subject of passionate laudation and admiration by the French jurists, especially those of last century. But, following the Roman method of treating this natural law, they did not attempt to speculate upon or contemplate the actual state of human life in which this law prevailed. All these glowing panegyrics of theirs, however, served to lead up to and introduce that counterpart of the theory—the natural condition—the golden age in which this natural law held sway.

## The Influence of Rousseau.

The transfer of regard from the laws of Nature to the state of nature was, considering the circumstances I have referred to and the imaginative and speculative character of the French mind, a step, if not inevitable, at least natural. It was Jean Jacques Rousseau born at Geneva on the 28th June, 1712, that strange compound of weakness and strength, ignorance and knowledge, baseness and nobility, who affected this transfer. It is not within the limits of my subject to say anything of the life of this strange man—one of the most unique characters in history—of whom it has been said "he formed a new social system and a new order of man," and the influence of whose writings upon the minds of his countrymen was summed up by Napoleon in the phrase "that without Rousseau there would not have been a Revolution." In his 'Discourse on Inequality,' written in 1753, he sets himself to inquire into the origin of inequality among men, and as to whether it is authorised by natural law. In answering this question he ascribes to an imaginary state of nature all the virtues previous writers and thinkers ascribed to natural law. In his wanderings amid the woods at St. Germaine (whither he had gone to think out his thesis) he tells us: "I sought for and found the image of primitive ages of which I boldly traced the history. I confounded the miserable falsehoods of men and comparing artificial men with the state of nature I dared to show them in their pretended improvement the real source of their miseries." Rousseau was not the first writer who had employed an assumed state of nature upon which to base a social dogma. Hobbes has his state of nature and so has Locke, although theirs differ, as I shall shortly show, widely from that of Rousseau. But, unlike him, Hobbes and Locke never claimed for their assumptions any previous existence in fact, nor attempted to prove that this hypothetical condition was ever an actuality by an appeal to history. It was characteristic of such a mind as Rousseau's to proceed upon the *credo ut intelligem* principle, and first erect his theory into a passionate creed, and then claim to have proved its truth by the most audacious assumptions of fact, scraps of unreliable history, and absurd prehistoric traditions. Such are the means by which he boldly declares he has established man's pristine condition of innocence and happiness, and shown how the race has fallen from its earthy paradise to its present perdition. I need not trouble you with the features of this primitive condition. Man, as described by Rousseau, in this earliest state is not so much a savage as a brute, seeking his food like an animal, possessed of no language, sleeping under the shelter of trees, mating with a female and leaving her again as do the beasts of the field. This, he tells us, is the first home of simplicity, innocence, and felicity, in which man was happier and more moral than his so-called civilised descendant of to-day. Rousseau's Golden Age is not, however, this first stage, but that midway between what I should call the brute stage and our present fevered unrest—realism: that condition of barbarism in which the savage has his hut, his own wife or

wives, his dress of wild beast skins, and his ornaments of feather?, shells, and teeth; such a condition as probably the Maoris enjoyed when we came to these islands and taught them how to move the spirit's inner deeps by rum and true religion. This is the state in which man's lot was happiest, healthiest, and best. Independent, self-reliant, earning his own livelihood, uncurst by capitalist, landlord, or tax-gatherer. The true fall of man was from this state, and the road to our present misery lay through the development of language, of industries, of the modern form of the family, and finally of property. The growth of society and the growth of human wretchedness have moved on with equal step, and all our ghastly extremes of wealth and poverty are but the bitter fruit of so-called social progress. High above all other instruments on social evil stands the institution of property, chief source of all our suffering. "He was the true founder of society," says Rousseau, "who first enclosed a plot of land, and, claiming it as his own, found fools enough to believe him." With this institution grew inequality, dishonesty, strife, and misery. It has been the very upas tree of social life. Thus, then, we see the old theory of natural law giving birth to a philosophical state of nature, and leading to the idea of a past that was never present. But the most important development of this last-mentioned theory yet remains to be described. Rousseau necessarily conceived this natural condition as unpolitical, and to account for the creation of the state he invokes

## The Doctrine of the Social Contract,

a doctrine which, although proceeding upon a gratuitous hypothesis, has yet profoundly influenced modern political conceptions. This is his picture of the birth of society—the transition from the natural to the social order of things: "Pressed by necessity the rich to defend themselves conceived the most ingenious plan which ever entered the human mind—namely, that of employing on their own behalf the very forces that attacked them, and of turning their enemies into defenders." "Unite with us," they said to the poor, "to secure the weak from oppression, to restrain the ambitious, to assure to each the possession that belongs to him. In a word, instead of turning our strength against each other let us place ourselves together all under one supreme power which governs us according to wise laws, which defends all members of the association, repels common enemies, and preserves us in everlasting concord." "All hasten under the yoke in order to secure freedom—such was the origin of society and of laws which, for the benefit of a few ambitious men, subjected henceforth all mankind to servitude and slavery." This theory, fanciful as it is, lies at the very root of Anarchism. It was the creed of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre; the major premiss to those bloody conclusions which produced the Revolution. Rousseau did not originate the theory, and a short sketch of its origin and development may be both interesting and requisite to our inquiry. The fiction of the social contract began with Thomas Hobbes, an English philosopher of the seventeenth century, with whom also begins the whole modern school of political theory. His capital advance upon previous writers was to clearly mark the distinction between policy and legality—between what ought to be and what is positive law, and it was first essential to his doctrines that he should establish the absolute power of the sovereign body. To set up a supreme lawgiver, whose decrees, be they (measured by an ethical standard) just or unjust, were nevertheless the law of the land and binding upon its people. To do this he invented the theory of

## The Social Compact.

In his remarkable work, 'The Leviathan,' published in 1651, he assumes a state of Nature preceding the existence of society, in which all men are equal, but in a condition of constant war and constant fear of violence. Unlike the halcyon days Rousseau pictures, pre-social times, in Hobbes's view, were marked by misery, dread, and bloodshed. There was no supreme power to preserve order, protect the weak, or punish the wrongdoer. The remedy for this intolerable condition was the institution of a supreme power, and this remedy involved the surrender by each of such natural rights as were inconsistent with the exercise of sovereignty. But the surrender of these natural rights must be voluntary, and hence Hobbes supposes the formation of a mutual agreement between each person living in this state of nature and a person or body of persons chosen to fill the post of sovereign, whereby an unlimited power and discretion for the common weal is granted by the people to the governing body. From this hypothetical contrast Hobbes deduces the principle that no man may attempt to change the form of government, since this would be a breach of his original agreement. No subject can dissent from the institution of sovereignty without thereby ceasing to be a member of the community and remitting himself to his original state of war, while every sovereign is irresponsible, for the control given him is irrevocable, and no one can justly complain of the exercise of the authority he himself has given to his agent. This imaginary contract was introduced not to correctly explain the creation of society, but to originate and

justify supreme power, and prove that rebellion was a gross breach of man's natural duty to keep his promise. Hence (as we shall see) this so-called apostle of "Divine right" and "passive obedience" employs the fiction of the social compact for purposes the very antithesis of those Rousseau had in view. But before this speculative chimera reached the French father of the revolution it had passed through the hands of John Locke, one of the most eminent and valuable English political writers of his century. In his essay on 'Civil Government' he bases his theory upon the hypothesis of the social contract. He, like Hobbes, began with a state of nature; but he conceives its features differently. It is not, in his view, an intolerable condition of war—a condition of utter lawlessness, fear, and rapine; for the law of reason exists, which teaches all mankind who will but listen to its dictates, that as they were all born equal and are by nature independent, no one should injure or destroy another's life, limb, liberty, or estate. These are, strangely enough, almost the very words of the text from which the Anarchist of to-day preaches. The reign of this natural law would, if undisturbed, result in universal peace, harmony, and happiness. But even in the supposed state of nature the law of reason is heard and widely obeyed, nor does any state of war arise until men refuse to listen to Nature's voice or violate her mandates. While Hobbes employed the fiction of the social compact to generate absolute power and inculcate passive obedience, Locke employs it to establish constitutional government and justify in certain cases disaffection and rebellion. His work is, in fact, an elaborate apology for the Revolution of 1688. With this aim he strives to show that all the fundamental rights of man were antecedent to the formation of Government, and that there existed in a state of nature a natural right of property in one's person, and in those things with which he has mixed his labor. These natural rights are observed as far as the law of reason is obeyed, but to prevent and punish disobedience a common judge, armed with authority, is necessary. It is important to observe, then, that in Locke's view man in a state of nature is already enjoying certain rights, and any social compact is necessary only for certain limited purposes. Men give up, he says, much of their natural rights to the governing body, but they do so conditionally, and not absolutely, as Hobbes contends. The condition is that the power thus parted with shall be exercised strictly for the good of the whole community, and anything done by the sovereign foreign to that object is, as lawyers would say, *ultra vires* and void. Hence it has been said that Locke employed his conception of the original contract to show not merely that constitutional government was justified by the law of nature, but that it was the only form of government so justified. And now I return to Rousseau. With the writings of both Hobbes and Locke he was familiar, and his celebrated essay 'Du Contrat Social,' published in 1762, is based upon what he borrowed from these English writers. Already in Locke's essay the tendency to treat the state of nature as subject to the law of reason is clearly seen, and in Rousseau that tendency reaches its furthest limit. With him the sovereign is not a privileged person or body of persons, but the collective body of the people themselves, and sovereignty but the exercise of their general will. The right of sovereignty residing in each is inalienable, and hence no such delegation of supreme power as Hobbes and Locke refer to is possible. There can be no separation and independence between the subject and sovereign parts of a State, for the people are at once subjects and sovereign. We have seen in Hobbes how this social contract was employed to serve the ulterior object of establishing supreme and irresponsible power; in Locke to serve the object of justifying constitutional government; and now in Rousseau we see it engaged to create a sovereign power, and yet leave each party to the contract as free as he was before. There is in Rousseau, as in his predecessors, a contract entered into by each man living in the state of nature; but it is entered into (in Rousseau's view), not with any particular person or body of persons, but with the whole community, and results merely in a surrender to the community of certain rights. The general will is the supreme power, which will itself compel obedience to its dictates, and there is no king or ruler of the people *but* the people. Thus we see how this fiction of the social contact first served Hobbes to erect and justify a sovereign body, and finally served Rousseau to justify its destruction. The former tells us that in the state of nature true liberty has no place; the latter that man was originally free, and has undergone enslavement by the form of our society. The bearing of such conclusions as those of Rousseau upon modern Anarchism are not hard to trace. His conception of the origin of society is the chief principle of

## The Anarchists' Gospel.

It was but its logical conclusions, the victim of Charlotte Corday's dagger expressed, when he declared "that society was founded upon mutual agreement, and that if sufficient reason for determining that agreement existed it should be dissolved." "The bonds of society," said Marat, the comrade of Danton, and the most hatefully notorious of the butchers of the French Revolution, "are now dissolved, and the state of nature has come back in which each man has a right to take what he can, and the rich must make way for the poor." And Brissot but applied the principles of Rousseauism when he declared "*La propriete exclusive est une vol dans la nature.*" The gospel of Jean Jacques has been correctly summarised as follows:—

- All men are born free, politically equal, and good, and in a nature remain so; consequently it is their natural right to be free and their duty to be good.
- All men being equal by natural right, none can have any right to encroach another's equal right. Hence no man can appropriate any part of the common means of subsistence—that is to say, the land or anything which the land produces—without the unanimous consent of all other men. Under any other circumstances property is usurpation, or, in plain terms, robbery.
- Political rights, therefore, are based upon contract—the so-called right of conquest is no right, and property which has been acquired by force may be taken away by force.

These were the texts of the rhetorical nonsense that inebriated and inflamed the minds of French proletariat in 1789 and urged them on to blood and anarchy. I need not go into any critical examination of these principles. Should my reader be curious to see how this stuff looks beneath the surgical knife of common sense, you cannot do better than read Jeremy Bentham's *Specimens of a Criticism of the French Declaration of Rights*—that "sort of institute and digest of Anarchy," as Edmund Burke calls it. But much of this essence of Rousseauism is familiar to all. Not only is it the creed of the Anarchist, but largely the accepted doctrines of shallow thinkers, who are more attracted by the grandiloquence of a phrase than the force of an argument. Books but repeating these same notions set in a weary waste of words have, during the last decade or two, fallen upon us from the Press "thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Vallam-brosa," and half the ultra-socialistic literature of our day is but Rousseauism veiled by bombastic, windy phraseology—"Liberty," "Fraternity," "Equality." Magic words! What cart-loads of rhetorical confectionery have been made out of you. Well may Bentham exclaim: "Alas, how dependent are opinions upon sound. Who shall break the chains which bind them together? By what force shall the associations between words and ideas be dissolved—associations coeval with the cradle—associations to which every book and every conversation gives increased strength. The language of plain, strong sense is difficult to learn; the language of smooth nonsense is easy and familiar. The one requires a force of attention capable of stemming the tide of usage and example; the other requires nothing but to swim with it." I think I have succeeded in showing how first the early Greek view of the law of nature passed to Rome, and there, employed for practical purposes, impressed itself on Roman law and Roman thought. Again, in later years imported into France, it gathered strength and authority until the time of Rousseau, when its counterpart, the state of nature, yet but dimly contemplated, is brought out into vivid prominence and made man's perfect state even as her law is perfect. And accompanying this development since the time of Hobbes went on that of the social compact until Rousseau formulated his fantastic system by an alteration and continuation of both these theories. This legacy of visionary speculation he bequeathed to posterity, and to-day it is the gospel of the Anarchist and the avowed warrant for the use of the bomb and the dagger.

## Rousseau's Disciples.

Rousseau, however, is rather the grandfather than the father of modern Anarchism, for it is his children who are more immediately connected with the present movement. Joseph Pierre Proudhon is its acknowledged parent. He was born at Besançon on January 15, 1809, and died there on January 19, 1865. The child of parents sunk in hopeless poverty, he felt in his early years all the bitterness of the old world struggle for existence. The vicissitudes of his childhood doubtless engendered that hostility to society that found in later years vehement expression in his writings and made his nature the natural soil for the seed of the Genevese theorist. His youthful talent gained for him the assistance of some friends, and by their aid he got a moderate education, to which he added in after years by self-instruction, becoming in time both a linguist and a scholar. In 1840 appeared his famous work, bearing on the title page the question: "*Qu'est ce que la propriété?*" to which the first page of the treatise replies "*C'est le vol*" [it is robbery]—a doctrine borrowed immediately from the maxim (I have quoted) of Brissot, one of the leaders of the party of Girondists who figure so prominently in the French Revolution. Proudhon's main arguments are that labor is the sole just ground of individual possession, and that all labor ought to be rewarded equally. In 1841 and 1842 he published further treatises more vigorously advocating these views, and so vehemently bitter and revolutionary became his tone that he was prosecuted for his writings, but acquitted. The rest of his life was sedulously devoted to the spread of anarchical propaganda, and a stream of revolutionary theses flowed from his pen. He violently attacks almost every social and legal institution in existence, and, while he shows an utter absence of scientific judgment, he displays that fatal literary gift with which Nature seems to have endowed so many of his countrymen as a compensation for want of sense. The writings of Proudhon were widely circulated in his own lifetime throughout much of Western Europe, and stimulated and fed in many minds the flame of social discontent and revolution. Greatly, however, as Proudhon promoted the modern movement of Anarchism, its spread and its vitality are more largely due to

Michael Bakunin than to any other writer or agitator of this century. He was a Russian, born in 1814 at Torschok, and the descendant of an illustrious aristocratic family. After serving in the Russian Army for a time he visited Western Europe, and in France met Proudhon, by whose writings he was deeply influenced. This was in 1847. Two years later he was sent to Siberia for his connection with certain disturbances in his own country, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Thenceforth he lived in exile, chiefly in that early home of continental revolutionists, Switzerland, and set himself with a zeal and a determination, born, perhaps, of an implacable revenge, to diffuse the damnable doctrines of his creed. In 1869 he formed the social Democratic Alliance, which died in the year of its birth. After leading a rising at The Hague in 1870, and actively promoting in every direction his wild anti-social theories, we find him expelled from the 'International' in 1872 by Marx and his party in that great struggle between Socialist and Anarchist, which cost the 'International' its existence. I have not space to trace more fully the features of this strange career. By tongue and pen he unceasingly diffused the principles of his doctrines in Spain, Italy, and France, and gave it a vitality and intensity which to-day produces Santo and his brethren. His system is simplicity itself. In a word it aims at annihilation of all external authority, and is avowedly a declaration of war against every social institution. The race has tried all forms of Government from monarchical to democratic, and the unceasing cry of human misery has proclaimed them each a failure. The tyranny of many is no better than the tyranny of one, and man's enslavement is as bitter in republic as under an autocracy. Perish all your artificial systems which have erected a pernicious power to keep a man a slave. It matters not whether external authority emanate from God or man, from an absolute sovereign or from universal suffrage, it is the true root and source of all our wretchedness and woe, and must at any cost be utterly destroyed. In his 'Dieu et l'etat' he declares:—"Man's true liberty consists solely in this: that he obey the laws of Nature and obey them because he has himself recognised them as such, and not because they have been imposed upon him externally by any foreign will whatever, be it human or divine, collective or individual." In a word, man's true and only governor is the voice of reason within him, and all assumption of external power is but the usurpation of tyranny. This is the Stoic's view run mad—an apotheosis not so much of Rousseau's state of nature as of his natural law. It was the teaching of Zeno that men should strive to rise above the fever, the frets, and the pettiness which belong to the world of passion, prejudice, and ignorance, and reach the serene air of that intellectual life whose ideal is perfect harmony with Nature. The Greeks fully recognise that this high aim was far beyond the full attainment of the mass of men, that it was but an ideal which they could at most by self-control hope to get nearer to, just as we deem the perfect life of Christ a divine example which we can but feebly follow. "The perfect man who springs hereafter up from Nature" may be able to listen to the voice of reason, and, hearing it, obey, but the day of his era is still far off. It is the fundamental blunder of Proudhon and Bakunin and their disciples that they treat that distant day as already come, and suppose and declare that human nature here and now would, in the absence of all external law and authority, be found almost Christ-like in its love of order and in its justice, morality, and truth. I hope and trust that as the "great world spins for ever down the ringing grooves of change," we are slowly nearing that millennium, but no one but a dreamer or a fool can believe that if every external restraint disappeared man's many imperfections would vanish, and each of us be a perfect law unto himself. Yet this is but a plain statement of the main doctrine of Anarchism—"ascertain Nature's laws, obey them, and obey no others," is the proclamation. To further the recognition of these laws let scientific knowledge be diffused among the people. "No provision for their enforcement is requisite, for once a man realises what a law of Nature dictates he must obey it, since that very law is part of his own nature." Thus no need exists for political organisations or social institutions. As Proudhon puts it, "the government of man by man in every form is oppression, and the highest perfection of society is the union of order and Anarchy."

## The Objects of the Anarchist Movement

avowedly include the complete abolition of classes, the enjoyment of absolute freedom, the fullest satisfaction of man's wants permitted by the limits of Nature's productiveness, and due consideration for the wants of others. Capital is declared to be the common inheritance of humanity, and ought to be at the disposal of all, so that no one should be excluded from it, and none seized of part of it to the detriment of the rest. Let there be bread for all, science for all, work for all, independence and justice for all, while the fullest equality is demanded as the essential condition of freedom. No Government is to be tolerated, and in place of all external and administrative control there must be substituted voluntary agreements perpetually open to rescission. You will recognise in all this the identity of much of the Greek conception of the Stoic's law of nature, but as a social system nothing could be more unlike Aristotle's view of the State's functions. He does not begin with a fanciful figment like the social compact but the actual conditions of human society as upon close investigation he found them. In direct opposition to the Anarchist's view he declares that man was born to be a citizen, and

that man's true state of nature is society—so far so, that he pronounces the *State* not only natural and necessary to man but prior to individual man, since he cannot live a complete and tolerable life apart from it. "As for equality, he says it is idle to talk of equality as good for its own sake—an equality of pinching poverty would not help us much. The aim should be to equalise men's wants." But to return to Anarchism. I have outlined the aims, and the means employed to promote those aims you learn daily in the newspapers. Bakunin states the duty of the Anarchist plainly and boldly. Let him, he in effect declares, set himself steadfastly to destroy by every possible means this cursed growth we call society. In pursuit of this end he must be influenced by no private interests, no personal feelings, no sentiments of religion, patriotism, or morality, but let him be ruthless, relentless, dauntless in the work of unceasing destruction. This is his mission, and, let the means be fair or foul, the glorious aim of the welfare of the race will justify and commend it. Once destroy every vestige of external government and with man's complete emancipation the millennium will come. So assured, these blind enthusiasts would hasten on the wheels of human progress by the bomb, the pistol, and the dagger. I do not say that these means are approved by such men as Kropotkin or Elisée Reclus, nor have I space to give the different shades of opinion among the advocates of Anarchist themselves. It is sufficient for my purpose that the aims and means I have stated reflect the view of all the pronounced and active Anarchists of these times. With most of us our special wonder is how theories so mad and brutal find acceptance; but remember that no teaching or doctrine will readily take root unless it fall in with the prepossessions of those to whom it is addressed.

## The Portent of the Times.

And what are the features of these times in Europe?—a growing sensitiveness to social evils, begetting an impatience of all slow, natural remedies. On the one hand an eager search for short cuts to the millennium, and a readiness to dose the body politic with every nostrum that political charlatans and speculative dreamers can; devise. This marks the greater class of present discontents. On the other hand we see among another class a blank despair of any help from legislative panaceas; a conviction deep as that despair that all the misery of the race must but increase and intensify with the extension of government and the further organisation of society. Amid both these classes men will be found whose views are prompted by no sordid aim; who see the pain, the sorrow, and want—the lifelong lot of millions—who, as Ruskin has it, "have not been born into life, but damned into it," and, touched by what they see, seek some heroic remedy, be it what it may. Again, there is the host of disappointed ones—the failures, the beaten competitors in life's race, who have been soured and embittered against society as it is. Among these are found many sensitive souls, who possess all the requisites of material success except that of self-assertiveness and audacity, that count for so much in the struggle, and who see loud-mouthed impudence filled with good things, while modest merit is sent empty away. Then there is the countless army of the toilers and the moilers of the earth, who have to labor late and early for such a recompense as just keeps body and soul together, and who behold from the midst of their pinching poverty the wasteful extravagance of the idle rich. Among these the diffusion of education prompts the question of whether the exasperating extremes they see are the inevitable work of nature's laws, or but the fruit of this great growth, our present society. With the very best of us interest smooths the way to faith, and it is not to be wondered at that the multitude, made up of the classes I have mentioned, should be disposed to believe and embrace any specious doctrine or scheme that promises to bring them from their weary wilderness to a land flowing with milk and honey. These, if not worthy discontents, have at least some reason for their grudge against our social system, but there yet remains to mention that horde of idle loafers who form the dregs of every State (the "bilge water," as Cicero calls them), and whose degradation and poverty are but the wages of their own intemperance and idleness. These, in every thickly-populated country, are, and always have been, a constant menace to law and order. The standing army of the plunderer, revolutionary leader, and the Anarchist, just as to-day they follow Bakunin and zealously commend his proposed subversion of society and redistribution of the world's goods, so some 2,000 years ago, in the days of Cicero, they followed Catiline, the conspirator, in his designs to overthrow the Roman State. Does not this free translation of the Latin of Sallust sound as if written of to-day? He is speaking of the revolution Catiline attempted. "The spirit of social disaffection was not confined to those alone who took an active part in the revolutionary movement, for the whole of the lowest classes, from a sheer desire for a new order of things, favored the schemes of Catiline. This was but in keeping with their general character, for in every State those who have nothing are the natural enemies of those who have much, and the rabble everywhere will follow the agitator. They dislike the established order of society and long for a revolution. Dissatisfied with their own lot, they are eager for a general redivision of things. Amid disorder and sedition they can live without anxiety, for the beggar can sing in the presence of the highwaymen." These, however, we have always had with us, and their hostility is no new thing, nor much concerns us at the present moment. It is the other classes previously mentioned who form the real danger to our modern State, and from

which are drawn those mad enthusiasts who sell their lives for the fancied good of their fellow-men. And now let me say in conclusion that whatever repulsive form they take, these wild social movements of our day are in large measure but the fruit of the growing altruism of human nature. Our increasing sensitiveness to the evils of our system, and deepening sympathy for the sufferings of the poor, prompts an impatience of experience and a revolt against Nature's own slow methods. No one can regret the growth of philanthropic zeal, but to it nevertheless is largely due the machinations of the Anarchist, as well as the Utopias of the ultra-Socialist. Zeal for the promotion of the general good we have in abundance, but misdirected zeal is often worse than apathy. It is but a phase of the present social mood that he who preaches patience prompts but indignation, while he who proclaims some visionary heroic remedy for our ills is hailed as a deliverer. Much, doubt less, can be and is being done by social and legislative reform; but the lesson, it seems to me, that most needs teaching just now is that the fundamental requisite of both individual and national prosperity and advancement is self-reliance; that each must honestly do the best he can for himself before he asks the aid of the Government. Unfortunately, the disposition to invoke the help of Hercules before we have really tried what putting our own shoulder to the wheel can do is a rapidly growing one, which is but fostered and encouraged by all the sentiment and passion that in these days is masquerading in the garb of philosophy. For what ultimate end these tendencies are making it is impossible to say. The future of the race is hidden in the mists that lie across the path, and in these, according to our disposition, we will see shapes that promise joy or travail. In the growth of Anarchism many hear the voice of Chaos "rising monstrous loud and inarticulate," and see the death of society as a living organism drawing near. But he who has an ear for the still, small voices and eternal intimations that come across the temporal clamor of the present will embrace that larger hope in human things which, notwithstanding many presages of ill, yet doubts

*. . . not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.*

vignette

Printed at the Evening Star Job Printing Works, Bond Street, Dunedin.

Old Age Pensions.

Price Sixpence.

"The night comes on a pace;

Lo; o'er the land a reverend form advances,

His hair white as the snow on which he treads,

Whose feeble body, bending o'er a staff,

Shows still that once it was the seat of strength

Though now it shakes like an old ruined tower.

Clothed indeed, but not disgraced with rags,

He still maintains that decent dignity

Which well becomes those who have served their country."

*Joanna Baillie, 1774.*

By J. W. Ferost,

*Being the substance of a Paper read before the Canterbury Progressive Liberal Association.*

Christchurch PRINTED AT THE "LYTTELTON TIMES" OFFICE, GLOUCESTER STREET. 1894.

## To the Reader.

This Pamphlet has been published at the request of numerous friends who take a lively in the subject of Old Age Pensions. The information herein has been culled from various sources, and although I do not claim originality for all it contains, still it is an endeavour to place before the thoughtful public information which is not accessible to all. My object will be attained, if the contents of these pages lead to some practical legislation on such a vital question.

J.W.F.

## Old Age Pensions.

*"I admire you much, ye meek and patient pair,  
For ye are worthy; choosing rather far  
A dry but independent crust, hard earned,  
And eaten with joy, than to endure  
The rugged frowns and insolent rebuff  
Of Knaves in office, partial to the work  
Of distribution.*

*Cowper.*

The state of opinion, the hopes that are everywhere stirring the labouring classes, the forces that determine the great evolution of history, render more and more clear and imperious the necessity of effecting social reforms. At each of our general elections the country expresses wishes and makes claims that indicate to our Government a clearly defined duty. Our democratic society manifests a growing indifference to the speculations of mere politics, and on the contrary, drawing away, as every day it does more and more, from revolutionary Utopias, the more vigorously will it hold the Government to the duty of maintaining steadily the public peace, the freedom and enlightenment of the labourer. Our Government has already, to a very great extent, met this want; but many useful questions yet remain to be taken up.

There are no new institutions more ardently desired than those that would guarantee the security of old age. So long as his strength is maintained, a man readily resigns himself to the mischances of fate, and finds in his moral and physical vigour elements of resistance that permits him to support the miseries of his condition, but in the state of our civilisation, the spectacle of an old age of weakness and want can no longer be regarded with indifference. Accordingly there have been established in recent years numerous interesting societies based on various forms of mutual association, with the view of providing retiring pensions for their members. This effort, which has been especially supported by the friendly societies, is a strongly marked indication of an absorbing public interest; but these institutions have as yet had only a limited range of action. One proof of this is the smallness of the allowances that the friendly societies are able to grant—and another proof is the very limited number of their members in ratio to populations.

The Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies in England, in his last report, says:—"It would not be safe to reckon the members of friendly societies insured against sickness as numbering more than between three and four million." It may be taken roughly that there are over eight million of adults (*i.e.* twenty years of age and upwards) in the United Kingdom. Making every allowance for the upper classes and for married women, it would appear that little more than one-third of the working population are insured against sickness. The number that ought to be insured cannot be put at less than nine million. Although our friendly societies have before them much ground to conquer, we cannot withhold our admiration for the work done, when we remember that so vast, and on the whole, so excellent, a provision has been created by the voluntary effort of workmen themselves, with little or no help or patronage from the State. To those who look forward with hope, and not without confidence, to the time when workmen will be able to keep in their own hands the organisation of labour, and to dispense with the capitalist middleman, the friendly societies may be looked on as a school of invaluable discipline. In them the workman learns something of business, he has to study the laws of interest and accumulation of money; he acquires the art of co-operation. Immense as are the blessings that the trades unions and friendly societies have conferred upon the working classes in helping them in the hour of need, when they are stricken by illness or suffer from injuries sustained in the course of their employment, it may well be that even these advantages sink into insignificance compared with the possibilities that He in the future. If ever a co-operative organisation of labour is achieved, its true founders will be the pioneers of self-help in friendly societies."

Whatever maybe the reasons that in other countries justify a direct interference and control in cases of sickness, the friendly societies have achieved such gigantic results that it would be impossible, even where it desirable, to thrust them aside. The only service that our Government can usefully perform is to give facilities for the protection of the funds of these voluntary societies and some actuarial help. It is more than fifteen years since the English Registrar of Friendly Societies first held out hopes that he would be able to issue safe tables of sickness and mortality, so as to afford a guide to workmen of the amount of premiums they must pay in order to secure the benefits they desired. The task has proved one of gigantic difficulty, and it is not yet accomplished. But it is hoped that in the near future tables will be furnished that will give the high water mark of actuarial science. When that is done, we may not unreasonably expect that friendly societies will put themselves generally in a position of impeachable actuarial soundness.

It is important, then, to come to the assistance of the workers not only by stirring up in them solicitude for

their future, but by furnishing them with the means of rendering their good intentions effective in fact.

If the State were to put itself in their place, the object in view would not be attained; instead of spurring private persons to take the initiative, we should render them still more apathetic; instead of encouraging the emancipation of the democracy, we should benumb still more the energies of individuals. In order to obtain truly fruitful results in the social point of view, people must be left free to act in providing for their future, but this freedom must find adequate basis of support. Such basis of support have hitherto been wanting.

As to the State subventions, these would, in some way, cement the association of workmen and employers. They would undoubtedly involve sacrifices, the importance of which may be considerable, and the problem for solution is one that cannot receive too great attention, but the national labour, the public wealth itself, cannot but reap a large profit from reforms designed to render the future of the workmen less uncertain, and our Legislature will no doubt be willing to accord satisfaction to wishes that are recognised by every one to be legitimate.

To what extent are the workmen and the masters able to contribute to the formation of a pension fund? An admissible rate of contribution being fixed, what results may be expected? Such are the first questions for consideration.

Workmen, it is superfluous to say, can save but little, and their power to save anything is frequently reduced by sickness and by want of work. Deducting from the full year, the holidays, the times of probable want of work, and the ascertained average period of illness for a given group of population, it seems difficult to admit that a workman can have the opportunity of saving more than in 290 days a year.

It is necessary, on the other hand, that the saving in view of superannuation, should not require of him a sacrifice, which, appearing excessive, runs the risk of repelling him. An ever-increasing number of workers are already taking upon themselves a variety of charges in the societies of which they are members, in order to protect themselves against want or sickness, and they will not join any new institution if the effort required of them be out of proportion to their means.

It is truly said that no voluntary pension scheme will ever secure a provision for all the aged poor, and indeed, no such plan could be expected to affect more than a minority of the working classes.

Much of the disappointment that is naturally felt in dealing with voluntary schemes of insurance, arises from too ambitious desires. No voluntary scheme could be expected to rid us of old age pauperism, and it must attain a great success before it could make even an appreciable impression on it. The persons who have the foresight and self-denial to provide for the future, are least likely, under any circumstances to come upon the Benevolent Aid, and the class of persons that furnish the bulk of the recruits to the ranks of pauperism, are precisely the unthrifty and the self-indulgent. To some extent, of course, every old age pension that is taken up, takes away a possible recipient of our charity, but no prudent advocate of a voluntary scheme would rest his case upon the hope of abolishing old age pauperism.

The weak point, again, of every voluntary scheme, lies in the lifelong and continuous effort which it demands of the workman. The choice is between a heavy payment over a short period in early youth and small instalments covering the whole period from 20 to 65. If the latter course is preferred (according to Canon Blackley's drift scheme), a man may secure a pension on the non-returnable scale of 5s. a week at 65, for a weekly payment of 2¼d. If he desires also to insure for 2s. a week for each of his children on his death, the weekly contribution would be 4½d. It would be idle to say, at all events, of the great majority of the working classes, that they would not pay see small amount per week, when fully employed they could well afford the money, but when sickness comes, or loss of employment, they fall into arrears, and, if their wages are low, it may require an heroic effort to recover lost ground. When payments are to be made not weekly, but quarterly or half-yearly, the tendency is strong to put off the saving until the day of payment comes near; then occasionally the workman finds himself short of cash, and the opportunity will be lost. Some external pressure would seem to be necessary to keep him to the mark, and to ensure the due performance of his good intentions.

Such considerations have led many to believe not only that compulsion is necessary, if any general provision for old age is to be secured, but that a voluntary scheme is so little likely to succeed hardly to be worth a trial. It is however, unnecessary to discuss the desirability of compulsion, as there is a prior question that must be answered. How is compulsion to be carried out? Is it practicable?

## **CANON BLACKLEY'S COMPULSORY SCHEME.**

In 1885, the House of Commons appointed a select committee "to inquire into the best method of National Provident Insurance." Several schemes were brought under the notice of the committee, but practically the inquiry resolved itself into an examination of a scheme propounded by the Rev. W. L. Blackley, the hon. canon of Winchester, the final paragraph of their report may be quoted:—

*"Your committee, although unable to recommend the adoption of Canon Blackley's scheme, feel that they cannot conclude their report without recording their sense of the disinterested patience and energy with which he has laboured to remove the causes which tend to drive the poor into the workhouse. He has brought to light an immense deal of information on a subject which lies at the root of the happiness and welfare of large masses of the population, information which cannot fail to prove useful in any future legislation which may be undertaken, and, his proposals, though in the opinion of your committee they appear objectionable in some respects, and impracticable in others, contain more valuable suggestions, and seem to be based on more extended knowledge than any of the other schemes which have been brought under their attention."*

This well-merited tribute to a clergyman, whose zeal for the poor reflects honour on his profession, very properly accompanies a decision which was averse to the scheme then advocated. Canon Blackley's condemned scheme sought to accomplish a very important object. If successful, it would have dried up the fountains of more than one half of English pauperism, and would have proved an enormous blessing, especially to the poorest class of labourers. It is, therefore, instructive with a view to future legislation, to ascertain precisely which of his recommendations were considered impracticable. Speaking generally, Canon Blackley's scheme was disapproved in respect of those points in which it differed from the German model. The scheme advocated by the rev. gentleman

## **COMBINED SICKNESS AND OLD AGE INSURANCE.**

The following were the main points:—

- It did not apply to those who were over the age of 21 when the system came into operation. All above that age were left to be provided for by existing agencies.
- It compelled every person, rich or poor, of high or low degree, to pay between the ages of 18 and 21, a sum of £10 into a National Sickness and Pension Fund.
- In the case of those between 18 and 21, who were employed for wages, the employer was to be responsible for the collection of the amount, which he was authorised to deduct from the wages.
- Every person so insured, was to be entitled to 8s. a week of sick pay when suffering from "loss of wages through sickness," and a pension of 4s. a week in any case, on attaining the age of seventy.
- The sick pay would continue, however long the duration of the illness, and thus, in effect, was a provision for disablement as well as old age.
- The premiums were to be paid to the Post Office, and handed over to the elected trustees of the National Sickness and Pension Fund.
- The sick pay and pensions were to be paid through the machinery of the Post Office, under the supervision of local elective committees.
- This compulsory insurance was to apply to women equally with men.
- The State was to give no subvention in aid of the fund, and no guarantee of its solvency; its sole duty was to compel persons between the age of eighteen and twenty-one to pay the sum of £10.

In recording the adverse opinion of the committee as respects the sickness part of the scheme, it is well to note that the committee expressed a more favourable view of the provision for old age. But they were "disposed to wait for the further development of public opinion" "before advising the adoption of a general obligatory system of superannuated pay." This reservation ought not to be forgotten.

The leading ideas of Canon Blackley's scheme, in so far as it relates to the case of sickness, are three in number: (1) The prepayment of the premiums, either in one sum or in instalments, before the age of twenty-one; (2) the universality of the obligation, imposed alike upon peer and peasant; and (3) the establishment of a single national fund for the United Kingdom, including England, Scotland, and Ireland, through the machinery of the Post Office. In all those particulars it is the exact opposite of the German system, with which, however, it agrees in requiring no State guarantee or subvention. Oddly enough, the committee agreed with the rev. gentleman on the question of prepayment. They observe that in Germany "payment to the fund are not made in an initial lump sum, but by weekly and lifelong deductions from wages. In this respect the committee thought the German system showed an inferiority to Canon Blackley's proposal, inasmuch as prepayment enables a much smaller total payment to suffice as insurance, and, once got over, the workman is free to dispose of his savings in whatever prudential investment he may select." This finding applies with much greater force to the old age pensions, and is somewhat neutralised by the recognition of the committee that the administrative difficulties of collecting the money render the scheme impracticable. It is, of course, most desirable that young people before they marry should lay aside a sum adequate to insure them against sickness, disablement, and old age; but the practical difficulties in the way proved fatal, in the judgment of the committee, to the whole scheme.

A more serious question arose as to whether £10 was sufficient. Mr. Sutton, the English Government actuary, expressed an opinion that, assuming 3 per cent, to be the rate of investment, £18 would be nearer the mark. The fact is, however, that there do not exist any data upon which an actuary could pronounce a confident opinion, either for or against the figures adopted by Canon Blackley—namely £10. Sick pay is an elastic quantity, depending very much on the stringency and closeness of the supervision. The committee arrived at a clear opinion that, in view of the magnitude of the scheme, they could not accept an initial payment of £10 as a satisfactory basis. They, however, pointed out that "the financial objections to be urged against Canon Blackley's proposals for national insurance do not press with such force against the deferred annuity part as against the sick pay part of his scheme."

Early in 1891, a conference was held at the House of Commons, between the followers of Canon Blackley and a few members of Parliament. Mr. Chamberlain taking the chair. So much interest was manifested in the making of better provision for the old age of workmen, that fresh meetings were held, until at last between eighty and ninety members of Parliament formed themselves into a committee for the discussion of the subject. In the result a general agreement was arrived at on two important points—(1) that, for the present, at all events, compulsory insurance against old age was impracticable, but (2) that it was expedient that the State should encourage such provisions by contributing partly to old age pensions. It was accordingly resolved that the preparation of a scheme, upon the lines laid down by the committee, should be entrusted to a committee consisting of gentlemen who had drawn up schemes. It was an instruction to this sub-committee that they should devise a scheme that would not conflict with the work of friendly societies, and that they should meet leading representatives of these societies in friendly conference. In accordance with this remit, the sub-committee, with actuarial aid, prepared a scheme, which has been submitted to leading representatives of friendly societies.

The draft scheme provides an alternative means of insurance for old age. A person may under the plan provide for old age through the Post Office or a friendly society or trades union, or by any other association. If the scheme should be adopted, its principal chance of success lies in its being taken up by friendly societies. The provisions under this branch vary according as a person is under or over 25 years of age at the time when the plan comes into operation. Take the case of a person under 25 by way of illustration. If one subscribes either by instalments or in a lump sum £2 10s. in the Post Office before he has reached 25 years of age, and if he subsequently secures a pension of not less than 2s. 6d. a week at the age of 65, from a friendly society or otherwise, he will then be entitled to an additional benefit of 2s. 6d. a week from the State. The Oddfellows' Society has published a scale of old-age pensions of 5s. a week at 65. Every person who gets such a pension will be entitled to an additional 2s. 6d. a week; and thus a small pension of 5s. a week is converted into the more satisfactory sum of 7s. 6d. a week. These are the figures in the draft scheme, but the essential principle is a moderate addition to the pension obtained through a friendly society, and it is hoped that this additional inducement may assist the friendly societies in winning adherents to these admirable provisions for old age. For those who are over the age of 25, a higher scale of pension is necessary.

On perusing this scheme the reader will perceive that the State is not brought into any relation with the friendly societies, has no responsibility for them, and no claim to control arising out of the aids to pensions. A man who has made his deposit in a Post Office, on reaching 65, will simply present his certificate and evidence of having secured a pension elsewhere than in the Post Office. With the society of which he has been a member the Government will have no concern. It matters not where he gets his pension, it is only with the fact that he has secured a pension of not less than 2s. 6d. a week that the State has to deal, and the additional State pension becomes due. It would be impossible for human ingenuity to extract from such an arrangement the slightest reason for any further interference with friendly societies. Non-interference with these institutions is the principle of the draft scheme.

Those who are not members of friendly societies or trades unions providing old-age pensions, may insure in the Post Office. They have a choice of making their premiums returnable or non-returnable. If they select the latter, they will earn a pension of 5s. a week practically by a payment of 10s. a year from the age of 20 to 65. But the subscriber has an option—he may so insure that in the event of his death before 65 he will secure a moderate provision for his wife and family. This costs 20s. a year over a period of 45 years. The benefits to the widow and children are considerable. For the first six months after the subscriber's death his widow will receive 5s. a week, and 2s. per week for each child, but so that the whole shall not exceed 12s. a week. At the end of six months the maximum payable to one family will be 8s. per week, and will continue at the rate of 2s. per week per child until the youngest child has reached 12 years of age. Such a plan would provide a much-to-be-desired life insurance for the working classes. A workman would have the satisfaction of knowing that if he died in early life his children would be lifted well above the dreary level of pauperism; and, if he lived to bring up his family so that such provision was unnecessary, he would have a provision for his old age.

Such, in bare outline, are the chief features of the draft scheme. Probably the feeling which one will

experience after a perusal of the scheme is one of disappointment. Is this all, it may be asked, that can be done for old age? The answer to this question is simple. It is all that can be done for the money. If Parliament is prepared for a larger expenditure on old-age pensions than is contemplated by the committee, and if this is responded to by larger contributions from the workmen, undoubtedly larger pensions can be provided. It is all a question of money.

It is probable that the friendly societies may be tempted to compete with the Post Office in providing temporary annuities for widows and orphan children. If so, they would deserve the same assistance from the State as any other system, whether it be a voluntary or a compulsory one.

By far and away the most instructive experiment is that to be found in the

## German Empire

Practically, every workman is insured against sickness and against death, or disablement resulting from injuries sustained in the course of his employment. It is believed that about thirteen millions of Germans are thus secured. In accomplishing this great work, the German Government has not assumed the functions of an insurance society, nor has it granted any subvention to the associations which it has called into existence. It has done the work by imposing a legal obligation on employers, and by assisting in the formation of societies by which the object can be secured.

But in dealing with old age, it made a new departure; it recognised the necessity of a State subvention, and, as a consequence, a large extension of the area of State intervention in the business of insurance. The law of June 22, 1889, made insurance against disablement and old age compulsory upon the working classes.

The notion that the State may properly enforce the insurance of workmen against sickness and accident is not due, as is frequently stated, to Prince Bismarck. It goes much farther back. So long ago as 1854 the principle of State interference was established in Prussia; and not only in Prussia, but in Saxony and Bavaria, local authorities were empowered to introduce compulsory insurance within their jurisdiction. Although, however, the principle was sanctioned, little was done to give it practical effect until Bismarck took the matter in hand. Prince Bismarck conceived a large and comprehensive scheme to secure the working classes not only against sickness, but against accidents, disablement, and old age. The provisions for sickness were only part of a wide and complete scheme to give security to workers against the casualties of life. In the early part of 1881 he submitted a Bill to the German Parliament, and the first subject he selected for legislation was accidents. It is unnecessary to refer to the provisions of the Bill, as, in the order of events, compulsory insurance against sickness took precedence of accidents. The Act, which now provides for compulsory insurance against sickness for the whole German Empire, was passed May 31, 1883, and came into operation on December 1, 1884; and the complementary measure, providing for accidents was passed on July 6, 1884, and came into operation on October 1, 1885. These measures covered the whole ground of illness, from whatever cause arising.

The scope of the German compulsory law made the sickness insurance law apply to women as well as men. The earliest Act was compulsory on the following classes only:—(1) All persons engaged for hire or wages in mines, pits, quarries, factories, railways, steamers, docks or buildings. (2) In handicrafts or trades. (3) In works where steam or any power, such as wind, water, gas, or hot air, is employed as a motive power.

This feature of the German law is of great importance. It practically limits the accidents insurance to the two cases of permanent disablement and death, and relieves that fund of an enormous number of small and worrying claims:—

- In the case of permanent disablement, the workman receive an annuity for life equal to two-thirds of the average wage actually earned by him during the year preceding the injury.
- If the workman is killed, the compensation is measured with; reference to the average weekly wage earned by him during the year. preceding his death. The widow receives 20 per cent of this average weekly wage for life or until she re-marries; each child receives 15 per cent of the same until it attains the age of 15; but in the aggregate the sum paid to the widow and children must not exceed 60 per cent of the wages. Let us suppose that a man who has been killed, earned 20s. a week. His wife would be entitled to 4s. a week pension for life or until re-marriage, and for each child she would receive 3s. a week. If she had two children, she would get 10s. a week, but as the total sum must not exceed 60 per cent of the wages, she cannot receive more than 12s., however many children she may have. This restriction is most necessary, for otherwise her husband might be worth more to her when dead than when alive. Thus, if she had ten children under 15, she would, according to the scale, receive 30s. for them and 4s. for herself, or 14s. a week more than the wages earned by her husband.

In order to carry out the law, an Imperial Insurance Board was formed, consisting of eleven members, of whom three are named by the Emperor, four by the Federal Council, and four are elected for 4 years, two by the

presidents of the insurance societies, and two by the workmen's committees. This body is an ultimate court of appeal in all disputes arising under the law, and it exercises control over the establishment and management of the insurance societies. These societies, are in fact, mutual associations of the employers, although the workmen have a voice in disputes. There were created up to May 1886, no fewer than sixty-two of these societies. The chief idea was to associate persons in the same trade, so that the risk should be the same. There is an association for the whole of the chemical industry throughout Germany; another for gas and water companies, and so on. The iron and steel trades have eight societies, each covering a geographical area. The Imperial Board is bound to see that a sufficient number of associations are formed to provide for the whole field of industry, and it exercises a control over the amount of premiums, and requires an annual statement of accounts. The premium is fixed for each trade according to the risk, and the several employers pay according to their wages bill. To secure the financial soundness of the societies a reserve fund is created. In the first year the employers pay four times the normal premium; in the second year twice; in the third year 150 per cent; in the fourth year 100 per cent; in the fifth year 80 per cent; in the sixth year 60 per cent; and in each of the five succeeding years 10 per cent, in addition to the normal premium. By this time it is expected that the financial soundness of the societies will be incontestable; but behind these societies the workman has the guarantee of the State.

A very important and interesting feature of the Gorman system is that it discards the element of age on fixing the insurance for sickness. No voluntary society can do this. Our friendly societies generally refuse to admit members over the age of 45, and they quote much lower rates to those who join at an early period of life. In a voluntary system this is right and unavoidable, but it has its disadvantages. The conflict of interests between the young and the old members of a friendly society is not an infrequent cause of collapse, and sometimes the older members find themselves left without protection at the very period of life when it is most required. But when insurance is made compulsory, there is no difficulty in averaging the rate of sickness and requiring the same contributions from the young as the old. If the young pay a little too much, the burden falls upon them when they are strong, and they get the benefit of their sacrifice when they themselves advance in years.

The only State interference that forms a permanent element in German legislation is the imposition of AN OBLIGATION TO INSURE. This is not Socialism; it is the enforcement of a duty which every man owes both to his neighbours and to himself. Whether that duty should be left to the care of the individual conscience or be strengthened by the sanction of law, is an interesting subject of study; but in any case it is the duty of the individual that is established, not a duty of the State towards the individual. The German system is, in fact, the consummation of individualism, not the thin end of the wedge of Socialism. In one case only—the provision for disablement and old age—does the State even contribute to help the individual to perform his duty, but that help is limited in both its character and its duration.

A law that simply said to the workman, "Thou shalt insure against sickness, disablement, and old age," even if accompanied by penalties for disobedience, would be barren and unpractical. The cost of enforcing obedience would alone prohibit such a measure. Bismarck accordingly avoided the error of applying compulsion to the workman; he looked to the master. This latter method is as easy and simple as the former is complex and difficult. The principle upon which he proceeded was *to compel the employer to insure the workman*, and to pay for the insurance, leaving him to deduct from the workman's wages the amount that in the eyes of the Legislature the workman might fairly be called upon to contribute. The employer is bound to pay the whole of the premiums of insurance against accident, and one-third of those for sickness; and to this extent Bismarck's legislation rests upon generally accepted notions of justice. But the half-share of the premiums for disablement and old age must be defended, if defended at all, not upon any abstract principle of justice, but upon grounds solely of expediency. He was able to satisfy the German Parliament that sufficient ground existed for a charge, the equitable nature of which is not self-evident.

## France.

France is, indeed, the pioneer of State-aided pensions for old age. In 1850 an old age pension fund was established. It contained the principle of State aid in the form of a guarantee of 5 per cent; compound interest upon the sums paid by the workmen towards old age pensions. The deposits must be in sums of 4s., or multiples of 4s. The depositor must mention the age at which he wished to enjoy his pension, but the age must not be under 50. Each deposit was regarded as a purchase of a pension of proportionate amount at the age stated. There was no obligation to continue payments at stated intervals. Thus, supposing that a payment of 4s. at the age of 20 would purchase a pension of 1s. a year at the age of 50, the workman at once acquired an inalienable right to a pension of that amount at old age. By every successive addition to his contribution he

purchased an addition to his pension. There was no forfeiture, and no obligation to keep up payments. The workman had the option of making his contributions returnable in case of death. By three month's notice before the date of the term when the pension became due, the payment might be deferred with the view of increasing its ultimate amount; but after the age of 65 a pension must be taken. It was also provided that the pension could not be seized by creditors if it did not amount to more than £14 8s. a year.

In forty years this fund has registered only 800,000 depositors out of 9,600,000 workmen, representing in France the total number of persons receiving salaries or wages. Further, these 800,000 depositors have been in large part brought to the fund by contractors, by industrial companies, or by Benefit Societies.

This state of matters results partly from the fact that the idea of thrift is not yet sufficiently diffused, but above all, the fact that the workers as a whole doubt whether the accumulation of their modest savings can really become productive. Need there be any surprises that the taste for saving has not found the necessary stimulus in the attraction of the average amount of ten shillings a month?

It is intended to create by the side of the National Pension Fund, created in 1850, a Workmen's Pension's Fund, for the benefit of workmen, employees, small farmers and domestic servants of both sexes, being Frenchmen or Frenchwomen, with incomes under £120 a year.

The fund will be supported—(1) By the contributions of the depositors, increased by equal amounts from the masters that employ them; (2) by contributions by the State.

Every person hiring out his services would be presumed to wish to take advantage of the law, but, at the same time, a declaration to the contrary could be made before the Mayor of the Commune where the depositor lives. When this declaration is not presented, every master will have to deduct from the sums owing to the person whose services he hires a sum of ½d. at least, and of 1d. at most, per working day, and he will be liable to contribute to the savings of his employee in an equal sum. If the funds thus constituted by the co-operation of the men and the masters had had to be paid compulsorily to the Workmen's Pension Fund, the result would have been, so far as the State is concerned, an accumulation of funds and an increase of charge little in harmony with the liberal character of the law. France would have run the risk, moreover, of putting a drag upon the progress of private enterprise, of discouraging the inspirations of philanthropy, and of limiting the institutions for making provision for the future, and for providing medical assistance, which, on the contrary, it is necessary to stimulate and to expand. There is a great public interest in the development of those institutions in which the democracy is learning the business of government. Everything that can extend their action is calculated to strengthen the public peace.

A great deal is expected in particular from the benefit societies, which have already, and with such just title, succeeded in inspiring the worker with so much confidence. In order to induce him to deduct from his modest wages the sum necessary to pay for a pension, there are obstacles to overcome, explanations to give, advantages to lay stress on which necessitate the assistance of enlightened men living in the very midst of the persons interested. The benefit societies can be, in this point of view, invaluable auxiliaries.

On every occasion when a payment is made, arising as above-mentioned from the combined contributions of the workman and the master, there will be opened a separate account book, similar to Savings' Bank books. In each account book the contributions of the depositor will be entered. These contributions will be increased by two-thirds by the State. Here, in general outline, is the project, let the worker make the desired deposits from the age of 25 to the age of 55, and at 56 he will enter into possession of a pension which he will enjoy to the end of his life.

Here is a life annuity formed on capital spent or sunk. Now, would not the ideal be that the worker should be able to save up, not only for himself but for his family? Would not a provision for the families of deceased workmen be infinitely desirable? They wish for it. Of this there is sure proof. When they have their choice between a life assurance where their premiums are not returnable and a life assurance where their premiums are returnable, the workers most frequently declare in favour of the latter, in spite of the greater effort which it demands of them, or the diminution of the amount assured which it implies. This solicitude for the interests of the family is, it may be said, among the most generous instincts of the French democracy. By the savings that he can realise every year during the period of health and strength, with the view of forming for himself a life annuity at the age when he will become unable to work, the workman insures himself only against one of the principal risks to which he is exposed—namely, old age. He does nothing to protect his family against penury, into which his death may plunge them.

But in order to be certain of leaving a provision to one's family, at whatever age death may strike him down, the workman must add to the assurance of a life annuity the assurance of a capital sum on death, by means of an annual premium payable up to the age of assumed inability to work. Thus, by means of thirty-one payments of say 17s. 6d a year, made from 25 to 55 years of age inclusive, one insures for oneself a life income of £5 8s., and in order to obtain the same annuity, and, in addition, to insure on death, at whatever time it may happen, after two years' assurance, a sum of £26 2s., there is needed only a further payment of, say 9s. 7d. a

year during thirty years at most.

By the terms of the French Bill, depositors will be able to contract with the Life Assurance Fund, established by law of July 1st, 1868, a life assurance for a sum varying from £20 to £40, equivalent to the total amount of the sum that they would have to pay individually to the "Workmen's Pension Fund. The assurance would be contracted on promise of payment of thirty annual premiums.

It must be borne in mind that the benefit of the law is reserved exclusively for French workmen. This being so, there would perhaps be room for fearing that certain masters might give the preference to foreign workmen. To ward off every danger, it is indispensable that foreigners take no advantage from any privilege. As the only way to put them on an equal footing with the French workman it is proposed that the masters shall pay in respect of each foreign workman one penny per working day. No one will attribute the character of a tax to the contribution that it is proposed to ask from masters for their foreign hands. It is neither a poll tax nor an impost on individuals. It is solely designed to prevent French workmen from losing the advantages that it is intended to assure to them.

In July, 1891, the boldest financial scheme of State-aide a pensions was laid before the Chamber of Deputies in France. The promoter of the scheme, the Minister of Finance, says:—"We propose to associate the State with the formation of this pension fund by a contribution equal to two-thirds of the total contribution asked from the workmen and the masters. It is admitted as an axiom in economic science that the intervention of the State is legitimate in all cases where private initiative fails. Now, if ever, is the opportunity for the application of the principle. The State intervenes merely to complete what isolated individuals are unable to do; it merely comes to the aid of the thrifty workman, who, if left to himself, could not, on his wages alone, make sure of bread for his old age. The Bill provides, moreover, for the fixing of a maximum for pensions, which does not exceed the needs of maintenance, because it is only on the basis that the pecuniary encouragement of the State can be for the public good. In these conditions it seems that even the most rigid theorists cannot dispute that it is legitimate for the State to make a financial contribution. Perhaps the Socialistic tendencies may be discerned in this reform; but a word—and especially the word 'Socialism,' which has been so much abused—cannot be a determining reason for the rejection of a proposal that tends only to strengthen and fertilise individual action. The Republic must be based only upon freedom. The opposite system would strike at the notably independent character of the French workman, who would not unwillingly endure the authoritative tutelage of the State. Accordingly, while the new law assumes that those that can profit by it intend to obtain the benefit of it, it would suffice to destroy this presumption, if they made a contrary declaration before the Mayor of the Commune in which they are employed."

"The contributions which are asked from French workmen would therefore be solely voluntary. The pension system would not be at all compulsory. The worker would be the artificer of his own future security; he could, in case of necessity, break off, and afterwards resume his payments. It is his decision that would, in each case, engage those of the master and the State, while those on their side would be liable to contribute to the service of the pensions only if the persons interested themselves contributed to it. So far from constituting an invasion of the freedom of the citizens and an attack on private enterprise, the scheme relies on the spirit of individual fore-sight and providence. The new burden, moreover, would constitute, in part only, a simple transfer of charges. By securing the old age of the labouring population the cost of public relief would be to a large extent diminished, and by the amount of this diminution the item of pensions in the budget would fall to be reduced. If France has no poor tax, it certainly has a budget for the poor. To transfer a part of the expenses of this budget to an account opened for provision for the future, would not be merely to undertake a justifiable financial operation; more than that, it would be to accomplish a high moral reform."

In conclusion, the Minister of France says:—"The Government is far from pretending to offer a perfect solution; but, by developing by means of these important advantages, the taste for saving among the working population, it believes it will effect a considerable advance. It will be happy to have the remarks of the representatives of the country on the subject, and to accept the practical improvements that may result from them. It addresses itself, therefore, with confidence to Parliament, which will be heartily desirous of assuring to the workers the security and dignity of old age. It appeals to the general goodwill in this work of social provision for the future and social equity."

The detailed arrangements for carrying out the French project will be settled by an Administrative Decree. For example, it will be necessary to make a special effort to remove all those small difficulties which at present give a pretext for indifference even to the best disposed workman. It is indispensable that, without loss of time and without formalities he shall be able to pay in his contribution, whether every day, or at any time when he is at leisure to do so. It is believed that for this purpose there might be turned to account a method already explained, according to which there would be placed on sale at the Treasury, in the town-halls, and at the tobacconists', stamps to the value of five or ten centimes ( $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 1d.), which the workman and his master would then affix to a special sheet bearing the name of the depositor, and which would be cancelled. Every three

months at least, the depositor would present these sheets, either at the town-hall of the commune in which he is or at the tax-collector's, and he would be credited on his pension-book with the amount of the value of his stamps. Whatever executive arrangements may be made, this principle will always have to be kept in view—namely, that in order to assure the success of a popular system of pensions the means of saving cannot be rendered too accessible to the workmen, and finally, that by a special provision of the law, the retiring pensions shall not be subject to legal seizure. This privilege will render the pension! absolutely secure.

## Denmark.

This little country, with a population not much over two million, presents to our attention some interesting facts in connection with the subject of insurance.

The Danish law compels every Government Official to insure his life for the benefit of his widow. This rule goes so far back as 1740.

An Act came into force in Denmark on July 1, 1891, which introduced pensions for old age wholly out of taxation and without any contribution from the workman. The experiment initiated in Denmark cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive. The money is to be provided, one-half by the State and one-half by the local Poor Law authority. The amount provided by the State is £55,550 up to 1895, and after that date £111,100 a year. The principle of the Act is an attempt to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving aged poor. The funds are administered by the Communal Councils through the ordinary machinery of the Poor Law. A vital feature of the scheme is that those persons who receive relief under its provisions are not subject to the electoral disabilities which in Denmark are attached to ordinary poor relief. It is thus intended to withdraw from the old-age pensions the stigma of pauperism. These pensions are given to those who have completed their sixtieth year and are without means of providing themselves or their dependents with the necessaries of life. The following persons are excluded from the old-age pensions:—

- Persons who have been in receipt of relief from the Poor Law administration, or have been found guilty of vagrancy and begging during the ten years preceding the date of their application.
- Those whose poverty has been caused by their own fault, as by a disorderly and extravagant mode of life, or by voluntarily divesting themselves of their property in favour of others.
- Those who have undergone sentence for any transaction I generally accounted dishonourable, and in respect of which they have not received rehabilitation.
- The pensions are confined to persons who have had a fixed residence in Denmark for ten years preceding the date of their application.

The magistrates in Copenhagen, and outside Copenhagen, the Communal Councils, decide as to the nature and amount of relief to be given. No sum is specified, but the relief must be sufficient for the support of the person relieved and of his family, and for their treatment in case of sickness. Should the pensioner be guilty of any action which would exclude from admission to old-age relief, or should he squander what is given to him for his support, the relief ceases.

## Holland.

No System of State insurance for sickness, for accident, or for old age exists in Holland, but a report from the English Consul at Amsterdam, supplies an account of an interesting voluntary insurance scheme for old age, established by the Amsterdam branch of the Employers' Union of the Netherlands.

The leading idea of the promoters of this experiment was that the question was one which could be better dealt with by voluntary cooperation than by the State system of insurance for old age, which is formulated in Germany. They considered that the serious obstacles which local circumstances and local needs, in their great variety, place in the way of a universal Insurance Law, and the difficulty of providing an even moderately sufficient pension for the workmen, by means of compulsory insurance, were good reasons for giving the preference to private combination. At the same time, it was a principal part of their scheme to secure a State guarantee for the premiums to be paid by employers and workmen jointly.

The Amsterdam branch of the Employers' Union commenced operations on the 1st of April, 1889, and includes at present, establishments employing about 4,000 workmen in the city.

The objects of the Employers' Union may be shortly defined as follows:—

- To secure to workmen now in, or in future entering the service of members, a pension of at least 5s. per week after their sixtieth year, and not payable before their fiftieth year, by the contribution on the part of the employers of at least 3d. per man per week, towards the premium necessary to secure such payment,

on the condition that the balance of the premium shall be paid by the workman.

- To secure to such youths and apprentices as may have been six months in a member's employment, and who have not yet reached the age of fifteen years, a pension on the basis of at least 5s. per week after their sixtieth year, and not payable before their fiftieth year, by the payment on the part of the employers of the full premium necessary to secure such pension until the persons in question have attained their twenty-first year, after which date such employers are only bound to contribute in the proportion stated.

## Switzerland.

The example of Germany has not been without its effect on Switzerland; but the Federal Government of that country is limited in its powers, and could not, of its own authority, adopt any form of compulsory insurance. In 1890 it was therefore resolved to propose an amendment of the Constitution which will authorise the Federal Government to pass laws of that character. The text of the amendment is as follows:—"The Confederation has the right to introduce, by way of legislation, compulsory insurance against accidents. It has also the right to legislate as regards insurance against illness, and to make it compulsory on all those receiving salaries to join an insurance society of that nature." This amendment has been referred to and confirmed by the popular vote, but there has not yet been time for the Federal Government to pass the proposed bills. But the lines on which that legislation will proceed have been clearly indicated. There will be no attempt to establish a central fund, which, it is thought, would afford too many opportunities for fraudulent practices. "The State will draw up the regulations under which the system is to be worked, and will exercise supervision over it when once started, but it is to the local and cantonal institutions already existing that the Government looks for carrying out its plans of insurance." The Swiss Government will thus begin with compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents, as Germany did; but it does not mean to end there. M. Droz, the head of the Federal Foreign Department, says that further measures in the direction of protecting the working classes from the casualties of life are in preparation, and will in due time be produced.

## Italy

The question of a National Pension Fund has been before the Italian Legislature since 1883, but the discussion promises at an early date to result in practical legislation. In July, 1890, a committee of the Chamber of Deputies presented a favourable report on a bill to establish a State-aided old-age pension scheme. That bill proposes to create a National Pension Institute or Corporation. Certain subsidies will be given to the Institute out of the National Exchequer, but, except for the supervision which such a grant naturally involves, it will be independent of the State. Its funds are not to be guaranteed by the Government. The State subsidy is very small. It consists of 60 per cent, of the net annual profits of the Postal Savings Banks and certain judicial deposits (about £50,000 a year); certain profits from the note currency and the value of certain notes not presented for payment; the surplus of the fund for public worship reverting to the State in certain contingencies (apparently not to exceed a capital sum of £800,000); and the property of intestates to which the State succeeds as heir. All these sums form a central fund, one-half of the interest on which is to accumulate for fifteen years, and after that three-tenths only, the balance being credited to the subscribers in proportion to their subscription.

The organisation of the Old Age Pension Institute follows the plan of the National Accident Insurance Fund that was started in 1883. The leading savings banks are expected to lend a certain amount of capital without charging interest to give the fund a start. Savings banks or mutual benefit societies which guarantee a fund of £2000 of capital bearing no interest may establish local pension funds, and procure for their subscribers the benefit of the central fund provided by the Government.

Italian workmen or workwomen who are members of a society of mutual aid can alone become subscribers. Each subscriber has a separate account, and he can pay into it, as and where he pleases, any sum not exceeding £25 a year. He acquires a right to a pension on reaching the age of 60, provided he has been a subscriber for twenty years. He may, however, postpone his pension to a later period in order to increase it. The amount of the pension depends on the subscriptions augmented by the subscriber's share in the money from the central fund. If he dies before the pension age, his subscription, with compound interest, are returned to his legatees or successor. But in no case may the pension exceed £25 a year, the object being to confine the benefit of the subsidised central fund to workmen.

In supporting the bill to set up a National Pension Institute, the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, while fully appreciating the great work done by the friendly societies, "frankly recognises the fact that, in the actual condition of Italian wages, societies of mutual aid are not alone sufficient to provide a competent pension

for aged workmen." The proposal has met with large support from workmen, and it is expected that at an early date the Pension Institute will be established and form no unworthy rival to the National Accident Insurance Fund of 1883, to which was awarded the grand diploma of honour—the highest award at the Paris Exhibition.

The need for some treatment of the poverty of the aged, other than our present charitable aid, is gradually becoming acknowledged, and that some change is inevitable in the near future. What the nature of that change should be, and how it is to be carried out, are the questions which perplex most minds. Perhaps it will be useful to gather together the threads of discussion on the various pension schemes before the public, and try to indicate the point which has been reached. What, then, is the problem? The community, or more properly speaking, our present rulers, recognise the fact that our aged and infirm members are entitled to be maintained, or partially sustained at the cost of the State, if need be. Some savage tribes, hard pressed for the means of subsistence, have a speedier method of dealing with those who have outlived their usefulness; they knock them out of existence, or leave them behind to starve. Our civilisation, the wealthiest the world has ever seen, has passed the stage of frank murder. England has provided the poor house, have provided the charitable aid. The poor house has not yet erected its head in our midst, and the fervent hope of every true colonist is that years may lap over each other before such an end is attained of having poor houses in this our sunny side of the globe. England, I have said, provides the poor houses, but many poor people over there, rather than submit to the brand of pauperism, prefer to starve to death. Scores of deaths are registered in large populous cities alone from starvation, and how many more were directly due to the same cause no one can say. If a man has succeeded in scraping together a little hoard for the comfort of his old age, it must be spent before society will lend a helping hand, for no one can get relief as long as he has any means of his own. This law allows the right of relief, but it takes care that humiliation accompanies it. In spite of all this, the extent of dependence in old age is deplorable.

Outside the circle of actual pauperism is another large section of the working classes who manage with difficulty to keep off the poor roll in their old age—sometimes by stinting themselves in the bare necessities of life; sometimes by ill-afforded help from relatives; sometimes by undertaking light and poorly paid work. How many are in this condition it is impossible to say; but anyone who knows the poor or has studied the evidence on the subject cannot doubt the wide extent of a poverty struggling on in

## **A Precarious Independence,**

and liable at any moment to be precipitated into the ranks of pauperism. This state of want exists, and only too often, at all periods of life. Ask the man out of work, or recovering from a long spell of sickness, and you get the same terrible story. But providing work for the unemployed, and tiding over times of sickness, and other problems, require separate treatment. What few realise is the extent to which poverty among the working classes is associated with old age. It is not that the working man and woman take a sudden plunge into drunken or vicious habits when they become old. It is not that they develop a spirit of wild extravagance or culpable laziness with increasing years. It is that the strain and stress of our modern life leaves

## **No Room for the Old,**

and little for the elderly. In the rush of competitive trade on its present basis, the workman is soon laid on the shelf. He is probably abler—especially if he be a skilled artisan or member of a strong Trade Union—to earn a larger wage during his prime than 50 or 100 years ago. But his prime comes sooner to an end than formerly. Some remarkable evidence has recently been published as to the influence of age upon wage-earning capacity in different trades; and to this I would ask the attention of Trade Unionists who think that everything can be done by a fuller development of Trade Unionism, and who are not yet convinced of the wisdom—indeed, the necessity—of large political action on behalf of labour. A workman attains the full wage-earning capacity about 25; it may be a year or two sooner or later. His chances of obtaining employment remain at their height for the next 20 years; increased skill sometimes bringing increased pay. But the increased skill of a workman differs from that of the lawyer, doctor, or other brain worker. It is dependent for its exercise upon bodily strength. As soon as this becomes unable to meet the strain and speed of modern production by machinery, the value of the workman in the market begins to decline. The general age for the beginning of such physical failure is about 45.

## **After the Age of 55,**

if a man once loses his work, he is almost certain to find himself rejected in favour of some one younger and more active. Of course there are differences in a complex matter like this. Compositors and miners may expect work well into the fifties; although at a lower wage. So may a farm labourer. In many of the iron trades, the chances of employment rapidly diminish after 40. From 55 to 65, then is an anxious time for the man who has to depend for his living on his physical strength, and it is a time which too often plays sad havoc with the savings of previous years. If, from the 20 years when the work man is at his best, we make a further deduction for out-of-work and sickness, we can easily understand the difficulty of even the skilled workman making provision for old age.

One of the most foolish objections to old age pensions takes the form of an assertion that the working man so rarely lives to that advanced age that it is hardly worth while making any provision for such a contingency. The statistics of old age pauperism lend little colour to such an assertion. No doubt the rate of mortality may run high in some few industries, and it is not possible to get satisfactory data for each separate trade. Indeed, some authorities are not satisfied with the life tables in use among insurance companies. The Registrar of Friendly Societies in England, says:—"That no adequate data for the probable expectation of survivance at present exists." This may be true if extreme exactness is required for actuarial calculations; but the life tables in current use may for all practical purposes be relied upon.

The real difficulty in the way of making provision for old age is not so much the want of money as the lack of organisation. The annual drink bill of the working classes is probably more than three times the sum necessary to insure against all the casualties of life. It may be true that the chief part of that bill is paid by a minority of their number; but, if so, it would be so much easier for the majority to undertake the burden. As a matter of fact, the sums saved by working men are enormous in the aggregate, and their self-denial is on the whole remarkable, especially those who are blessed with a large share of this world's goods. Although comparatively little has been accomplished by workmen to secure annuities in their old age, yet something has been done, interest has been aroused, and there is no reason to doubt that in the next few years a great forward movement will take place. It is in the power of the Government greatly to help and accelerate the movement, but beyond this point it is doubtful whether it is possible to go. There is a very distinct limit to the willingness of the taxpayer to add to his burdens. The wiser course is to take a shorter step first, leaving to our successors to complete what we can only hope to begin.

*Printed at the Lyttelton Times Office, Christchurch.*

At the annual meeting of the Southland branch of the Educational Institute, held at Invercargill on the 28th ult., Mr John Gammell, B.A., ex-inspector of schools in West-land, delivered the following address:—

Mr President, former comrades, and friends,—Personal feeling on the renewal of old acquaintance has the first claim to expression. If on the present occasion I seem to disregard that claim by proceeding at once to my subject, pray accept the assurance that the omission proceeds from no insensibility on my part to the claims of friendship, but only from the fact that I have much to say, and that on matters of the deepest public interest. That I have responded to your invitation to speak here tonight will show you without more words of mine that I am not indifferent to your kind recollection of me, or, still less, to your wishes and interests. One word more by way of preliminary. As you are aware, Orders-in-Council founded on the resolutions of the Inspectors' Conference at Wellington have now been issued by the Government. My paper was written and completed before the appearance of these orders, and I shall have to ask you to bear this fact in mind as I proceed, since some of my expressions will be less appropriate now than they were at the time they were written. And now to our subject.

In my judgment the best thing in New Zealand at the present hour is its primary education system. I think the historian of the future will point with pride to the broad lines and liberal principles on which that system was laid down by the Parliament of 1877. In spite of the opposition of the Minister that introduced the Bill, that Parliament in its wisdom determined that the education system of the colony should be a generous one, with nothing small or narrow about it. Accordingly primary education in New Zealand was made

## **Free, Secular, and Compulsory,**

and, thanks to the vigilance of its friends and the divided counsels of its foes, free, secular, and compulsory it has remained to the present hour, the sure guarantee of individual happiness and national stability. Good in principle but not yet perfect in administration, seems to be the verdict passed upon the system by the colony at large after seventeen years' experience of it, and those who know the working of the system most intimately will endorse the verdict. The Act dealt with principles, leaving its provisions to be interpreted by Regulations-in-Council to be issued from time to time. The Orders-in-Council thus issued have not worked with entire satisfaction. Experience has shown that they are open to improvement, that their working is attended

with a good deal of friction and irritation, whilst at the same time the education produced under them is not of the highest order. In plain English, it

## Is Cramming Rather than Education

that the children are getting, and the department, recognising the fact, as you know, recently invited the inspectors of the Education Boards for the time being to meet in conference at Wellington, with a view to initiating a better order of things. The resolutions of that Conference are now before the colony for its judgment. There is a most useful publication, well known to you all, issued monthly, and styled the 'New Zealand Schoolmaster.' In its issue for April it gives a complete summary of the recommendations made by the Conference, and concludes with these ominous words: "Should these recommendations be adopted their effect upon the schools will be very small." With that comment of the 'New Zealand Schoolmaster' I entirely agree,

## Much Cry and Little Wool.

I view the outcome of the Inspectors' Conference with profound disappointment; it appears to me a grand opportunity lost. I acknowledge that, knowing something of the experience and sagacity of many of the members, having seen also the list of suggestions forwarded by the inspectors individually for discussion at the Conference, I had reckoned on the wisdom of the Conference, and formed high hopes of the valuable improvements it would formulate in the working of our educational system. But apparently this was not to be. Whether the result was due to the social atmosphere of Wellington, that Capua of New Zealand, or, as is more probable, to the fact that the iron of the mechanism of office had entered the souls of the gentlemen assembled, anyway the Conference in my judgment was a miserable *fiasco*. It was the old story of the mountain in labor, and the lesson is again enforced upon us that no profession, whether inspectorial or any other, is ever reformed from within, it must be

## Reformed by Pressure from Laymen

without, or it will never be reformed at all. The Conference met for radical reforms, it had several proposals for radical reforms submitted to its notice by its own members, the public was looking to it for radical reforms, what that public has actually got from it is (amongst other very similar things) this: a request that the Minister of Education would be good enough to furnish the inspectors with a few examples of examination questions for Standard I. Oh! the iron of the mechanism of office! What the New Zealand education system really wants was shown last January in the columns of the 'Otago Daily Times' by the Hon. Mr MacGregor;

## It Wants Simplification Right Through.

In the first place, it must be simplified in its government, so that the head-teacher shall now whom he has got to obey—whether the Department, the Board, the Committee, or whom. If he is to do his work efficiently, and, indeed, unless he is to lead the life of a toad under a harrow, he must have one master, and only one. The syllabus of subjects to be taught must also be simplified, with its pass subjects, and class subjects, and additional subjects, and, what is far worse, subjects that are class subjects in the lower standards, and pass subjects in the middle standards, and again class subjects in the upper standards. Once more I say Alas! for the mechanism of office; if it were not irreverent so to express oneself I would say, God Almighty ought to have been in office when he made the human mind if that is what is expected of it. Nor is this all. The day's work of the teacher in school must be greatly simplified by the abolition of home lessons, the supervision of which now so greatly interferes with his proper work, and the only excuse for which is that the children may be kept quiet at home in the evening. And finally, and most important of all, the annual examination must be simplified, but as this will form the principal topic of my paper I will postpone for a few minutes what I have to say about it whilst I pass rapidly in review the conclusions actually arrived at by the Conference. Of these final recommendations I do not intend to say much; with many of them, such as they are, I agree thoroughly. The one that comes to my mind first is that in connection with

# The Teaching of History,

The proposal to abolish the formal study of the subject, and to substitute for it the use of a historical reading book in class. Of this suggestion I entirely approve, believing as I do that it would place the subject of history on a much better footing. It is much more important for us to awaken the love of the subject in the mind of the children than merely to cram them, as at present, with a few names and dates. If this suggestion be adopted by the department, a further improvement might easily be made. The historical reading books that would then be required for Standards IV. and V. should undoubtedly be restricted to the 'History of England,' including, of course, an account of the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand, but there seems no reason why the book for Standard VI. should not have a much wider scope, and consist of episodes from the history of the world, ancient and modern. It is said that until very recently there were many peasants living in France in such crass ignorance of the subject of geography that they really believed France to be the only country in the world: as we are teaching history at present here in New Zealand, our young people are likely to grow up under the impression that there is only one *nation* in the world. I don't ask is this wise; I say, is it safe? Passing on to the subject of

## Reading

generally, I notice that the Conference recognises the desirableness of increasing the amount of matter read by the children in the twelvemonth. But for the bugbear of the inspector's annual examination I should myself be of the same opinion, and agree with the Inspector-General that the present allowance is not only inadequate, but ridiculously inadequate. Indeed, an incident in striking confirmation of this view came under my notice not so long ago in the course of a professional tour I was making. A boy passing his Fifth Standard one day was presented by his father in the evening with the reading book for the Sixth, supposed, as we all know, to supply reading matter for a year. Before the boy in question retired to rest that night he had read through the whole book. If this could be done with the most advanced book of the series, the utility of the earlier ones may easily be guessed at; and, indeed, the same failing is demonstrated in the experience alike of teachers and inspectors, children being often to be seen in school reciting their reading lessons quite correctly whilst staring about the room. The book is soon found to be superfluous, the child knows the whole of it by heart, and that occasionally before his proper time, he having heard his elder brother repeating the lesson at home. A child who leaves school unable to read the daily newspaper at sight has not received the training to which he is entitled; all the same I fear this is the case with a good many of our scholars at present. Whilst professional school critics, or at least some of them, are writing learnedly of "the value of the paragraph," "phrasing," and other jargon of the Normal School, the children are stumbling and boggling over the bare recognition of the words. The only remedy is Mr Habens's plan of plenty of practice in unseen passages; but here again we are met with the spectre of the inspector making his annual round. Were the annual examination also made in easy unseen passages, the suggested increase in the amount of reading matter would become more practicable; nor am I at all sure that the teacher's labors would be increased thereby, whilst the test would certainly be more thorough. I suppose newspapers must be as much tabooed in school as religious literature, otherwise it would be neither impossible nor undesirable that yesterday's leading articles, at least in Standard VI., should be made to-day's reading lesson. The educational martinet will, of course, sneer at the suggestion; but, as a reformed school system will quickly abolish that gentleman out of existence, the hint may go for what it is worth.

## Science Teaching in the Primaries.

For the subject of elementary science the Conference suggests the use of a text-book by the children. This would undoubtedly be better than leaving things in the indefinite state they are at present. But what is really wanted for this branch of school work is an authoritative syllabus of subjects for a three years' course, something like that submitted to the Conference by Mr Inspector Lee. Until the work to be done in science is as carefully graduated and minutely prescribed as is that for drawing in our present syllabus we shall never do justice to the best subject we profess to teach, a subject the practical claims of which are increasing upon us day by day, and which at the same time affords some of the most valuable mental discipline to which the minds of the children can be subjected. Let me not be misunderstood, however. All that I am pleading for, all that is possible in primary schools, is just a systematic course of object lessons in science, nothing more; experiments

with the air pump, a few chemicals, and a galvanic battery; or, on the other hand, specimens of rocks, flowers, and animal organs, but the real things if you please, and not mere verbal descriptions of them. One point, however, is very important; the principles selected for illustration should be those at the basis of the great industries of the present hour here in New Zealand; for example—frozen mutton. With an air pump and very little more the teacher could easily demonstrate the principle of the freezing machine, yet how many scholars of those who passed the Sixth Standard last year could have shown the connection between the furnace and the ice in this industry? The freezing machine, the steam engine, and the telegraph—not a boy should leave our schools who cannot thoroughly explain both the principle involved in each of these *and the way in which that principle is applied*. And, finally, given such a syllabus as I speak of it seems to me there would be little need for a scholars' text-book; but if we must have such a work, in the name of common sense let it be a child's book, written by a teacher rather than a *savant*, and, preferably, by a lady teacher. Books of generalisations, such as Huxley's 'Introductory Primer,' are utterly out of place in a primary school, and should never be seen there. The practical sum of what I have to say, however, on this point is this: that it is too much, far too much, to expect over-worked officials, whether teacher or inspector, the one to build up and the other to appraise a scheme of science for each school. The department must prepare and impose the schema, and do it thoroughly and elaborately, allowing teachers an option, no doubt, but only a restricted option, between authoritative and detailed courses; and until this is done elementary science, the distinguishing characteristic of our age, will remain a comparatively neglected subject, nominally rather than effectively taught. I have touched on history, reading, and science; when I have added that I quite agree with the inspectors in their proposal to eliminate solid geometry from the drawing curriculum I shall have said pretty much all I think necessary on this part of my subject. The geometrical representation of solids is surely a technical subject which only a few scholars will ever require to know, and which therefore had better be reserved for the art school of later youth. It would form a suitable subject for a class of apprentices in the evening, but should not be allowed to burden the primary course.

## Technicalities of Grammar.

On one of the proposed alterations in the curriculum I am at variance with the Conference. I do not think the revised programme in grammar an improvement on the present one. On the contrary, it seems to me inferior in several respects, more particularly in the exclusion of etymologies—surely a most interesting, and, at the same time, valuable branch of the subject of grammar. Finally, in respect to

## Geography,

the Conference proposes amendments, but not the amendment that seems to me the most essential—viz., the abolition of the teacher's option in respect to a programme of work in this subject. I do not believe in this option. Let the classes be combined as much as you like, but let all scholars be taken ultimately through a complete systematic course, carefully napped out and imposed by the department. Such a programme cannot be produced without a good deal of thought—sometimes more thought than either teacher or inspector has leisure for. As a matter of fact, therefore, an original scheme of geography for each school generally means an inferior scheme; and, anyway, the *exams*. in it will never be so appropriate or satisfactory. But all the matters to which I have hitherto referred merely touch the surface of school work, and I have only discussed them by way of introduction to what I am now to say. I find fault with the Conference because the resolutions at which it arrived fail to grapple with

## The Great Evil of the Present System,

make no attempt to grapple with it, in fact. As everybody knows, the charges brought against our present system may all be traced to the manner in which the school work is tested, and what the colony is asking for is some radical change on this point, so that scholars and teachers alike may be relieved from the pressure under which they at present labor, the feverishness which marks our school life may disappear, and mental and moral training take the place of cramming. Judging by the results arrived at by the Conference, it would seem that the members had never heard of these complaints, although, if so, they are the only persons in the colony who have not. A minor reform in the supervision of schools was, indeed, suggested and debated, but not adopted by the Conference. I refer, of course, to the proposal to make the

# Inspectors Officers of the Central Department,

instead of, as now, officers of the local boards. The rejection of this proposal seems to me a matter much to be regretted. In the first place, its adoption is the only way by which uniformity in the interpretation of the standards can be secured. When inspectors are changed about from district to district at short intervals of time a common ideal of the attainments to be expected from school children will soon grow up of itself. Everybody sees that, and desires, in consequence, that the supervising officers may be made itinerant. It does not seem equally well recognised, however, although it ought to be, that the transference desired will never be effected by local bodies, each independent of all the others. As a general rule a local board has more confidence in the officers it is acquainted with than in those of whom it knows little, and whenever a board does show a wish for a change a neighboring board will be likely to imagine it would be no gainer by cooperating. Then, again, inspectors' salaries vary greatly in the different education districts, and this of itself would probably prove an insurmountable barrier to transference by negotiation. Moreover, even inspectors have their rights, and a man who has been engaged for work in a particular district would probably feel himself aggrieved when told he had been transferred by his employers like goods or chattels somewhere else. He might be inclined to think that the days of American slavery were being revived. Anyway, it is plain enough that the inertia of rest will be too great to be overcome by any force less potent than the General Government. It is easy to show, however, that much good besides uniformity of requirements would follow the change proposed; and, were this not so, it would hardly be worth while to make so radical an alteration in present arrangements. For instance, boards would be able to form a much more certain estimate of the efficiency or otherwise of any particular teacher after several inspectors had reported upon him than they can now; and, on the other hand, teachers would feel themselves less at the mercy of one man than they do at present. All this is important, but by far the greatest benefit from the change proposed has yet to be mentioned. It would be seen, not at examination, but at inspection. Each school would obtain hints in turn from every inspector in the colony, and so the best methods of each district would become the common property of all. Indeed, it should be remembered that inspectors learn as well as teach—that is, if they are the men they ought to be—and that a man who has seen every school in the colony and the methods adopted in it will necessarily be a wiser man, and one whose counsel will be worth more to any teacher, than an officer who sees nothing from year's end to year's end except what he himself originates, or, at best, what a small number of teachers have introduced.

## Exchange of Inspectors.

In fact, I will venture to repeat what I have said elsewhere: that I believe the efficiency of our schools could be doubled to-morrow by transferring the control of the inspectors to the central department, and so making them itinerant. It is quite unnecessary that I should say more on this point, and, indeed, the propriety of the change proposed is self-evident. When the Central Government find the money, the Central Government should audit the results and ascertain for themselves whether they are getting their money's worth or not. If the schools were maintained by a local rate, as was the case once, the present arrangement would be right; but when the colony as a whole took over the cost of the education, to be logical it should have taken over also the inspection of the schools. The present arrangement is the survival of provincial government after the provinces have been abolished. In taking this view of the matter I am supported by that utterance of the Hon. John MacGregor to which I have already referred. This gentleman justly describes our present system, if system it be, as a body without a head and a head without a body. Of the latter phenomenon I say nothing; it is without a parallel of any sort now, though representations of it may be seen in mediæval paintings. On the other hand, of the former phenomenon we still have an analogue in the animal kingdom. It is the amphioxus, or lancelet, a creature so low in organisation that it scarcely belongs to the vertebrate section of animal life at all. It is acephalous—a carcass without a head. That is the stage of development at which the education system of New Zealand at present halts; it has no special organ for the function of intelligence! As shown by the vote of the majority at the Conference, the inspectors generally prefer the present arrangement. This is intelligible enough, but it may be worth while to point out that the change would be attended with some advantages even for them personally. For example, I have often been puzzled to understand on what principle it is that a head-teacher requires an official residence in addition to his salary, whereas an inspector of schools is left to find a residence for himself, and pay for it, or camp out on the street. If boards were wise, or even just, they would furnish each inspector not only with an official residence, but with paddock and stable for his horse, and so both encourage him to travel and ensure him a comfortable home when he returns. Anyway, this provision will have to be made for the

inspector as soon as he becomes an itinerant officer; and, as a friend of mine, himself a Civil servant, once remarked to me, the residences should all be of the same size and pattern, so that the carpets after removal might continue to fit!

I have already said a good deal, and yet I am hardly further than my introduction even yet. I have only touched on the fringe of my subject, and, had I nothing better to say than what you have just heard, I should not have suffered myself to be persuaded into appearing before you this evening. A few words, then, on some general principles and radical reforms.

## Selection of Teachers.

No national system of education will ever be successful that does not repose a large measure of confidence in the teachers of the schools. This, of course, implies, in the first place, the most rigid selection of those who are to fill the office of educators. Let the scrutiny be of the strictest order, not only as to a candidate's attainments, but as to his moral character, experience, and sound judgment, and let every one who fails to come up to a fair ideal in all these respects be ruthlessly rejected. And then, when you have got a good man, trust him. If you have satisfied yourself that he is a conscientious man and a man of sound judgment, give him room and scope for action, not bare breathing space. The present loose way of appointing teachers is the greatest obstacle to the removal of the chains that cramp and confine the teacher's action. At present you throw the door open wide, so that objectionable persons may get in, and sometimes do get in, and then you watch and restrain everybody as if you thought all your teachers pickpockets. If education boards had only belonged to the vertebrate division of the animal kingdom, as the Education Act designed, inspectors would almost become superfluous officers. The Legislature intended that

## The Boards Should Select and Appoint

the teachers, and gave each Board an expert in the profession to counsel and assist it in this particular function, and with, I believe, only one exception, they have all gone, every one of them throughout the colony, and allowed the school committees to usurp this the most important and sacred trust committed to them; and now you see, in not a few places throughout the colony, some of the most illiterate persons in the community the sole patrons of educational appointments. In consequence a candidate is frequently selected, not for professional attainments, or long experience, or high character, but because he or she belongs to the locality, or is a member of the same religious denomination as the majority of the committee, or because he has got a large family and will be a good customer at the village store, or, more frequently than all, his style of handwriting is of the copperplate order, and the misguided yokels are captivated thereby, like the flies by sugared sticking paper; and the man or woman who has spent the best years of youth in seeking intellectual discipline and acquiring the teacher's habit of self-restraint is left out in the cold. And the educational body that calls itself a board, and is responsible for this state of things, then advertises for an educational policeman to assess the work of these so-called teachers, and make "surprise" visits and see that the school registers are not tampered with. Under these circumstances no one need be astonished that teachers are expected to wear a tolerably strait jacket; not much freedom of movement can be allowed.

## A Reform Suggested.

But this is a digression—a digression, however, rendered necessary by the fact that the reform I am about to propose will be a failure unless the teachers are men and women worthy of the name—are teachers *de jure as well as de facto*. But so will all schemes of education be a failure as long as you appoint inferior persons to the teacher's office. None but the best should be there, and none but the best will be there when boards do their duty, and hence I make no apology for advocating a plan which implies that State teachers are worthy of confidence, have some knowledge of their profession, and will not shrink from its obligations. In my judgment, then, all the dissatisfaction which exists at present with the state of our schools arises from the fact that the

## Head-Teacher has Not Full Control

of the school, has hardly any voice in the classification of his own scholars, is not entrusted with this duty,

and, presumably, because he is not fit for it, is not judicious enough or not conscientious enough to be trusted with it. The department fails to trust the teacher. The consequence is a system has been set up which directly ignores the most fundamental fact in Nature. The distinguishing characteristic of Nature is variety; no two leaves alike on the trees of the same forest; no two children exactly alike in the whole colony. The distinguishing characteristic of the education system of New Zealand is uniformity—a fixed amount of work for a fixed time, and every child to do that work in the same time, with a black mark against the teacher's name if he doesn't. Nature" and the Education Department of New Zealand in direct collision—that was the great fact which the inspectors should have faced last February in Wellington, and didn't; or perhaps it would be more just to say which individuals amongst them attempted to face, but which the Conference as a whole left as it found it. We have all got so used by practice to this idea of uniformity in educational results that we scarcely realise the gross absurdity of it—a system of education founded on a principle which is in direct defiance of the most fundamental law, not only of human nature, but of all Nature. No doubt Nature will give way; invariable law will be altered to suit the exigencies of the New Zealand Education Department, which won't trust its teachers. But Nature hasn't altered yet, as witness the dissatisfaction of parents, the inferior education given, the feverish worry of school life to teachers, and children too. No, Nature hasn't altered yet; and I think it will even be necessary for the Education Department to revise its action, to withdraw its scheme, and adopt another of a more generous order. An education scheme that doesn't trust its teachers!—can you imagine anything more ludicrously absurd, even in a comic almanac. Yes, there is one thing more comically absurd: it is to see an assembly of educational experts tinkering with such a scheme, and satisfied to amend it. It doesn't admit of amendment, it must be

## Reformed Out of Existence;

its most fundamental feature must be abolished; *the inspector's annual examination, as at present conducted, must disappear altogether*, and the head-teacher must be left free and unfettered to classify his scholars according to their needs. Then, and then only, will there be peace in the educational world; then, and then only, *ought* there to be peace. The child of cultured parents will then get the rapid promotion for which he is qualified, the son of illiterate parents will be allowed to take the longer time that his circumstances require; and both alike will be promoted on full knowledge of their abilities and attainments, and not, as now, as the result of good luck in answering just the right proportion of a few almost mechanical questions. That is my first proposition.

## What should be Substituted?

To fully understand my proposal I will ask you to suppose for the present that the inspector's annual examination were *altogether* abolished; it would then be necessary to determine on what conditions promotion of scholars should take place. I suggest it should be by Orders-in-Council fixing the interval and date at which the head-teacher should reclassify his school—say once a year, at Christmas time. The Order-in-Council should leave the head-teacher free to hold an examination of his school at this season if he thought fit, but he should be counselled to avoid this course if possible, and make the promotion on his knowledge of the way in which the child had acquitted himself of his duties throughout the year then closing. This of course would imply that the head-teacher should make the promotion after consulting with the class-teacher, and this he should be required to do by Order-in-Council, just as a board now is bound to consult a committee in any appointment, but not bound to follow its wishes. So it should be imperative that the head-teacher before making a promotion should consult the class-teacher. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge on the

## Advantages of this Plan,

They will be obvious to everyone at all conversant with school work; it would plainly revolutionise school life and reach the root of the present evils. If the teacher's life would become easier thereby the benefit would be still more apparent in the case of the scholar. That vicious element of struggle against time would be removed from the life of both. Cramming for examination would be eliminated from school work altogether, and the teacher be at leisure to train and really educate the child. The nervous and anxious child would no longer suffer from its anxiety. Childhood would be left to mature at leisure, just as Nature meant it should, just as the stomach digests its food at leisure and cannot be hurried. And that feature in the school life of our youth

at present, which is so obnoxious to thoughtful and wise educationists—its tone of hurry, excitement, and rivalry—would disappear altogether. On the other hand, everyone sees how greatly the change would improve the teacher's position, both class-teacher and head-teacher. The daily approval of the class-teacher would become an object of importance to the child with a view to promotion, whilst the head-teacher would become in reality what he is now in little more than name—the real governor of the whole school machine. That is the first half of my reform, but a scheme to be of any use must meet all the conditions of the case and reconcile conflicting claims, and I have not yet taken into account the question of the Government audit.

## What are We Getting for Our Money?

That is what the public requires to know, and what it has a right to know, and any young colony that spends half a million a year on education should see that it gets the genuine article for its money in every case, should assess the quality of the thing produced by some means or other, and, whilst trusting its teachers, should take nothing on trust. Is there any way to reconcile these seeming contradictions? It is not the duty of an inspector of schools to classify the scholars, and, from his limited opportunities of knowing, he cannot do it properly, and a classification based on his examinations will not be a satisfactory classification; but it is his duty to verify the head-teacher's classification, and to say whether the results with which the teacher is satisfied are equally good in the eyes of an independent expert. How shall that be done, and especially, how shall it be done so as to be a help to the school and not a hindrance? Shall it be done by a formal examination or otherwise? Perhaps you will think I am unsaying all that I have previously said when I remark that in my judgment it will still be desirable to have

## A Formal Annual Examination

of the school by an inspector. You will notice, however, that I do not say an examination as *now*. Indeed, I am still of the opinion, formerly expressed by me, that a trained expert in school work could easily tell by spending time in the school and taking stock of all that goes on without any formal examination whether or not the teaching were efficient and the results good. I believe all competent educationists would bear me out in that. But I do not think that the public, as represented by the Government of the colony, would be content with such a verdict, and I am not sure that it ought to be content. The public wants to know not simply what an officer thinks but why he thinks it. And still further, I doubt if the teachers themselves would be content with it. They might be so as long as the inspector's verdict was favorable, but in those cases in which it was unfavorable they would be almost certain to take exception to it, and that on the ground of its indefiniteness. A teacher whose work was declared to be unsatisfactory would demand to be put on his trial; he would say "It is not just to condemn me simply on the general impression produced on the inspector's mind by the style and methods of my school. I demand that the *results* of my teaching shall be assessed. Let my school be examined, and I am willing to stand or fall by that." Most people would feel that the teacher was right in this protest; that it was putting too much power into the hands of a mortal man, and asking the public to take too much on trust, to settle everything by a mere expression of opinion from the inspector. We must have a formal examination of some sort.

## How it Would Work.

The annual examination, then, I hold, should differ from the present one in these particulars:—

1. It should be an examination of the scholars in the standard last passed, not, as now, for promotion; consequently it would not affect the classification of the pupils at all. It would be what you call, I think, a class examination, and not an individual examination, though I don't much admire the nomenclature, inasmuch as you can't examine the class without examining its individual members. The class, you see, would contain no scholars except such as the head-teacher thought fit to be in it, and the inspector, by his examination, would pronounce on the wisdom or otherwise of the head-teacher's classification. If he took exactly the same view of the matter as the head-teacher, the class would obtain cent, per cent, of marks, and the mean of the percentages obtained by the classes would give that for the whole school. This verdict, it will be seen, would amount to a criticism on the teaching generally, not on the cramming of the last twelvemonth; and I don't believe that any efficient teacher would object to such a test.

That there may be no doubt about my meaning I will repeat it in an example. The head-teacher, we must

suppose, has reclassified his school at Christmas, and has been working since the holidays on the new classification. The inspector comes to examine this particular school in March, we will suppose. The class which he finds doing the work of Standard IV. will consist, of I course, of scholars who up till Christmas were doing that of Standard III., along with many probably who are doing the work of Standard IV. for the second time. The whole class, however, will be examined in the work of Standard III. only, and if all pass it will be evident that the teacher has both done his work thoroughly and not promoted any scholar prematurely. But the teacher alone will be concerned with the verdict of the inspector, and not the scholars, whose classification will remain unaltered whatever the verdict. If the inspector's judgment is unfavorable it will be a hint to the teacher not to promote his scholars so rapidly in future; that is all. The criticism will be, as it ought to be, on the way in which the teacher works, on the ideal he sets before himself, or, in plainer English, on the style of work with which he is content. The inspector's duty is to criticise the teacher, not the children; or rather the teacher as shown through the children.

As this is the feature of my scheme that my critics will probably be most slow to appreciate, and as I regard it as fundamental, I must spend a few more words upon it. Why, it will be asked, examine in the standard last passed, and not rather, as now, in the standard next higher? The answer is that only in this way can you draw the teeth of the examination fiend. If it were possible to banish that evil spirit altogether from school life it were very desirable to do so; but, as that seems impossible in the case of *public* schools, the next best thing is to render it innocuous. When a sheep dog *mangles* the sheep he is set to guard the usual plan is to break his teeth, and he then becomes the shepherd's useful servant, to direct but not to injure the sheep. That is just what we must do with this institution, the annual examination. It must be made retrospective, not prospective in its action. As the result of the examination will no longer affect the children's status they will cease to think about it; they will no longer make an inspector's pass the object of their ambition, which will be limited to the teacher's approval of the daily task as it is done; the element of hurry and worry will be gone from school life, as far at least as the children are concerned. So again it is only in this way you can effectually and completely remove the temptation to teachers to cram the children against examination day. Under the reformed system of examination cramming will do no good. The child who has been doing nothing but Fifth Standard work for some months perhaps before he is examined in Fourth Standard work will have forgotten everything of the latter except so much as he has properly digested. Whatever he has learnt for life he will remember on examination day, and it is only what he has learnt for life that will be of any good to him; the rest had better never have been learnt, and never will be learnt under a good system. King "Cram" will at last be effectually dethroned. And so manifest is this fact that I can well understand a practical teacher whose whole professional life has been spent under the present system ready to remonstrate and say: "Yes, you have abolished cram so thoroughly that, as far as the subject of geography is concerned, no examination will be possible under the circumstances." I would venture, however, to qualify the remonstrance of that practical teacher slightly, and make it read: "No examination in geography as at present conducted and valued will be possible"; but that will be no objection to the reformed system in the eyes of the wise and thoughtful. Geography is the "cram" subject *par excellence*, and it is one of the best features of this reformed system of examination that it would oblige the inspector to adopt an entirely different standard of excellence in this subject, and consequently work a revolution in the methods of teaching it. For one thing, a very much lower percentage of correct answers in geography would have to be deemed satisfactory; and, in addition, a child must not be asked on examination day "Where is the Apseron Peninsula?" but "How would you go to work to find out the locality of a peninsula hitherto unknown to you?" As the Hon. Mr Gisborne, himself a highly-cultured man, once remarked to me: "A well-educated man is not a man who knows everything, but a man who knows where to find everything."

I think, then, I may regard it as certain that the reform suggested would not only remove the evils under which the child labors at present, but those also under which the teacher labors, and so be a boon to both. Its best claim to acceptance, however, lies in this fact—already once referred to—that it will be a test, not so much of the work done in the last twelvemonth, as of the effect generally of the teacher's methods for many years past. The efficient teacher, in fact, will be able to go on his way without thinking of examination day at all, knowing full well that wise methods and hard work will be sure to tell in the long run under any system of examination that discourages "cram." But now let us notice some other features in our reformed method of examination, consequent upon the first.

2. Secondly, then, the examination will be by sample, and not on all the work of every class—a very important point.

When the object of the examination is no longer to classify the pupils, but simply to test the quality of the work the school can turn out, it will be quite unnecessary to go through the long and cumbrous investigation which at present obtains, straining the powers of the children to the utmost, and treating the work they produce under these unfavorable conditions as the best they are capable of. All that will cease. Each class will be examined in a small number of subjects only, say two, or at most three, probably different subjects in each

class, the selection of which will be made by the inspector on the spot. The average of the results will be a fair test of the attainments of the scholars, and consequently of the character of the teaching—as good a test for all practical purposes as that which is imposed at present. Indeed, in some respects it will be better, for in consequence of the great reduction in the amount of work required of the children on examination day under the new plan they will be able to do themselves and their school justice. Instead of the hurry and scramble which necessarily marks that day now, plenty of time will be available for every exercise. The examination papers will show the scholars at their best, and so be a much fairer criterion of their skill and the training bestowed upon them by their teachers. A scarcely less important consequence will be that the inspector himself will be relieved of a large part of the miserable drudgery of which he is at present the victim. Under the system now existing the inspector's time is almost wholly occupied in wading through boundless floods of children's examination papers. Under the oppression of this monotonous and relentless task his mind loses all elasticity, and he becomes little more than the slave of the existing system, his one dread the introduction of any novelty by which his already overstrained brain may be still further taxed. Of what use is such a man as a counsellor and adviser of the teacher, quick to see and fertile in resource as he ought to be? If he does not become a mere machine it will be simply due to his own native strength of character.

3. It is hardly necessary that I should point out, as a third difference, that the examination now proposed will be one for passes in subjects, and not for standard passes. This, of course, would be the only possible arrangement under the reformed system, but, being a point in its favor, ought still to be mentioned. An estimate based on passes in subjects is not only a more accurate one than the other, but is the method recommended for adoption by the Conference at Wellington. The assessment will of course be a numerical one; but under the new conditions there will, I think, pact Dr Anderson, be little to object to it on that account. Certainly it will no longer be necessary to maintain that glaring scandal of our system the departmental order, warning everybody concerned not to attach much significance to the departmental examinations.

4. Another feature of our examination will be that all subjects taught will be placed on the same level, or at least treated with the same respect on examination day, the unholy walls between pass subjects, class subjects, and additional subjects being broken down. The examination will be based on the principle that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well. The present arrangement may be called an immoral one, a premium being offered in it for the comparative neglect of certain subjects in the syllabus. In future the teaching in natural science, for example, will have to be done as thoroughly as the teaching in arithmetic, since the results obtained in it will as largely affect the final estimate of the school teaching. In this way the simplification of the syllabus, at present so perverse in its complexity, will be fully assured. Something else, however, will be simplified in addition to the school syllabus, and that will be the examination report. For years past the layman, as is well known, has been sorely puzzled to ascertain, even after the inspector's examination, whether his school was efficient or not. He found himself furnished, in the inspector's report, with four different numerical results, obtained from calculations based on four different principles, and naturally inquired what he was to do with them all, generally coming to the conclusion that the department was ashamed of its own system, and had, in consequence, done its utmost to make any correct judgment of the condition of the school impossible. All this would henceforth be swept away, and a single percentage interpreted in an inspector's short comment would enable anyone interested to know whether the children were receiving a good training or not. Neither examination—report, nor school syllabus would any longer involve the services of a Philadelphia lawyer.

5. The cynical critic will probably have already detected what seems to him a weak point in the reform proposed. He will see that no provision has yet been suggested to test the element of time in school work. How often he will say are you willing that scholars should be examined in the same class? Is the teacher who presents his scholars year by year in a new class to be placed no higher in your estimate than his fellow who keeps them two or even three years at the same work? Or do you assume that all teachers will act with equal conscientiousness in this matter? How far does your principle of trusting your teachers carry you?

Judging by his remarks, I am inclined to think that the cynical critic just referred to doesn't know very much of a teacher's surroundings. I fear that should my reform be adopted, the mistake, if any, that teachers will make, for the first year or two at all events, will be the premature promotion of their pupils. So many social influences play upon a teacher, to induce him to promote his children rapidly, that under the new arrangement he will require to cultivate the virtue of firmness to an unlimited extent to enable him to resist this inducement and detain the children in each class sufficiently long to enable them to become thoroughly grounded in their work. That is the danger. There is very little fear that any child will be delayed in his career to hide the indolence of his teacher. I think the difficulty suggested is almost an imaginary one, or will be so when proper precautions are taken in the appointment of teachers. Supposing, however, that experience should show that it would be unjust to the abler and more skilful teachers not to take this element of time into account, it will be easy enough to find a remedy. At present the inspector is furnished with a note of age of every pupil examined. Let him in future be supplied instead, or in addition, with a note of the months spent by each pupil in the

standard he is examined in, and from this let the average time spent by the scholars in the class be calculated. The general experience of schools throughout the colony will soon show what the average time ought to be for each class, and a calculation can then easily be made raising or reducing proportionately the percentage of passes already obtained. In this way not only as good but a more accurate estimate of the skill of the teacher may be made than is reached by the present method, where every scholar passing counts equally whatever be the number of years he has spent in the standard. I am bound to say, however, I think teachers should be encouraged in every way to keep their scholars sufficiently long in each class. Thoroughness in work rather than rapidity in progress should be the object aimed at. Hence, the inspector's examination ought to be a strict one, and under the new conditions it would be much easier to make it strict than at present. On the other hand, the reduction made for excess of time should be a very small one.

## No Claim for Originality.

I think I have now said all that it is absolutely necessary to say in explanation of my scheme. I *say my* scheme, but I am not at all sure of the novelty of it after all. As far back as the year 1885 I find efforts were being made by some to get the same principles recognised by the department. For instance, in the 'New Zealand Educational and Literary Monthly' for March of that year is the summary of a paper read at Christchurch before the North Canterbury Educational Institute by Mr George Hogben, M.A., entitled the 'Liberty of the Teacher.' The sentiments of this gentleman are so much in accord with what I have been saying that I will venture to quote a line or two from his paper. He says: "The rules of the (existing) system appeared to be framed on the assumption that all teachers were bad, rather than to aid and encourage the good ones, whose efforts were therefore cramped. A radical reform was necessary to give more scope to the individuality of the teacher, who was in bondage with regard to (1) the classification of his pupils; (2) the arrangement of his work; and (3) examinations. It was absurd to say that an inspector (an outsider) could classify the children better than the teacher who knew their capabilities, unless that teacher was unfit for his work. The inspector's duty was to criticise and comment on the classification. The arrangement of work was fixed by standards at a certain minimum per year, without regard to the child's capacity, in whatever place or district, town or country. Surely the teacher who knows the children under his charge best should be able best to say what each class can do in a given time." Whether Mr Hogben would approve of the practical proposals in my scheme of reform I do not know, but I could not wish to have the case for reform expressed better than it is here.

## Favor in High Quarters.

But that is not the only quarter in which I find, or think I find, sympathy. Reading again more carefully the speech of the Inspector-General at the opening of the Conference in Wellington, I certainly think I find there a willingness to move in the direction of the scheme I am advocating. Thus at the close of his speech he says: "I have long thought it would be wise . . . to leave the mechanical work of standard examinations in Urge schools in the hands of the head-masters. . . . Two inspectors would examine the classes, and ascertain whether the weaker pupils in each class were fairly up to the work in which they were engaged." Well, what is that but the cardinal feature of my scheme—viz, that the inspector's examination should be in the standard last passed? That is the only way to tell whether a child is fit for the work he is attempting, to see if he can do the preliminary work readily. There is no other fitness, and hence I see no reason to anticipate any unwillingness on the part of the department to adopt the scheme I am proposing. Why, under these circumstances, some similar scheme was not adopted by the Conference I am utterly at a loss to guess, unless it be what I have hinted at before—that the inspectors, by long endurance, have become so moulded and indurated into the present system that, though recognising its viciousness, they shrink instinctively from any change in it. Like the lifelong prisoner released from the Bastille, they ask to be taken back to their cell.

But, after all, I need not go outside the Conference itself to find support for my scheme, my censures on that body applying only to the Conference acting as a whole, and to the majority only of its members. This becomes plain on reading carefully the official report of the proceedings of the Conference, from which document we learn that in committee of the whole the Conference actually adopted the very principle which lies at the basis of my own scheme this evening—viz., that the system of testing the efficiency of schools mainly by individual passes in standards should be abolished. Strangely enough, however, when the chairman of committee re-reported this fact to the Conference that body rejected its own finding in committee, and that in spite of the fact that the adoption of the report was moved and seconded by inspectors of the longest standing and largest experience in the colony—I mean Messrs Lee and Petrie. These things are difficult to account for.

The Committee was prepared to trust its teachers, but the Conference was not; and yet Committee and Conference consisted of the same persons. I suppose the Committee expressed the opinion of the private individual in each case, and the Conference that of the board official. The private individuals were generous, but the public officials distrustful; the private individuals were courageous, but the hearts of the public officials failed them. Anyway, the official proceedings of the Conference show that there is nothing rash or imprudent in my scheme, since the fundamental principle of it only just escaped adoption by the Conference itself.

It would relieve my feelings a little if I could apologise to the Conference for the sharp criticism to which I am subjecting its action. For many of the individual members, as far as they are known to me, I have the greatest respect, and hold them in the highest honor; and I, knowing these as I do, I am all the more at a loss to understand both the smallness of the results arrived at and the objectionable character of some things that were done. On two of these latter I will now touch by way of conclusion,

## **A Weak Compromise.**

The sure sign of weakness is compromise. The weak man will not exert himself to get rid of a bad principle, but he will attempt to satisfy his conscience by working on two principles instead of one, ignoring the wisdom which should teach him that even a bad principle carried out thoroughly is usually better than two conflicting principles. I make these remarks in view of that extraordinary recommendation of the Conference that, whilst the results of the examination of the upper standards should be indicated as before by a numerical estimate, the same should cease to apply to Standards I. and II. In the name of common sense what is the good of this innovation? If I know anything of the working of the schools, it is in Standards I. and II. that the inconveniences of the present mode of examination are least felt. The work of these classes is both well defined, and, I think, not excessive in amount, so that the results obtained in them under efficient teachers are uniformly high. Moreover, you may be perfectly certain that the examination of these classes will be conducted on the same lines as before. Why, then, if a numerical result is obtained should it not be published? Why should not the class-teacher, the head-teacher, and the school generally get the benefit of it? I suppose this is one of those things that only a conference can understand. Experience has shown that the method *can* be applied to these classes easily, and, as long as it is applied to those above them, consistency demands that it should be used in these also. Our system is getting more and more complex and piebald with every change.

## **A Decidedly Retrograde Step.**

I have shown pretty thoroughly that I am not in sympathy with the spirit that seems to have pervaded the majority of the Conference. I doubt whether the Conference as a whole was animated by a generous spirit, or attempted to place itself mentally in the position of the teacher, and so to realise his just claims and do as it would be done by. There was too much of the spirit of the policeman manifest in the proceedings. That principle of reposing confidence in teachers of which I spoke some time ago, and without which your "Education Act 1877," is just a dead letter, appears to have been conspicuous by its absence. How else can we account for that strange recommendation which was both proposed and adopted that a teacher's professional status should be liable to reduction—that it should vary, in fact, with the inspector's opinions. The view which the Conference must have held in adopting this recommendation is this: that pressure must always weigh upon teachers or you will never get a full day's work out of them. Against the spirit which is the father of that theory I desire to enter

## **My Most Emphatic Protest.**

If a man has got any enthusiasm for the work of education in him he will need no personal pressure to excite him to exertion; and if he is wanting in this enthusiasm your only alternative is to get rid of him altogether—degrading him will do no good. From every point of view this unfortunate suggestion is bad; it is another attempt at compromise, and, like most compromises, it will do a great deal of harm and no good. It is the resource of the weak, and I refuse to believe that the Education Department of New Zealand will stoop to such a policy, or put this dishonor upon its teachers. Let promotion be as slow and as difficult as you like, as slow and as difficult as every wise inspector makes it; let full proof be required of a man before you raise his status, but when once it is done let it be done for life; let it be as irreversible as a university degree, more irrevocable than a freehold grant; then it will be something worth working for, ennobling the recipient. The

teacher who has thoroughly earned his promotion before he has received it will have passed beyond the stage of the mere hireling—he will have acquired a second nature and developed the instincts of the educator. Such a man may be relied upon to do his duty apart from the fear of degradation. At any rate, the exceptions will be very few, and it would be indeed a shortsighted policy that should degrade a whole profession for the sake of reaching one or two unworthy individuals, who probably represent after all just an inspector's blunder. Improper promotions are sure to be made where an inspector allows his teachers to write to him and even speak to him about their own promotion. Let such doings be made penal, as every self-respecting teacher would wish, and there will be little need to impair the tenure of the status. As I have already said: I refuse to believe that the department will adopt the recommendation referred to; but should it do so it will not be the teaching profession alone that will be degraded thereby; it will be the whole population of the colony, the character of the children in which will in future be determined and moulded by men and women working under an unworthy influence—that of fear, the taskmaster's lash. If, instead of growing up manly, generous, and conscientious, our young people develop something of the mean spirit of the slave, we shall know whom we have to thank for it. You cannot degrade the educator without degrading his scholars also.

## **The Reform Feasible and Practicable.**

I will now only ask finally: Is there any practical objection to such a fundamental reform as I have advocated in this paper? I venture to think none but its novelty; and, though that will be sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of the educational martinet, it will be no disqualification in the judgment of the New Zealand public. It is ridiculous to suppose that a community which has just made such a novel experiment in politics as that of the female franchise will lack the courage to make experiments in educational reform. The evils of the present system are very glaring, and have evoked repeated protests from the thoughtful amongst us. The department, I believe, is as much awake to the public voice on this subject as one could wish, but it has hitherto waited in the hope that a conference of inspectors would be arranged and be productive of a good scheme. That hope is gone utterly; the results of that Conference won't ameliorate the evils complained of in any appreciable degree. Educational reformers and, I will venture to say, the public generally will ignore them altogether, and

## **Will Insist on Radical Reforms.**

The better way can only be demonstrated by experiment; let proposed reforms be subjected to trial, and that without delay. No one need be surprised that the first scheme issued by the department was imperfect; nothing but a miracle could have made it otherwise. We have now seventeen years' experience to go upon, and that is more than sufficient to warrant a change. A public education system is a boon to society in any form, but the form it has taken in New Zealand has done much to neutralise its benefits, and, though it gives us education, it is education of an inferior order. Let the lessons of experience be utilised; let the boon of education be given to the nation in its best form; so shall the future of the colony be made bright with hope, being based on the intelligence of its population and on the wisdom acquired from knowledge; so shall New Zealand become the land of the thoughtful and the gifted, where, as time unrolls its ages, the problems of society shall receive their wisest solution and the puzzles of existence their most satisfactory explanation.

Printed at the Evening Star Job Printing Works, Bond Street, Dunedin.

Front Cover

**Land Settlement.**

In Relation to Labour, as a Solution of the Unemployed Difficulty.

BY Ensign Grace.

Wellington, N.Z. M'kee and Gamble, Printers by Electric Power. 1894.

## **Land Settlement.**

Land legislation and settlement cannot, unaided, be the means of bringing about a complete reform in the matter of Labour, but they are a necessary means to that end among all the suggested remedies, none have held so honoured a place as that now under consideration. Land settlement is looked to by the people as a whole, and by their political leaders, as the best way of preventing land monopoly, and as the best way of increasing our exports. It is hoped, also, that many of the present unemployed will find profitable work on the land "Get the people on the land" has become the leading motto of the Liberal party in this Colony, and with good reason: for it

is perhaps the most effective method, within reasonable practicability and reach, of relieving the unemployed, and it is also necessary to the enlargement of industry. We should ever make the most of such weapons of reform nearest our grasp; and, besides, if something is not done forthwith to moderate the not decreasing depression of trade and labour, the consequences must be very serious indeed. Immediate steps need to be taken to avert the threatening evil. What is required is some immediate relief. At the same time care must be taken, in land matters at least, that while the method of relief is made effective in the immediate future, it will not by-and-by undo its own work, and, when, possible, it should be made of perpetual benefit to all classes of the community. To spend our time dreaming of or advocating some far away "Utopia," is not calculated to satisfy the needy of to-day, nor yet even to bring about a future "Utopia" of the right colour. In promulgating imaginative far-fetched, though perhaps possible, schemes, we only drive to the opposite extreme men of more conservative ideas. It is not at all desirable to create a wide-spread impression that the social and political agitation now a-foot is the child of "faddist" beliefs. We should endeavour to command the earnest and thoughtful consideration of the majority of men and women by advocating measures of a more moderate kind. It is easy some persons to see the force of some brilliant, revolutionary scheme, such as Bellamy's, but not so easy for them to induce others of a more ordinary caste of mind to see that scheme in the same favourable light. Every man's ideas and opinions are, from his own stand-point, consistent with one another, and may form together a harmonious whole; but no person's system of ideas and opinions is really the same through out as the system of any other person in existence. To attempt, therefore, to induce another to accept *en bloc* my way of thinking with regard to a social scheme is, in the nature of things preposterous. When we cannot obtain a yard of conviction, let us, in discretion, accept a foot only. This is, in the end, the surest and speediest way of promoting great reforms and it does not make minor measures for immediate purposes so hard to effect.

In pursuance of these suggestions, then, let us go ahead on the Land-Labour matter. Agitation is much relied on by many as the stepping-stone of Reform. And we must extensively agitate in order to accomplish anything. The people's attention must be drawn to an existing evil in order to rouse their indignation against it; the evil must be published before the remedy can be even thought of in the public mind. Conviction of the evil must be secured. Then the method of reform most to the mind of the would-be reformer must be fully submitted and supported. Organisation of believers must be made, and the proposed scheme or measure, in the form most acceptable to all its advocates, further agitated. It is noteworthy that on the Opposition side of our House of Parliament are to be found men who are now admitting the need of legislative enactments to mitigate evils the existence of which they once denied. How is this? Simply because their minds have been exercised and stimulated to enquiry by the agitation so persistently made with regard to such evils. Many movements, once to all appearances hopeless, have finally triumphed as the outcome of persevering agitation. Further, it often happens that when a man advocates something not really practicable or desirable further light is brought to bear upon his mind through the criticism he encounters, and he either mends his scheme or renounces it, and the upshot is an educational advancement of all concerned. Truth will out at last, and whether attempts to eradicate wrongs and evils be to the point, or otherwise, or practical or impractical, something will, sooner or later, be accomplished directly or indirectly. There lies, however, in sound, practical moderate measure agitation a greater power than in such agitation as is otherwise, for it operates sooner, and without minor loss of any kind, and forms a basis for further operation. Revolutionary measures must involve much friction between parts of the social machinery before these are once more set in going order. Therefore revolutionary measures, as sudden changes of an elaborate nature, are to be avoided as far as possible. Great reforms are quite necessary, but it were madness to attempt to complete everything in a day. Patching up the worn-out duplicates of the machine cannot long suffice, nor yet will their individual renewal, but we are, in many instances, wise in resorting to either or both of these devices. If by amending the Statutes we can effect a satisfactory improvement, that is all we need resort to. When this cannot be done we must replace the Statutes one by one, or a few at a time, and, if this suffice not, the whole constitution must be re-organised. I do not think this last resort at all necessary with regard to the constitution of the land laws of the Colony; there may be Statutes worthy of abolition and replacement, and certainly there are some that sorely need alteration or amendment.

Having thus given a rough index of the principal rules governing me in this essay, I will give a few ideas springing from the question—What amount of land is required to satisfy the wants of the people? Of course, if the Government had the requisite funds it would be well to throw open for settlement not only enough to absorb our surplus labour, but also to invite small capitalists from abroad to settle, and so promote industry, and, by increasing our exports, increase our income. But this is rather too much to expect at one gulp. Instead it were well to be satisfied with a small area of land, not enough to embarrass the Treasury in the matter of purchase money, but enough to find employment for those in actual need. It will be found more expeditious in point of time to throw open for settlement only a limited area, for, in that case, the necessary Bill will find a quicker passage to the Statute Book. Having once done this, a way for further legislation will be left open. Moreover, if only the larger portion of the unemployed found, in this way, land enough to accommodate them, that would

prove an advantage, in some degree, to the residue also. It were folly, therefore, to insist upon the passage of a very comprehensive measure unless it is promised to speedily get into operation.

Certainly, it seems evident that the progress of land settlement must need to be great to keep pace with the constant creation, through various reasons, of unemployed. Of course, this will largely depend upon the probable influx of destitute aliens for, if such influx assume large proportions, it must be met with increased facility for settlement, in order that our own unemployed may be reached. Very likely is it that when it is known abroad that the unemployed here have been duly assisted, numbers of destitute aliens will find their way to New Zealand. To legislate with a view of preventing this immigration may not be easy, as retaliatory measures may be resorted to by other States.

I have said, or implied, rather, that there will be a constant creation of unemployed within the Colony. Increase of population, without foreign acceleration, must constantly go on. This country is not, like Britain, a workshop for others, but rather depends for subsistence upon the production of the soil. So that to find employment for all increased facilities for such production must be afforded. If these facilities are not given the overplus of population must emigrate or starve. If we could be reconciled to such an idea it were hardly possible that an emigration should take place. The barriers that even now check the settlement of the land are not, on the whole, greater than those in other countries, and are never likely to be, so that when we remember that in this country we have natural resources, chiefly of the soil, as great as that of any land, we are never likely to witness an extensive emigration. Therefore to prevent the other thing—viz., starvation—coming to pass we must obtain facilities for land settlement equal to the constant increase of population.

As has been already hinted, the Government have not sufficient Crown land available for either immediate or future purposes; therefore it must be acquired from the owners of estates larger than is sufficient for them. I refer to unworked, that is to say uncultivated and ungrassed, estates, ranging in area from seventy thousand acres downwards. There has never arisen so great a need of Government acquiring land for settlement if such owners had been willing to sub-divide and lease portions of their suitable land, at a reasonable rental, to less fortunate people. In cases where land-kings have been constrained to offer sections for lease or for purchase, it has been at such a rental, or on such terms, as to preclude any probability of the lessee or buyer making the term of his occupation exceed a few seasons. In most cases, where men have taken up land from these owners, and have spent such capital as they possessed on improvements and so on, they have failed to comply with the exorbitant terms and have come out penniless. In view of this dearth of available land, the Stout-Vogel Government formed Village Homestead Settlements, and I will mention a settlement of this kind in Canterbury, where men with families were dependent on fifty acres each of inferior land while within half a mile of their boundaries lay valuable agricultural land, belonging to a very large estate, locked up, the owner refusing to part with it at a reasonable price.

There is no need for me to cite any further facts to show that almost all the land in the Colony suitable for settlement is in the hands of large owners who will not part with it. These things are too well known to call for anything more than a mere reminder to my readers.

The people cannot obtain for themselves from the land king the land they require, so the State has been appealed to, But we find that the land-king is just as reluctant to sell at a reasonable price to the Government as he is to sell to private individuals. There is at present no law to compel the sale at true valuation, and until such a law is made nothing in the way of settlement can be done. And there is now under consideration of the Legislature a Bill providing for compulsory sale at a fair valuation. It is this principle that I am prepared to support. With the details of the Bill, such details at least as do not interfere with the principle, I will not interfere.

Many intelligent liberal-minded persons, though in full sympathy with the landless thousands, and fully aware of the moral mistakes of the pioneer rulers in selling the land in the first instance, have opposed this radical measure on the ground that it is unjustifiable confiscation. If it be a *bona fide* confiscation, it is certainly a breach of the moral law, and a breach of the moral law must not be made. No amount of wrong inflicted by the landholder upon the people can justify the latter in a breach of the moral law, as in confiscation. But I am satisfied that in the principle I support there is no such confiscation, and, therefore, no such breach. The proposed enforced sale is strictly of an honourable character. When the original owner bought the estate he did not buy, I presume, exclusion from the operation of land laws of a Constitution granted by the Queen before his time. Probably he did not count upon the land being forcibly recovered subsequently, and expected to keep it for ever—that may have been due to his want of fore-sight or else due to mere accident. It is certain that our pioneer authorities did not sell him the right to absolute monarchy within the borders of the land prescribed, although they certainly did not anticipate the principle of compulsory sale becoming absolute law. The State, on parting with the title-deed certainly did not part with land-law jurisdiction within the estate; both existing and subsequent jurisdiction were reserved to the State. The question, therefore, is—Does, jurisdiction, belonging to the State, include a possible compulsory sale clause? Seeing that State rights existed before any such freehold

was purchased, we have only to show that the aforesaid clause may be included in the State rights and jurisdiction to show that it is valid. If it be shown, then, that the State sold the right of sole occupation to the freeholder without limitation of time, the State took a price for a something which, in the event of the State subsequently assuming all rights and jurisdiction, he could not possess. In this case the blame belongs to the State that was. Either the State blundered in parting with the title deed, or is blundering in asserting the right of re-purchase. It may be seen, however, that as the State is a possible blunderer, we must go to a higher Court. We have been considering the matter on the ground of *Constitutional* right; what about *Moral* right?

The British Constitution, parent of ours, is supposed to be founded upon the Moral Law of Scripture. That moral law gives possession of the ground to the people, and if the State give a title deed of land to any one person the State in such an instance cannot be, in the true sense, identical with the people. So the State or Government of the day sold property virtually stolen from the people. There is in force a law which provides that any person receiving stolen property must surrender the same without compensation; according to my argument, therefore, the landbuyer is in this position. It is easy to think that the Government of early times, influenced as it was by land rings, etc., and elected by a community without manhood suffrage, did not properly represent the people. So I conclude that the People, now that they have a Government of their own making, can dispose of the land as they think proper. They have the right to resume the inheritance so long usurped. Nevertheless, to avoid a possible injustice, the present possessors of the land should receive a reasonable value for it. Undoubtedly, great wrong has been inflicted upon the people by land monopolists. Whether the oppression has always been of a wilful, guilty nature is not my affair. But, be it intentional or otherwise, it is right that I should utter a protest against the unwarranted rancour shown by many of the labour class, especially Unionists, towards oppressive land monopolists and taskmasters. No amount of revenge will undo the evil wrought by the latter. *Bona fide* self-defence let any class resort to, but revenge is far worse than useless. Our duty is to guard against any future repetition of class oppression and to forgive the past.

Having affirmed the principle of compulsory sale, let us consider the principle of the proposed manner of administration of the land acquired. One matter of importance, in the matter of labour, is the size or area of the allotments. The holdings should be of the right average area to absorb most labour. The smaller the area, the greater, in proportion, will be the amount of labour expended thereon. If the holdings be small, less area of land, collectively speaking, will be required for settlement, and the State outlay therefore smaller. What is wanted is that the way of laying out money in land settlement be one calculated to help the greatest possible number of people with the least outlay. In other words, the work of settlement must be made as economical as can be. There is no fear of the principle on Land lie-purchase being rejected by the Legislature while the proposed expenditure is moderate, but let any proposal for a big loan be advanced, and the principle is at once in danger. Men versed in matters of Colonial finance are far from ready to see the Colony's finance embarrassed by extensive borrowing and lavish expenditure. Although in the re-purchase and settlement of the Cheviot Estate we have seen proved the common sense of the whole thing, it will be as well to proceed with settlement step by step, so that each block of land settled will make a valuable object-lesson for future guidance—for we shall never be done learning in this department. Let the holdings be as small as will allow of them supporting the owner in a comfortable fashion.

It will certainly be well to considerably vary the size of allotments to meet the requirements of all. Some there are—*bona fide* settlers—in possession of considerable capital, either in cash or in agricultural plant, or in stock, or in all of these—old settlers, for instance—whose leases have run out, or new ones anxious to invest their cash in a rural pursuit—these should be given an opportunity of investing their all in land, as such investment would greatly assist in absorbing labour. In fact it may, perhaps, be the most effective possible way to give work to those unable, for want of funds, to take up a substantial holding for themselves. Beyond the re-purchase value of the land, no expense could possibly devolve on the Government, as such settlers could well stand alone when once settled, and payment of rent would at once commence. And so long as no allotment exceeded the value of a square mile of first-class agricultural land, the proportionate amount of labour absorbed would be almost equal to that absorbed in connection with smaller allotments.

Then, in the case of persons possessing practical knowledge, but little capital if any, holdings in area ranging from fifty acres upwards should be provided. If the terms were made as easy as possible, these men could commence by drawing their living from work done outside, and work their land as they might be able, until, in course of time, their holdings would entirely support them. In the event of an area so small as fifty acres being insufficient, some arrangement might, I think, be made so as to allow men unable, in the first instance, to take up more than that amount to do so afterwards. Settlers might be allowed to dispose of their holdings one to another, the outgoing parties having the option of taking new and larger holdings elsewhere. Undoubtedly, in a settlement where a number of fifty-acre sections joined one another, there would be found some holders ready for a change after a few years' residence, and others anxious to stay and enlarge their properties. In that case, those prepared to go would surrender their leases to Government, receiving a fair

valuation for improvements, when the Government could re-lease the allotment to some remaining settler.

This plan will appear more feasible when it is noticed that sections of this area would be readily taken up by single men as well as married ones. Single men are apt to be satisfied with very primitive methods of life, but they are apt, also, to take a notion to have a complete change, marry and settle down, for instance. In some cases they would be quite ready to take up a larger piece of land elsewhere for a permanent home, which they should have every facility for doing, and then the remaining settlers could be given enlargements.

Then, in a district where a farm and pastoral settlement is formed, much work would be created for men other than farm and pastoral labourers. Roads must be formed and kept in order. Railroad extension may be required. Tradesmen and artisans would have an opening. Houses, bridges, implements, vehicles, etc., would be constructed and kept in order. Goods would need supplying. Contractors for various kinds of work would be wanted. All these would require building sites. Therefore townships would need to be formed. Thus we see what an immense advantage a farm settlement is to the skilled labour class.

Then what form of tenure would be best? Freehold tenure is strongly advocated by some as the best tenure. Its advocates claim that it has advantages possessed by none other. They say that to be happy a man must be able to hold in undisputed and absolute possession a piece of land and a home, so that he can call it his for ever; that in order to be conscious of true British freedom he must be as a little king on his own premises, no man daring to molest him. According to them, any possibility of being ejected from his home is bound to destroy the tranquility of the family circle, to destroy his self, respect and home-pride, to goad his feelings in respect to liberty, etc., etc. Further, it is said if a man cannot be sure that he will himself reap the benefit of all his improvements to his home and land, he will not be disposed to go to the same trouble with them. Also, that by freehold possession alone can be induced that healthy rivalry among property-holders in endeavouring to produce the richest soil, best plant, finest stock, best produce, nicest home, etc., etc. Other arguments have been adduced, but these are the chief. Now, I think it can be shown that there is no necessity for any man to lose these advantages by foregoing the freehold tenure. For I quite agree that the considerations in favour of freehold just given are in themselves sound. Let liberty, love-of-home, ambition for general improvement and excellence, and so on, have their perfect work, for they are not only for the individual good, but also for the good of the nation as a whole. Individualism in respect of nearly every good quality in personal character is absolutely necessary. Not only is it necessary for his own advancement, social and moral, but it is necessary for the prosperity and independence of the whole nation. National patriotism is but the child of personal qualities. It is owing partly to the fact that the personal traits referred to were found well developed in our race from earliest times, that Britain is the first among the nations. Let extreme Socialists take care that nothing in their schemes is calculated to destroy these very desirable and necessary qualities, because they are stronger than Socialism. Socialism must pay due respect to these, and these will then pay due respect to Socialism.

But, then, what of all the abuse inseparable from the freehold tenure? Not only in cases where immense tracts of land have been acquired in a single block at quite a nominal price, but also in instances where several moderate-sized blocks have been taken up by different parties, and in the end have become the possession of one person, has there been abuse. In the matter of land possession, almost unlimited power in the hands of one man, or in the hands of a few men, has wrought very great mischief. Like the absolute monarchs that have governed various nations of the earth, neither wisdom nor justice have marked their sway. Apart from the political power commonly held by rings of land-kings, each of these had within the precincts of his estate sufficient freedom to make the lot of the working-man anything but prosperous if he chose. This he often did by simply refraining from doing more than stocking his run, when he could produce immense quantities of wool, etc., with very little labour. This kind of thing prevailing throughout the country, soon began to create a serious want of employment. Had run holders, as a general rule, improved or worked their land by cultivating or grassing, plenty of work had ever been obtainable, and the Colony's wealth been greatly increased. But the Almighty Dollar seems to have been the strongest motive of many. By running stock they have obtained rich returns, and were content. Further, the money so obtained, when used at all for works of improvement, or in enterprises of any kind within the Colony, was, in general, injudiciously squandered. Many of the pioneer squatters ruined themselves through rash enterprises and extravagant schemes, while the lot of the labourer was not permanently bettered in consequence, at least not so much improved as it might have been under more economical management. Had these squatters been more prudent, and refraining from laying out all their capital at once, expended it on remunerative, productive improvements to the fullest extent, increasing the wealth-producing capacity of their estates, and treating much more work at a fair wage, much greater would have been the assistance given to the working man. Too often, however, fanciful enterprises and pet schemes of a comparatively useless nature were the order of the day; men were paid handsome wages for as much or as little work as they cared to do; and the money they so easily obtained soon found its way to the till of the nearest "pub," or to the nearest "spieler's" pocket; and by-and-by we find that these men are caught by bad times in a homeless, landless, penniless condition, broken-down in health, and generally wrecked. This is one

aspect of the evil—large freeholds—now for another.

We come now to the squatters, or squatter companies, of the true monopolist, miser type. What has large possessions in land enabled them to do? They have drawn upon the country's resources and either hoarded up the cash, or sent it abroad. English capitalists and syndicates are well posted up on this matter also. Absentee landlords and mortgagors have drawn wealth from the Colony. Pioneer squatters of the aforementioned imprudent, generous-spending kind have been oft entrapped by these accommodating firms. The hoarding squatter and hoarding firms, resident or absentee, have wrought ruin. While the gold is hoarded the labourer starves.

Moreover, large numbers, if not most, of the smaller freeholder have become bankrupt at some stage of their career. Mortgages have frequently been taken out to cover, perhaps, a balance of the purchase money, or may be to create a fund for working expenses; but, for whatever purpose, they have mostly been the first step to ultimate ruin. Few men have succeeded in keeping possession of a freehold property throughout a long Colonial experience. Those men that have got on are men that were born to business and saving. In most cases, however, a time of depression has brought the freeholders' affairs to a crisis. Surely this kind of thing is not calculated to stimulate a man's liberty—independence, love of home, personal excellence, etc., etc., or rather to gratify his passion for these things. It was better, if need be, to be beholden to the State than to a mortgagor. And, again, there is nothing to prove that freeholds, if in the future acquired from Government, will remain in the hands of the *bona fide* settlers who may acquire them. They may fall into the hands of mortgagors, or in some way be collected once more into large estates. Any limitations laid upon purchasers, to prevent this, by Government, must, of necessity, limit the freehold. To be made effective they would be found far more irksome than any obligations that could possibly be laid upon a leaseholder.

But granted that the freehold were the best tenure to be acquired, how can persons in needy circumstances acquire it? And the number of *bona fide* settlers able to pay cash for a substantial holding is very limited. Thus the freehold tenure will not suit the working man in any shape or form.

Then there is what is styled the deferred-payment system. This system of tenure is little better than freehold made easier of access from a monetary standpoint. It is possible that under this system a man may do well for himself, but once the land is fully paid for he becomes a freeholder, and the remarks already made on the freehold tenure apply here.

Next we come to the tenure styled the occupation-with-right of-purchase. Like the deferred payment this is easy of access to those without capital, only the rent under this system is lower than the deferred payments. Instead of the purchase money being paid in regular instalments from the outset, as under the deferred-payment system, the holder under this tenure can purchase his holding at the termination of his term of lease or occupation for a lump sum, or he can simply go out. It will be seen that on a person taking up land in this way, he has no assurance that his occupation will be permanent if he has any doubt of the entire amount of the purchase money being available at the end of the term of lease.

Then we have another system, and that is known as the perpetual lease. The principle of this lease, that is the principle of the right of endless possession, was first introduced, I believe, by the Stout-Vogel Government. It allows a lessee to renew his lease as often as he chooses to do so, that is to say, as often as a certain term of years expires, provided he accedes to a fair re-adjustment of rent. Thus on the lease being issued, he becomes, virtually, eternal possessor of the ground prescribed. It has been strenuously opposed by the lovers of the freehold on the ground that personal liberty, home pride, desire to excel, etc., etc., will be restricted under it. Not if the principle of the tenure referred to is properly carried out, will this be the case. The lessee will be quite as free to please himself as to his doings on his holding as a person possessing a freehold. And nobody will be able to usurp his inheritance at any time. I see no reason why anything should arise under this particular tenure to cause his claim to be jumped. Provisions can be made to secure every liberty of the lessee, and to secure a fair periodical re-valuation of the land for renting purposes. It is a well-known fact that, in the event of any freeholder objecting to, and refusing to accede to, the Government valuation of his property for taxing purposes, he is bound to surrender to Government the property for a slight advance in price beyond his own valuation. Thus" we have in force already a principle which says that every holder of land is bound to accede to a State valuation of his land or be deprived of it. Now, the principle in re-valuation for renting purposes is virtually the same as in valuation for taxation purposes. The just and reasonable administration needed in re-valuation for lease is quite practicable in view of the just and reasonable administration that has marked the valuation for taxing. As in the latter case State valuation is necessary to prevent landowners defrauding the State of the full amount of tax money, so in the former it is necessary to prevent lessees defrauding the State of the full amount of rent, which amount in each case would be just and right.

Nothing need be embodied in this system to in any way restrict the settler's liberty to borrowon, or to alter or to dispense with, his actual improvements. If any such restrictions are justifiable in the interests of the people, in the matter of a lessee's improvements, they must be embodied in a separate Act, dealing in a like

manner with all private property in land, or in connection with land. Under the leasehold tenure, nothing special, of this nature, is required. If any private money-lender were foolish enough to advance money on a lessee's improvements, beyond their real value, on such improvements being surrendered to him, he might be compelled to either remove them or to accept a price for them from either the Government or the future occupier of the land. But if any such money-lender acted so, he would have himself to blame for any loss sustained, just the same as he might be blameable for a loss on an advance on any other private property. But let him advance a sum well within the real value of the improvements, and he is safe to get a ready buyer, either in the Government or the incoming tenant. The State could always find intending lessees of a holding willing to purchase the improvements as well. In order to provide for the fullest liberty and encouragement of the lessee in making improvements of every possible kind, all enhancement of the value of land, being the result of personal action, should be excluded from the compass of a valuation to determine rent. Careful investigation and good judgment would, therefore, be wanted in the making of such valuation. For it may be observed that, indirectly, a man might use means to enhance the value of his holding, as, for instance, in paying high rates to the local body for roads, etc., in his neighbourhood. In many ways he might improve his position by enhancing, indirectly, the land value, and in this he must be protected and encouraged. On the other hand, any enhancement being the result of the action of the State, and not of local efforts, should be included in the valuation for rent, and the benefit of such action would then be felt by the State itself.

It devolves upon the State to secure the appointment of an expert, competent, discreet, and impartial Board for the put; pose of re-valuation; principles must, as far as possible, be laid down for the guidance of such Board; but all unforeseen circumstances must be considered by the latter. In every case where the conditions of lease shall have been fully complied with, and the valuation of the Board accepted, the land should be leased to the former holder for a further period, no other application being entertained. If it be found necessary, in course of time legislation can be introduced to enable the lessee to will a division of his land, on his decease, among his children, if it seem good to him. Thus the perpetual lease tenure allows the fullest personal liberty and progress, and of virtually indisputable possession for ever; all that can be claimed for freehold tenure. But by permitting an industrious man to start in life almost without capital it is far superior to its rival. Perpetual revenue may be derived from perpetual leasing of the land—a revenue of a steady character.

There is yet another form of tenure that may fittingly be referred to—it is called the lease-in-perpetuity system. This, in so far as it differs from the perpetual lease, is very defective. When a person has issued to him a lease under this system, he is made eternal owner at a rental fixed from the outset. Should his land decrease in value his rent must become correspondingly high, when he must either submit to the high rent or forfeit his lease. And should the value of the land increase, from causes with which he has had nothing to do, he gains an unearned increment, and defies the State to increase the rental. It may happen that a piece of land be made very valuable, say, for instance, by the rise of a township near by. Under the lease-in-perpetuity system, therefore, great abuses might result. In the interests of the unemployed, and in the interests of the people generally, let us cleave to the principle of Perpetual Lease.

vignette

McKee & Gamble, Printers by Electric Power, Wellington.

vignette

Front Cover

Netta; or, a Plea for an Old Age Pension.

By Davy Heber.

Auckland Wilsons and Horton, Printers, Queen and Wyndham Streets. MDCCCXCIV.

## Chapter I.

It was a raw, cold day, and the twilight was creeping on apace as two young girls sat at the window of the large dining-room of the old Manor-house, in the parish of Fanarth. Their father, the Rev. Charles Bateman, was curate in charge of the above parish,—the rector, being in very delicate health, was obliged to spend the greater part of each winter in the South of France.

The room was scantily furnished, and generally considered to be rather cheerless; but on this particular evening—when the fire-light did not show up too plainly the threadbare carpet and the little devices of art muslin made to fill up—it looked, not only comfortable, but really cosy. There were a few good pieces of furniture scattered here and there about the room—the relics of better days,—among which were a massive sideboard, two or three oil paintings in heavy gilt frames, and two immense easy chairs. There was also a grand piano in the room—but that was quite modern—the gift of Netta's god-mother.

"When does the sale of work take place?" asked the younger sister.

"Very soon, I think," answered Agnes, the elder one; "but you better put away your sailor-boy now, dear, for I am sure you cannot see to do any more with that dark material, and we must let you have a little more time for it in the morning."

So Addie, nothing loth, gathered up her scraps and took possession of one of the large easy chairs, taking with her, as companion, a beautiful white Persian cat that was lying on the hearthrug.

Agnes took the other chair, but did not put away her work, hoping she might still put in a few stitches before the tea was brought in, as the sale of work was to be early in December, and she had several garments yet to finish.

They were scarcely seated when a firm, sharp step was heard, and after hanging up her ulster and hat in the hall, Netta Bateman joined her sisters. She knelt down on the hearthrug and held up her hands to the warm glow of the fire before removing her gloves, then, looking round the room, said: "Well, Agnes, I shall never call this room bare or cheerless again, for this evening it looks the picture of comfort; but, I suppose, most things go by comparison, and I have just come from Mrs. Parker's."

"How is Bessie to-day?" asked her sister.

"Very ill!" replied Netta. "I am sure I don't know how she can possibly live through the winter, her home is so wretched; and, then, Mrs. Parker is constantly talking of for home when *she* was a girl—the carriages they drove, the servants they kept, the beautiful house they lived in, etc., etc. I am sure poor Bessie must be so tired of it all. I feel inclined to tell her sometimes 'That if she had been content with a few less comforts, or, rather, extravagancies then, Bessie might have had a few more comforts now.' How I wish papa were Rector of Fanarth, instead of being merely curate! I don't think it is fair for papa to have only a paltry two hundred and fifty pounds a year, for doing nearly all the work, while Mr. Cromby gets double the amount. And then, he is always away in the winter, so that I cannot appeal to him in any case of distress." And poor Netta lay her head on Agnes' lap, and two big tear-drops rolled down her soft cheeks.

Her sister let her fingers play carelessly through Netta's brown tresses,—or rather, shall I say, through her tangled and stray curls; for, as Netta said, "Her hair never could be brushed into a bit of satin like Agnes'."

"What is it, dear?" she said. "Has this poor little head been worrying itself again, and wondering why *it* was not consulted in the general arrangement of things?"

"Oh! Agnes, you know it is not that, but it is so hard to go and see those people and feel you can do so little for them. Aggie, dear, I do hope we can afford it. I was obliged to order another roll of flannel to-day. On my way from Bessie's, I called to see old Peter Robinson. Poor old man! his rheumatism seems worse than ever, and his old hut, for I cannot call it anything else, is so damp! He says, 'When it rains out, it rains in.' "

"What do you think he told me this afternoon?"

"I don't know, I am sure," said Agnes.

"That he had spent as much money on beer and tobacco as would have kept him comfortably now, if it had been put out at compound interest."

"And who is it, I should like know, that still encourages him in his bad habit of smoking?" said Agnes, playfully, as she still stroked back Netta's curls, "and takes him tobacco every time she goes to see him? "

"Oh! Aggie; you should see how his poor old face lights up when he gets the tobacco!" said Netta. "It is worth wearing a pair of shabby gloves for six months to see it; "and Netta smiled in spite of herself at the recollection of the old man's childish joy.

"If people only would——"

Here the conversation was interrupted by the entrance of Mr. Bateman. As he came in he deposited, very quietly, a parcel on the side-board—as if he did not want to attract much attention to it. He was a fine, tall, clerical-looking man, with wide and projecting forehead, and deep-set eyes; and not by any means old looking, though his hair—the little he had of it—was quite white. He had a genial, pleasant face, and one could easily understand his being a favourite in the parish.

Agnes got up to see about the tea, and Netta to get her father's slippers, but it was on the pair that were on the easy chair that Mr. Bateman's eyes fondly rested.

Addie did not rise, only lifted her pretty lips to be kissed; but as her father stooped to perform that ceremony she threw her arms impulsively round his neck, and whispered—

*"Oh! papa, I am so glad you are come in from the cold."*

At the tea-table that evening, Mr. Bateman, on looking round on his daughters—of whom he was justly proud—thought what a blessing they were! and wondered how many parents were fortunate enough to possess three such good girls, for, so far, they had never given him a moment's uneasiness.

Ever since the death of their mother—now a little over four years—Agnes had struggled bravely with the house-keeping, not always an easy task, for, with Netta's liberality to the poor and her father's taste for new books, Agnes often found her purse empty before the next quarter's salary was due; but for all that they had always had a cheerful and happy home.

Netta was her father's right hand in all parish work. She had always been fond of visiting the poor,—especially old people. When she was quite a child, and long before her father removed to Fanarth, nurse used to take her to the almshouses at Frankton to see an old maiden aunt of hers. Indeed, it was the height of Netta's ambition, at that time, to become an inmate of one of those "dear little houses" herself—no one had such tea, and such nice hot muffins as Miss Saers, a luxury which, of course, Netta was not allowed to have in her own nursery.

Addie was the "baby," and the pet of the family. Since her mother's death she had known no trouble greater than that caused by the death of a pet canary, or the loss of her white pigeon. She was one of those placid natures, perfectly contented and happy herself, and wondered why others could not be the same. She was never one of the very industrious ones, but her love for doll-dressing amounted almost to a passion—little thinking at the time it would prove so useful to her in after years, when superintending the cottage sewing meetings. She used to study the costumes of different countries and dress her dolls accordingly; so that at all their bazaars, Addie's doll stall was the chief attraction, and, her father said, always brought in the most money.

Addressing himself to Addie, the father said—

*"Well, and what has my little girl been doing with herself to-day?"*

Addie coloured slightly, and did not answer, but looked as kitten-like as she very well could; so Agnes answered for her.

"Addie has been so good, papa. She practised her last sonata for more than two hours, and has 'smoothed' out the difficult bars so nicely; you must hear her play it after tea."

"I shall be delighted," said Mr. Bateman. Then, turning to Netta,

"And how are all your patients to-day?"

"Bad, very bad," answered Netta. "It is dreadful to be so poor in the winter; people can manage pretty well in the summer, when the sun is bright and warm; but in the winter it makes one's heart ache to see them. How is it, papa, that people in th——? "But a glance from Agnes caused Netta to pause, for she knew what was coming, and also knew that her father was among the erring ones.

"Never mind, Netta," said Mr. Bateman; "finish your sentence."

"I was only thinking, papa," said Netta, with heightened colour, "how foolish it is of people not to make some provision for old age."

"Well, child," answered the father, "I suppose even that will come to pass some day! People are beginning to wake up to the necessity of something being done."

"How is Mr. Smith to-day, papa?" asked Agnes, thinking to give a turn to the conversation.

"I am really sorry, but I failed to reach so far," said Mr. Bateman, a little uneasily; "the fact is, I went in to Mr. Elliot's, the bookseller. He had a new book on the 'Revelations,' by Professor Bowden. I just dipped into it, and it certainly is the best exposition I have ever seen."

"Oh, papa!" Agnes could not help exclaiming, "a little while ago you bought an expensive book on the 'Revelations' before."

"But that is some time ago?"

"About two months, I think."

"Is that all? How quickly time flies! I will tell you whom I did see," continued Mr. Bateman; "Ernest Mordaunt." He wanted to know if Addie could go for a ride with Mr. Webster and him to-morrow to see the Eirick Waterfalls. Would you like to go, 'pussy?' "he said, turning to Addie.

"Oh! papa, it would be delightful," cried Addie, clapping her hands.

"Then we had better have that sonata," said her father, "for you must be up betimes to-morrow morning. Ernest will be here quite early with the horses, so you had better go to bed soon and have a good night's rest."

Ernest Mordaunt was the son of John Mordaunt, Esq., of Warrington Hall. The Mordaunts and the Batemans were near neighbours, and as Ernest had no brothers or sisters, he used to spend a good deal of his time at the Manor-house. When he was not there, Addie was generally at the Hall; for they had a good deal in common, and were more like brother and sister than anything else.

After Addie had left the room, Agnes said, with a very grave face, "Do you think it wise, papa, to let Addie go about with Ernest so much? You know that, although we treat her and speak of her as a child, she will be eighteen next birthday!"

"And as innocent as if she were eight;" thought Mr. Bateman to himself, then aloud, "Nonsense, Agnes; let the children enjoy themselves while they can. Ernest is a good lad, and has the making of a fine man in him yet, thanks, in a great measure, to his father's wise training. I have no patience with the present system of cram. Some parents bring up their boys as if the chief object of life were to win school prizes and examination certificates: things very well in themselves, but only as a means to an end. When I was a boy, patriotism, chivalry, reverence for the good and the great, kindness towards all weaker than ourselves, truth, honour,—those were the qualities we were told to cultivate; now these are relegated quite to the back ground;

and what have taken their places, forsooth?—flippancy, irreverence to parents and old age, slang, sharpness, selfishness.

The two girls looked up; thoroughly surprised; it was some, thing quite new for their father to speak in that strain.

"Well, dears," said he, in explanation, "I saw two specimens of the 'modern youth' in Mr. Elliot's shop to-day, and they pained me exceedingly. They came in for some books. 'Something, ah—interesting, you know; something, be Jove! that will make existence bearable in this insufferable weather!' And, after scoffing at every good book in the shop, they went out with a thrilling detective story each. But there, my dears, I am keeping you talking when you ought to be in bed. I must have a look at my new book before I go. Will you please pass it, Netta? "

"Aggie, dear, what is to become of your new waterproof?" asked Netta, as they were going up the stairs. "I knew mine was gone when I ordered the roll of flannel; and now, I suppose, that new book has taken yours."

"Never mind, dear," said Agnes, as she passed into her own room; "there are other things to live for besides new waterproofs."

Mr. Bateman must have had a very long look at his book, for he read on till midnight; and when he went to bed he had forgotten all about "old age pension," the "modern youth," and all other grievances, in the contemplation of a "new heaven and anew earth."

vignette

## Chapter II.

THE next day was clear and bright. There had been a slight frost during the night, and so the ground was a little hard and crisp. Of course, there was great excitement, especially on Addie's part, for she dearly loved riding, and had not been out for some time.

At last Ernest made his appearance, leading Addie's favourite horse, and very soon the two cantered off merrily, Addie waving her hand to the trio at the door.

They had to join Mr. Webster, at an angle of the road further on.

They had a good five miles' ride; and then across country for about two miles on foot.

After walking, as they thought, the full distance, they began to wonder why they could not hear the noise of the waterfall, and seeing a workman near by, repairing a fence, Ernest went up to him, and asked him if he could tell them how far the waterfall was.

"Eh, sur," said the man, touching his hat, "ye have cum to the wrang place! There be a waterfall about three chains 'igher hup, but that's the little 'un. The real Eirick Waterfall is a goodish mile hoff. Ye should 'ave turned in," continued the man, "by Daddy O'Brian's gate, and then down by Farmer 'Iggins' 'ouse."

Ernest did not want to hear any more. They had evidently taken the wrong turning. The next question was, "What were they to do?" At last it was decided that Mr. Webster should walk on and find out exactly where the waterfall was, and the best way to get to it, and they would all ride out, and see it another day; and that Ernest and Addie should walk back to the pillage inn, and there await Mr. Webster's return.

As soon as Mr. Webster had left them, Ernest thought to himself: "Well, if I had arranged it all, it could not have been Better!"

They walked on for some time in silence, and at last the Pence was becoming a little bit awkward. Ernest was the first to speak.

"Addie," he began, "how is it you never come over to the Hall now, the same as you used to?"

"I suppose because I am busy," said Addie.

"Busy, indeed! Doll-dressing for that bazaar that every-body is talking about? Tell me truly, Addie, is that the only reason?"

"Well," replied Addie, rather slowly, "I don't think Agnes cares for me to go so often."

"I thought so! Addie, when will you come to the Hall altogether? And then, you know, we need not ask Agnes."

"Come to the Hall altogether, Ernest!" exclaimed Addie; "whatever do you mean?"

"Now, Addie," answered Ernest, rather sheepishly, "you know I can't say a lot of nice things, the same as the fellows do in books; but, Addie, dear! when will you be my wife?"

"Oh, Ernest, hush! You must not talk about such things, Papa will be so angry, and Agnes will never let me go to the Hall again," said Addie.

"But, Addie, you will be my wife some day? You know I never cared that"—and Ernest snapped his fingers—"for any girl in my life except you! And, Addie, you do care for me, don't you?" he pleaded.

"Of course, I like you," said truthful Addie; "better than any boy I have ever seen; but we are much too

young to think of such things; besides, I am not good, or clever, like Netta."

"Oh, Netta is too clever by half. She would take the world to bits, make it up again, and run it on entirely new lines in a fortnight," said Ernest, laughing.

"Oh, Ernest, you don't know how good Netta is! She [unclear: wi] never take anything nice herself, but when Agnes mak[unclear: es] something particularly good, she always sends her share to [unclear: M] Parker's."

Ernest wondered why in the world Agnes did not [unclear: ma] enough for all. "I should like to see our cook so mingy [unclear: abo] anything," thought he.

"And," continued Addie, "she gives everything she [unclear: ha] almost to the old people at the workhouse. She says, 'If every body would only put away a wee bit of money every week, [unclear: whe] they are well and strong, there would be no need to send [unclear: th] poor old things to that horrid workhouse; they would all [unclear: have] little money of their very own, and then they could live in nice little cottages, with pretty flowers round them, and they could [unclear: gro] their own vegetables!' When we are marrie—" Here [unclear: poc] Addie stopped abruptly, and blushed to the roots of her hair.

"Go on, old girl," said Ernest, impulsively; "or sh[unclear: all] finish the sentence for you?"

However, Ernest did not finish the sentence just then. What he did do I will leave to my readers to guess. After a while [unclear: h] asked:—

*"Well, Addie, when we are married, what shall we do?"*

*"Oh! it is not to be for years and years," said Addie.*

*"All right!" said Ernest; "we will let the old people—for I expect it has something to do with them—live in tumble-down houses, and be half-starved for years and years; and then, when they die, we will bury them decently!"*

*"You are a naughty boy, and I won't like you a bit!" said Addie, very severely. "And, Ernest, you are not to tell any body."*

*"What! that you won't like me? All right!"*

*"No; that we are"—and here Addie stopped again.*

*"That we are engaged?" asked Ernest. "You foot I could not promise that, Addie, for I always tell the mater every thing there is to be told before I go to bed; it helps a fellow to sleep better. And I think I must tell Mr. Bateman; it would not be right not to, would it?"*

*"Oh! not just yet; please, not just yet!" cried Addie.*

*"We will see what the mater says," said Ernest, and he began chattering about different things that he would do, in high spirits.*

Not so Addie. What thoughts whirled through her brain! Had she been very naughty to listen to Ernest? What would Agnes and Netta say? Would her father be very angry? And a hundred other things. How she wished Ernest would stop talking, or go on and leave her to herself; and how glad she was when the little village inn came in sight!

They found that Mr. Webster had reached there before them. He had discovered the waterfall nearly two miles higher up, and he had also found out a very easy way of getting to it.

They had rather a silent ride home. Mr. Webster looked once or twice at Addie, and wondered what in the world made her so quiet, for, as a rule, Addie was a very good talker; but, seeing her looking very pale and tired, he did not say anything.

When they reached the Hall they gave their horses to the man to hold, and Ernest went in, calling at the height of his voice—as he generally did when coming home from anywhere—"Mother mine! here's your boy come."

And he was a boy that any mother might be proud of! Tall and well-built, with a bright, sunny face; his tanned cheeks the picture of health, and a mass of brown curls clustering round his head.

Mrs. Mordaunt very soon made her appearance in the hall—she never did seem very far away when Ernest was expected home—and held up her face for the usual greeting, a kiss on each cheek.

"Won't you kiss your daughter as well, mother?" said Ernest, with a very meaning look in his eyes.

Mrs. Mordaunt held Addie at arm's length for fully a minute, and looked her through and through; then, as she read her answer in Addie's blushes, she folded her in a firm, motherly embrace.

"You have made me very happy, child," she said. "You won't take my boy from me, will you? I will willingly give up my place at the Hall, and you know it is large enough for us all."

"Oh! hush, please, Mrs. Mordaunt; it's not to be for year and years; and please, do please, Mrs. Mordaunt, promise not to tell papa, or any one just yet," pleaded Addie.

Mrs. Mordaunt looked surprised, but, seeing such evident distress in Addie's face, said no more on the subject, but urged Addie to take a cup of tea and a biscuit, and said Ernest should take her home at once.

For the first time in her life, Addie pleaded a headache that evening, and asked if she might have her tea

sent upstairs.

"What in the world is the matter, Jane?" asked Agnes when the servant made the request; "Miss Addie is not [*unclear*: hurt], she?"

"I don't think so, miss," answered the girl; "but she look awful pale, and is, I think, very tired."

When Agnes went upstairs half-an-hour afterwards, she found the tea untouched, and Addie in bed. "Poor child!" she said, "has the ride been too much for you? You have not been out so much lately, you know, and we ought not to have let you go so far. However," she continued, kissing Addie good-night "I hope a good night's rest will set you up again, and that you will be all right in the morning."

For the first time, too, Addie longed, oh! so much, for her mother. She had been petted and spoiled so much by everyone that she had hardly felt her loss; but now thought if she only had her mother there, she could tell her everything.

She knew it was wrong, and that her sister ought to have been told—for Agnes had always acted a mother's part towards her. It was the first secret Addie had ever had, and she found—as many a young girl has found before—that secrets are not good sleeping draughts.

## Chapter III.

WHEN Mr. Mordaunt entered the drawing-room that evening, after rather a longer talk than usual with Ernest, Mrs. Mordaunt looked up rather anxiously, and said, "Ernest has told you his secret, then?"

"I don't know that there is any secret," answered her husband; "but he wants not only to superintend the building of those cottages in Fern-Row, that I spoke of, but actually to design them. He wants them to have, he says, all 'modern conveniences;' and thinks that, with Mr. Webster's help, he could draw the plans and make out all the specifications very nicely."

"With Mr. Webster's help?" exclaimed Mrs. Mordaunt, in surprise; "I am afraid he would not know very much about such things; besides, I don't think he can afford the time; he seems very anxious to finish that picture."

"As to that," said Mr. Mordaunt, "we could make it worth his while; he would have no idea what an architect would charge,—we have that in our own hands; and I know that a little ready money would be very acceptable to him just now. Did you notice how vexed he looked over one of his letters yesterday?"

"Yes," answered Mrs. Mordaunt; "and I was rather surprised he did not speak to me about it."

"I suppose he hardly liked to," said her husband; "but I asked him after breakfast if he had received bad news; and then he told me candidly that his mother had written, urging him to finish his picture as quickly as possible and send her the money. If he is hurried in that way, I am afraid it will end in his losing his customers for his pictures altogether. Sir James Hamilton told me, a little while ago, that his last picture was not so good as some of his former works."

"Oh, I am so sorry!" said Mrs. Mordaunt; "it is only a very short time since he sent them twenty pounds. Alfred is a horn artist, and with a little fair play would soon make a name for himself. Don't you think, dear, if we had them down into the country they could live more quietly, and not be such a drain upon their son?"

"I don't know, I am sure," replied her husband; "people of that class get into such extravagant habits; they will spend every shilling they have, it does not matter where it comes from."

"Surely, that is a case for Netta Bateman's theory," said Mrs. Mordaunt, with a smile.

"Netta is a good, sensible girl," said Mr. Mordaunt; "and if a few of her theories were put into practice we should have a great deal less misery in the country than we have at present."

"All the Batemans are good and sensible," said Mrs. Mordaunt, "and I think Ernest has been very fortunate."

"Ernest! Fortunate! What do you mean, my dear?"

So, of course, Mrs. Mordaunt told him of the engagement, and how very averse Addie was to its being known just yet.

Mr. Mordaunt was very pleased, and exclaimed,—

"Now, I know where the boy has got his ideas from! I wondered what he knew about cottages with 'all modern conveniences.' But he must speak to Mr Bateman in the morning, and I will talk to Alfred about those wonderful cottages."

Alfred Webster was an old college chum of Ernest's. He was a few years older; but they had always been very good friends, and he had helped to get Ernest out of several little escapades, and in many other ways befriended him.

The Websters lived then in a beautiful place at Kensington, and the father used to go into the City to business every day; but Alfred had no idea what it was; he only knew that his every want was supplied, and

thought—as most other people did—that his father was a very rich man.

Ernest Mordaunt had spent a week or two of his holidays there once, but was so discontented at their plain way of living at the Hall, and talked of nothing but of the Webster's elegant carriages, beautiful horses, elaborately-furnished rooms, gay dresses, and grand entertainments when he came home that his mother thought it wise not to let him go again; but she was very fond of Alfred, and was only too glad to have him down to stay at the Hall with Ernest. He was not only high principled, but was very gentle and refined in manner. He had very early displayed a taste for drawing, and his father had spared no expense in getting the best masters.

After leaving college, he had travelled a little on the Continent, and had just settled down to spend the winter in Rome—as he thought—when one morning the postman brought him a letter from his sister, telling him to come home directly, as something dreadful had happened; she did not know what. She only knew that there had been a terrible crash, and that their father was penniless! Poor boy, it was a terrible blow to him. He had to sell the few pictures he had by him to pay his landlady, and then he hurried home, to find that his beautiful home was his no longer. Since that time he had been living at the Hall. They had fitted the old schoolroom as a studio for him; and he had been working very hard, as his father and mother were now entirely dependent upon him, and—thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Mordaunt—he had no lack of customers for his pictures.

vignette

## Chapter IV.

The next morning Addie came to the breakfast table, not only with pale cheeks and hollow eyes, but with her hair twisted up at the back of her head, instead of hanging over her shoulders in graceful curls, as usual; and poor Addie, in her first attempt at coiling her hair, had screwed it up so tightly that it really looked most painful, as well as comical.

"Addie, child! What have you done with your hair?" was the general exclamation as she entered the breakfast room; but Addie's pale cheeks and quivering lips stopped all further comment, and breakfast was proceeded with in silence.

It was Netta's day for visiting the workhouse; and her father was also going out for the day to pay a round of visits. In the evening they were to meet at the Grange Farm, and walk home together.

The Hall, the Manor-house, and the Grange formed almost a triangle, and were about a mile apart. The families had in past years been on very good terms—indeed, too good, most of the neighbours thought; for if they had anything special at the Hall, the young folks at the Manor-house and at the Grange thought they would have the same, which, of course, did not answer, for the Mordaunts were really very wealthy people; whereas the Villiers, of the Manor-house, had for many years been 'never-do-wells;' and the Wisemans, of the Grange—although very well off at the time, for their position as farmers,—still they had only their farm, although a very large and a very good one. But, bit by bit, they were obliged to part with it; till, at last. Mr. Mordaunt bought the house and a few acres of the land just for a home for the old people.

When their youngest son, Joe, saw how matters stood he struck out for himself, and entered Mr. King's factory in the neighbouring town—though very much against his father's and his mother's wishes. By care and industry he soon worked his way up to be general manager of the firm. He then married a Miss Bernard, a cousin of the Batemans', and, very soon after, he and his young wife went out to New Zealand; so there was always very great excitement at the Grange when the foreign mail came in. Netta also very often heard from her cousin, and expected a letter that day; and she was not disappointed, for when Mr. Bateman reached the Grange she was busy reading the New Zealand letters.

"Oh! papa," she cried, on seeing her father; "there are such nice letters from Joe and Lucy. Shall I read them again?"

"I think not, dear; it is getting rather late," answered her father; "you shall give me the contents of them as we go along."

They were scarcely out of the gate when Netta began talking on her usual topic.

"Papa, dear! don't you think there is a possibility of some arrangements being made so that not quite so many old people be sent to the workhouse?" she said.

"My dear Netta, don't you think they are very fortunate in having the workhouse to go to?"

"Of course, in one way, papa; but some of them must feel it very much. I was so sorry to see an old couple that were brought in to-day. Do you remember reading that bit, about being parted by 'Reggulations?' "

"Yes, I think I do," answered Mr. Bateman.

"Well," said Netta, "it was an exact description of what I saw to-day. It seems these two old people had been living in a very pretty little cottage near Bromly, for over forty years. You remember we remarked on the

very neat appearance of the cottage the other day when we went to the Art Exhibition—the one with the pretty creeper so nicely trained up the front?"

"What! Not Mr. Duncan?" said her father.

"Yes, that was the name. He was a very clever artisan,—mason, I think. It seems some years ago he had a fall, and he has never been quite the same since; and they have been going from bad to worse. Last winter, poor old Mrs. Duncan was obliged to sell the feathers from their bed to buy bread. In the summer they did pretty well again, and Mr. Duncan did a little work; but about a fortnight ago the old man took a severe cold, and one of the neighbours—quite against the old people's wish—sent the doctor there. What was his surprise to find that, although the house looked quite nice on the outside, inside there was scarcely an article of furniture, no fuel, nothing but bare boards for the poor old people to lie on, scarcely any-thing for them to cover themselves with, and not a scrap of food of any description! They begged hard to be left alone to die there together; but, of course, the doctor could not allow that: so they were brought to the 'house' to-day; and, papa, you should have seen their parting at the gate! They were more like a pair of young lovers, than a poor old couple of—perhaps—seventy years of age."

"Don't you think there are middle-aged and old lovers as well as young?" said her father, remembering his own happy married life. "Such cases are very, very sad, but I can't quite see how it is to be remedied just yet. Of course a great deal depends upon the people themselves. But," continued Mr. Bateman, "you have not given me the contents of Lucy's letter; of course they must be doing well, or they could not send the father and mother what they do."

"Oh, very well, papa. You know Joe has had a factory of his own now for several years, and, I believe, employs two or three hundred hands; and some day he says he is going to try if he can persuade some of them at least, to allow a certain percentage of their wages each week to be put away for old age."

"May he succeed, say I," replied Mr. Bateman; "but I fancy most of them will think it a long time to wait; and then, of course, they cannot realize the extreme poverty that we have, for with their high wages and genial climate they will not have many very poor people among them."

"Indeed, you are mistaken, papa. Lucy says we would be surprised at the distress in some of their large towns, and the number of people who have been in good circumstances, and who are now dependent on their charities, is really wonderful. Joe thinks there should be a law made to compel everybody to make some provision for old age; and he thinks very soon there will be something of the kind done; more than one of their—not M.P.'s, what do they call them, papa?"

"M.H.R.'s, I believe."

"Yes, more than one of their M.H.R.'s have spoken on the subject."

"Well done, New Zealand!" exclaimed Mr. Bateman; "they may give us a lesson in that yet, as they have done in one or two other things."

"But why should *they*?" said Netta, a little hotly, "with a population not as great as some of our large towns."

"My dear child, that is the very reason why they should," said the father. "Now is the time for them to strike out for themselves instead of keeping in the ruts of the older countries, and committing the same mistakes as our forefathers did; and with their fine climate, fertile land, wealth of resources, and sparse population they have every chance. State aid is all very well; but if the people could be persuaded to provide for themselves it would be a grand thing. It would foster habits of thrift and independence, too—qualifications very necessary in the building of a nation's character, as well as of the individual."

"Did you notice the ages of the London cab-drivers, in the papers last week, papa?"

"Yes, and I thought what a healthy employment it must be."

"But, papa, fancy being obliged to work at that age!"

"Very likely, child, they are only too glad to get work. Think of the many able-bodied men who cannot get work;—the hundreds of our unemployed."

"That's just it," cried Netta. "Don't you see, papa, if these were all pensioned off there would be so many less in the labour market. What did the papers say? About six hundred and seventeen between sixty and seventy years of age; while there were about one hundred and fifty between seventy and eighty. If those could give up work there would, of course, be all that room for younger men to step into, and that is only in one department of labour. I suppose most other departments would be the same, or nearly so."

"My dear Netta," said her father, laughing, "I think you had better study political economy, and go out to New Zealand to help them form their laws; you would have more scope there than here."

"You need not laugh, papa," said Netta. "Joe says that, unless something is done, they will be in a worse condition than we are at present. Lucy tells a very amusing story—or, rather, shall I say, a very sad story—although the factory hands got considerable amusement out of it. An old man called at their place one day, and pleaded very hard for work. Joe did not like his appearance very much; he seemed to have such a very

old face, and yet his hair was jet black. However, Joe said he would give him a trial. After he had been there for a little while they noticed that his hair was becoming very grey, and wondered what could be the reason; and one Monday morning a bright-faced white-haired old man called at the office and asked if he might see the 'boss?'

"The young fellows at the office had not taken much notice of him; but Joe knew him directly, and exclaimed—

"'Why, Benny! what have you done to yourself?'

"'Had a bath, sur,' said Benny, simply.

"'Had a bath!' answered Joe, laughing outright. 'A bath does wonders for my little ones sometimes, but I never knew it work such a transformation as that.'

"'Well, sur,' said Benny; 'on Saturday night, after washing that black stuff away—and pretty hard work it was, too—ses I, to myself: Benny, ses I, don't you cheat no longer, but make a clean breast of it to the 'boss,'.and I am here for that purpose,' said Benny, drawing himself up like one determined to do his duty.

"'I am glad to hear it, Benny,' said Joe. 'Now tell me all about it.'

"'Well, sur, it was like this. Me and my mate came down from the gumfields at the beginning of winter, and we walked the place for three whole weeks, looking for a job; but no one seemed to want anything done. One day we called at rather a "biggish" place, like this, and one of them chaps at the desk larfed in our faces! Ses he, "D' ye think the 'boss' would have sich old forsils as ye about the place?" That made my mate's blood boil, and ses he, "Benny," ses he, "you can do as you like; but I'm going to have three months' shelter somehow!" and, sur, he went straight up the road and stole a pair of boots; and sure enough he got his three months' shelter. He had been in before, and didn't mind it so much; but I didn't want to begin at my age, and so I got some of that black stuff and plastered my hair: and I got work, too,' said Benny, with a chuckle.

"'But, Benny,' said Joe, 'don't forget that your black hair nearly lost you the job. I much prefer your appearance as you are.'

"'Thank ye, sur—thank ye,' said Benny; 'then ye'll keep me on?'

"'Of course Joe was only too gl.q.d to help the poor old man, and very, very sorry to hear that old people were obliged to resort to such things before they could obtain food and shelter, or even the means of getting them.' "

"I am truly sorry to hear such tales from a young country like New Zealand," said Mr. Bateman; "and I can hardly understand why it should be so, with such wealth of resources as they seem to possess."

When Netta and her father entered the house they found that Ernest Mordaunt had just gone in before them, and was waiting in the study to see Mr. Bateman. He had been over in the morning and had got a ready consent from Addie to "tell all." She found her secret much too heavy for her to bear, and was on the point of telling Agnes herself, when Ernest knocked at the door.

When Netta heard the news her only comment was, "I am very glad the child is settled for."

"Netta!" cried Agnes, "you are positively getting quite mercenary! I am afraid that some day you will be looking out for some rich old bachelor, and marrying him for his money."

"No, Aggie, you are not afraid of anything of the kind," said Netta, looking at her sister affectionately; "you know me better than that."

And Agnes did know that no one would have held such a thing in greater contempt than Netta did.

Nevertheless, neither of the sisters were sorry to know that the "child" was provided for; and Ernest Mordaunt was even thing they could have wished as a brother-in-law. They thought also that very likely Addie would go and live at the Hall, so that they would still be near each other.

When Ernest came out from the study, his face was beaming. Mr. Bateman had not only readily sanctioned the engagement, but had said one or two very complimentary things. Ernest had always been a great favourite of his, and he told him candidly that there was no one to whom he could have given his daughter with greater confidence. That was one of the secrets of Mr. Bateman's influence with young people; he was always lavish in his praise, and never withheld it when he thought it was deserved—and that was very often. It took a good deal to make him lose faith in human nature. He used to say that if you could thoroughly believe in yourself, it would go a long way towards helping you to believe in your fellows, and that he would not give much for the man who thought all the world a fraud.

vignette

## Chapter V.

GGOOD afternoon, Miss Bateman," said Mr. Webster, one day, as he met Netta on her way from the workhouse.

"Have you been, as usual, to see your poor parishioners?"

"I have been to see our landlord," said Netta.

"Your landlord! I thought no one knew exactly to whom the Manor-house belonged."

"Oh, yes. At present I believe it belongs to a man named Smith, who has a mortgage on it, and who went to New Zealand some years ago; but Mr. Villiers, the real owner of the property, and in whose family the Manor-house has been for many generations, is in the 'house.' "

"You don't mean to say in the workhouse! How do you account for that?"

"It is a very sad story," answered Netta. "The Villiers were always known to be living beyond their means, and when the old lady died things became very bad. One or two of the old servants clung to them as long as they lived; and Mr. Smith allowed them to live on in the house as long as they cared to (you know he lets papa have it now rent-free on condition that he keeps it in repair; for he says that, perhaps, some day he may come home and live in it himself). After the death of the servants, old Mr. Villiers lived there quite alone, and would see no one, until he had become almost an imbecile, and was in a dreadful state when he was taken into the 'house.' He has always avoided me before, but to-day he asked the matron if he might see me for a little while. He was very fond of my cousin's husband when he was a little boy, and it seems Joe often sends him papers now. He had also heard about Joe's efforts to get his factory hands to make some provision for old age."

"He is now quite well, then?" asked Mr. Webster.

"Oh, quite well, and wonderfully bright; he looks as if he would live many years yet.

"I have been wanting to see you for some time, Miss Bate, man,' he said. 'I am told that you often hear from Joe Wiseman, and that he is doing well in New Zeland.'

"Very well, indeed,' I said.

"And that he is trying to bring about a scheme for an old age pension?"

"Not quite that, Mr. Villiers,' I said; 'but he is trying to get his employees to put a little away each week for that purpose, and he also does it himself for his own family.'

"Ah, well!' said the old man:

*"Smallest helps, if rightly given,  
Make the impulse stronger."*

'I always said Joe would be a Wiseman in more than name; but I feel sure there must be a compulsory Act brought in before an old age pension scheme is an accomplished fact. Moral suasion is a grand thing—a grand thing, Miss Bateman, when the world is prepared for it; but I am afraid that is not just yet. Give my kindest regards to Joe, and tell him to persevere, and God will reward his efforts, and the unborn millions will rise up and call him blessed. But,' continued the old man, 'I don't quite understand the papers Joe sends me. In the leading article you will, perhaps, read of thousands and thousands of acres of good land not yet taken up; then, in the next column, you will see a good deal about the unemployed; and further on, a little para, graph something like this: "The inmates in the Old People's Refuge this week are—Males, 118; females, 38." And that is a charitable institution?'

"I think so," I said.

"Rather a high number for their comparatively small towns. And have you noticed, Miss Bateman, how the men always outnumber the women in those places? And it is the same there as it is here.'

"I had not noticed,' I said.

"I suppose a woman can better look after herself than a man can.'

"Are you not reversing the order of things, Miss Bateman—at least, according to public opinion? Don't you think that, perhaps, we spend more upon ourselves in our younger days, and that it is the old law of cause and effect? The same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. "As ye sow, so ye shall reap," 'said the old man, sadly.

"Are you comfortable here, Mr. Villiers?' I asked, as he was turning to go away. Poor old gentleman! He got white to the lips; then the blood surged back again to his face, his lips trembled, and his eyes filled with tears; but, by a great effort, he controlled himself, and answered: 'Yes, they are very good to me.' And then he hurried away to hide his emotion."

"How very diversified our lots are in this world," said Mr. Webster, thoughtfully. "One man will build for himself a palatial dwelling, while his neighbour has to live in a tumbledown cottage not fit to house cattle in. Another will spend as much money on one dinner for his friends as would buy food enough for a hundred poor families for a week. Don't you think sometimes, Miss Bateman, what a huge failure Christianity is?"

"No, I have never thought so," answered Netta. "I have always been under the impression that it was the *want* of Christianity which caused so many failures. Where would you find those precepts? Not in the Sermon on the Mount? or I must have overlooked those verses. How would they read? 'Ye shall build for *yourselves*

palatial dwellings, and let your neighbours live in tumble-down cottages, not fit to house cattle in! 'Thou shalt gather together thy rich friends, and provide for them a feast, that shall cost as much money as would buy food for a hundred poor families for a week!' Or we will take the other side: 'Ye shall waste your substance on horse-racing, gambling, etc., in your youth and manhood, and be dependent on charity in old age.' Or we will take old Peter Robinson's case: 'Thou shalt spend as much money on beer and tobacco in thy younger days, as would have been sufficient to keep thee comfortable in old age.' "

"Don't be sarcastic, Miss Bateman," said Mr. Webster; "you know we are supposed to be a Christian nation."

"We are supposed to be an artistic nation, too, I should think," said Netta, "by the amount of 'hand-paintings' we see everywhere, and by the number of pictures there were at the Exhibition last week; but I hardly think that will prove that we are *all* artists," and they both laughed heartily over some of the exhibits. "But, on the other hand," continued Netta, "we could hardly argue from that, that art is a failure; or that we should blame or destroy the old masters because they are not better copied."

"I am afraid it is useless my arguing with you on any subject," said Mr. Webster, laughing. "Do you know much about Theosophy, Miss Bateman?"

"No, very little," replied Netta.

"There you get true brotherhood," he said. "Some friends of mine, who are Theosophists, lent me some books a little while ago, and Ernest and I are reading them together."

"Mr. Webster!" exclaimed Netta, with flashing eyes, "how dare you!"

Alfred Webster had always stood a little in awe of those eyes of Netta's, well knowing that if she thought a principle of right and wrong was involved, she would not spare him, and wished now he had left Theosophy alone, and for some time they walked on in silence. Netta was the first to speak.

"Forgive me, Mr. Webster," she said very gently, but very gravely, "if I spoke too sharply; but I think it a very, very great responsibility to unsettle young people's minds, when you have nothing to offer them instead. Of course, there are difficulties connected with the Bible, but take it away and you increase them a hundredfold. Let Ernest get his brotherhood, pure and simple, from his New Testament. It not only says 'Bear ye one another's burdens,' 'Love your neighbour as yourself,' but 'Love your enemies.' Where will you find brotherhood wider or fuller than that?"

As they neared the Manor-house, they overtook Ernest, who was going there to spend the evening, and a very little persuasion induced Alfred to go in, too. Both gentlemen were very fond of music, and an evening at the Manor was among their chief pleasures, as all the Batemans were musical. Agnes and Addie played and sang well; as for Netta—she was really clever at most things, but music was her forte. Her father used to say that nothing soothed and rested him of an evening, as did one of Netta's sonatas; and it was very seldom they retired for the night without a little music. At an "At Home," or at any of their local concerts, if Netta played, there was instant silence as soon as her fingers touched the piano. Mr. Bateman was very much amused one evening at one of their concerts, as he sat at the back of the hall among the small boys, to hear their comments on Netta's playing. One pale-cheeked, blue-eyed little fellow, as Netta finished, heaved a deep sigh of satisfaction, and murmured more to himself than to anyone else, "There! that's what I call a noise worth listening to!" Another, not quite so subdued, was calling to his neighbour in a loud "stage whisper," "I say, Bill, ain't she a good 'un! I wouldn't mind getting a pianar myself if I could play like that!"

vignette

## Chapter VI.

"Here's a nice, thick letter for you, Netta, from Lucy," cried Agnes, one morning, as she unlocked the letter bag; "and as you only gave us scraps out of her last letter, you must read this aloud for the benefit of the family."

"I shall be very glad to do so," said Netta, "if the family will have patience; it is not always easy work to wade through one of Lucy's long letters, though they are interesting; but I will do my best," and Netta began:—

"MY DEAR NETTA,—As Joe is writing to his mother this evening, I thought I would write you a few lines—that is, if; baby will let me. Poor little chappy! he is troubled very much with his teeth just now; but there are two little pearls through, and I hope the others will soon follow. As a rule, he is so good, the best of all my babies, excepting, of course, your little name, sake; she is—but there! I am not going to write another word about the children to-night, for I have something else that I want to tell you.

"I am glad to say that Joe has succeeded now in persuading all his employees to put a little away every pay-night towards an old age pension—with one exception, and he is such a nice young fellow, too. He has not been with us very long; he lost all his money—a considerable sum—in some of the Australian banks some little

while ago, and it has almost made a wreck of him. He says he will not save another penny till he can get Government security that he will have it back in his old age.

"Joe says it would be such a good thing if Government would issue an 'annuity stamp'—say from threepence to twenty shillings—to be sold at all post-offices within the colony. The money would then go directly into the coffers of the State; they could give a fair rate of interest, and there would be, of course, State security that the pension would be paid at the proper time. I don't understand all the details, but you should hear Joe explain it all; he talks like a book.

"Well, last Friday—pay-night,—two of the young fellows brought their stamp-book—as they call their little account-book, for Joe says he thinks the 'stamp' will be issued some day—to put down their usual half-a-crown, Joe thought they looked a little shame-faced, and wondered what was the matter. They said that, instead of the usual two shillings and sixpence, they would like to put away seven shillings and sixpence. However, Joe persuaded them to put the five shillings in the savings bank, and go on with the half-a-crown stamp.

"How is this, boys?" said Joe. "When I spoke to you first about it you thought you could not spare the two and sixpence, and now you say you can put away seven shillings and sixpence every week! Why, if you had done that ever since you have been with me, you might have had comfortable homes now to bring your girls to."

"That's what Tom and me was saying," answered Dick.

"Oh, that is it!" said Joe, smiling. "Perhaps you would not mind telling me how you can spare so much. Have you changed your lodging, or anything?"

"No, sir; but it's like this," answered Dick: "When Tom and me made up our minds to save the two and sixpence, we thought we'd give up smoking,—them cigarettes cost a lot of money. Then we used to go to the pub every night to play billiards or cards, and there was a good deal of gambling going on. Some weeks we were lucky, and it was very nice to have a handful of sovereigns jingling in your pocket; but the next week they would all go, and more with them; so we gave that up. Then Tom has a cousin that belongs to an improvement society or club, and he took us there one night, and all the fellows were so good; they shook hands with us, and made us feel quite at home like; and so we go there now instead of to the pub."

"I am very glad to hear it, boys," said Joe. "I must look in some night to see you."

"Whew! I am glad you did not look in last night," said Tom, with crimson cheeks, and speaking for the first time.

"Why, Tom, what was up last night?" asked Joe.

"Tom made his first speech last night," answered Dick; "and first-rate he did it, too. He spoke on the "Old Age Pension," and he gave your arguments to a T. Then there was what they call a discussion, and all the fellows said that it was the right and proper thing to do; that we could not be manly and independent without doing it. And it was carried unanimously "That there ought to be a law to compel everyone that could, to make some provision for old age—the rich as well as us working chaps, for the rich may not be always rich."

"Well, Dick," said Joe, "you must let me know when you are going to make your first speech, and I will come and hear it."

"Oh!" said poor Dick, "I ain't had any learning like Tom. I can talk well enough here amongst ourselves, but when I mixes with well-dressed, well-educated young fellows, I have to be mum. I do know that much."

"You are a step in advance of some folks, thought Joe.

"My dad died when I was nine, and I never cared much for schooling; so mother let me stay at home to help her and do odd jobs. We lived in Shoreditch then, and folks ain't particular there—leastways, they wasn't then."

"However, Joe persuaded Dick to join some evening classes and he has just been here for some books. Joe introduced him to me as our future Premier! He says Dick is a very smart, intelligent young fellow, and will not be surprised if he turns out to be a very clever man; and even his being Premier, you know, is not an impossibility in a country like ours."

"What a blessing it would be," said Netta, putting down the letter, "if there really were an old age pension. Don't you think, papa, there is a possibility of it ever becoming law?"

"Not here. As I have said before," replied Mr. Bateman, "our landed estates, as well as our pauper institutions, are too deeply-rooted—that is, for the universal pension that Joe speaks of. In a new country it might be brought about, if they set about it in time."

"But, papa," said Netta, "you know Cox, the draper?"

"What! Not that corner shop?"

"No, papa, that large place in Duke Street. I was speaking to Mr. Cox on the subject, and he said he acted on that principle now. At the birth of each child he puts a certain amount away, and so on at each birthday; and he says that his children are not to touch it until they are, at least, fifty years of age—that is, unless they are really in distress."

"My dear Netta," said Mr. Bateman, severely for him, "to whom have you not spoken on this old age pension? I am afraid you will worry and annoy people with it."

"There is no fear of my worrying or annoying Mr. Cox with it," said Netta, laughing; "he is more enthusiastic on the subject than I am. And I am not surprised, for he has two uncles and an aunt dependent upon him, beside his father and mother. Of course, he does not mind his father and mother, and one uncle he is very fond of—his mother's brother: but the other uncle and his aunt—the Bridgewaters,—he does think it a little hard to have to support them. It seems the Bridgewaters thought themselves much above the Coxes at one time, and scarcely noticed them. But I must go on with Lucy's letter."

"I am afraid, dear," she continued, "that you will think my letter very 'shoppy.' I tell Joe sometimes that he is always talking 'shop,' and that if I worked at the factory, he would, perhaps, pay me a little attention sometimes! Then he gives me one of his looks that always make me think my Joe is the wisest and best man in the world—and baby is the image of him. The same eyes, the same nose, and as for the mouth——"

"And," said Netta, glancing over another closely-written sheet of paper, "this is how Lucy keeps her promise not to write a word about the children! Shall I go on?"

"I am afraid, dear, you must excuse me," said Mr Bateman, "not but that Lucy's letters are always interesting. I think like Joe, that if people live by 'shop,' there is no reason why they should be ashamed to speak of it. Besides, it would go a great way towards the solution of the labour trouble, if all employers were more like Mr. Wiseman—treat their employees with more consideration, live more among them, and take more interest in their everyday life. But," continued Mr. Bateman, as he took up the morning paper, "it surprises me! It astonishes me beyond measure to hear of those continued strikes! Having so many intelligent working men among us, I cannot understand why they don't hoard their savings; have a union for capital if they like. If all the money that has been wasted on strikes during the last ten years had been put into a common fund, they would have had capital enough by this time for any undertaking!"

"What a sum for an old age pension fund!" exclaimed Netta.

Mr. Bateman gave Netta an amused look, but went on: "Let them, then, choose the business which they think would pay best, and work it on co-operative principles. If they find that pay, let them take up some other branch, and so become capitalists themselves."

"Why don't you write and tell them so, papa?" asked Netta.

"My dear, they have been told a hundred times; but, instead of listening, they go on cutting the ground from under their own feet."

When Mr. Bateman left the table, Addie begged to hear the rest of Lucy's letter, which, she declared, was much the more interesting part.

"But," said Addie, with wrinkled brow, and a face altogether as if she were studying the most difficult proposition in Euclid, "I don't see how anyone can say what babies' noses will be like when they grow up."

"That's like you, Addie," said Netta; you puzzle your little brain over that! What are strikes compared to babies' noses?"

"Well, they are not half as nice to think about," said Addie, demurely. "If I had my way, I would do something dreadful to the men, for it is the little babies who have to suffer."

"I am so glad you are going to stay in to-day," said Addie, as she sat down to give a few finishing touches to her dolls; "it is so cold outside."

"I am not sorry myself," answered Netta. "I am dreadfully lazy; I feel as if I could sit in this great chair in front of the fire all day."

"It would be the best thing you could do," said Agnes. "If you don't take a little more rest than you have been doing lately, I am afraid that in a little while you will have no choice in the matter."

"Come in," said Netta, raising her voice as she heard a knock at the door.

"Please, Miss Netta, there's a little girl here, who wants to speak to you!" said the servant.

"Who is she, Jane?" asked Netta.

"I don't know, Miss," replied the girl. "She is a pretty little thing, but, oh! so thinly clad. She seems to have very little on except an old silk shawl—which, I dare say, was a beauty in its day—tied round her."

"Oh! 'tis little Flossie Jackson," said Netta; "bring her in here, Jane, please."

"Well, Flossie," she said encouragingly, as the little girl came in, looking very shy; "what message have you for me to-day?"

"Please, Miss Bateman," said the child, "mamma had to go out this morning, and grandpapa is ill; and could you please come and sit with him till mamma comes back?"

Addie began to pucker up her lips; but a look at Flossie soon brought back all the soft lines again, and she said pleasantly, "Will you have a piece of cake, Flossie?"

Flossie looked at her with her great, hungry eyes, and gave her head a very decided nod.

"Have you had your breakfast, Flossie?" asked Agnes. The tears welled up in the child's eyes, and she

shook her head.

"Bertie has not had any breakfast either," she said; "but mamma promised we should have a nice breakfast when she came back, if we would let grandpapa have all there was this morning."

"Come with me then, Flossie," said Agnes, taking hold of the child's little, thin, cold hand, "and we will see if we can get something warmer than cake!"

"Dear, dear!" sighed Mr. Bateman, as Netta was preparing to go with little Flossie, "I remember old Mr. Jackson when he kept his brougham, and a very pretty little one he had, too!"

"How is it, papa?" exclaimed Netta; "is Fanarth a special resort for people who have been very much reduced in circumstances, or is it the same everywhere else?"

"There are some natures, dear, more sympathetic than others, and find out such cases," replied her father; "but, to a great degree, I am afraid it is the same all over the world."

vignette

## Chapter VII.

It was decided that Addie's wedding should not take place for at least twelve months, so that for the present the girls could devote their attention to the concert and sale of work that were now so shortly to take place. The arrangements for the concert were left almost entirely to Netta; and, being so near Christmas, there was also, of course, a good deal of extra parish work to be attended to. But Netta was strong and perfectly healthy, and would have been able to bear the strain very well, had she taken proper care of herself, but self-abnegation was one of Netta's chief characteristics, and self was never thought of even in the matter of food: as Addie said, if Agnes made her any particular little dainties, she invariably took them to the Parkers. Bessie was very poorly just then, and her mother nearly as bad. The mother's illness was to a great degree brought on by her fretfulness of temper, and her self-reproach and remorse for her past extravagances.

The Parkers were comparative strangers at Fanarth, but still it was well known that they had once been very rich; and the old lady felt their present position very much. Her constant cry was "To think that *she* should have come to be dependent on charity!" Netta was the only one who could soothe and comfort her, and so often sat with her and Bessie when she ought to have been taking her well-earned and much-needed rest.

Her father had more than once said that he was afraid her work would prove too much for her; but the collapse came sooner than he expected. Netta had come in one evening, cold and tired, and was going to take her accustomed seat at the fire, when suddenly the room seemed to turn round, and she would have fallen heavily to the ground had not her father caught her in his arms. He lay her on the sofa, and poor Addie thought she would die there and then, for every vestige of colour had left Netta's face. However, after two or three hours' perfect rest, and a cup or two of hot milk, sipped very slowly—Netta's usual remedy when very tired—she felt better, and when Mr. Webster and Ernest came in later on to try their songs for the concert, she said she was quite able to play their accompaniments; but her father gave a very decided "No." He said that for the present, at least, she must act the invalid.

"Then, dear," he said, turning to Netta, "we must give you a change; we must send you somewhere from here for a little while; I have seen for some time that the work was too much for you."

"Oh! it is not the work, papa," said Netta; "it is constantly going to see those poor people, and being able to give them so little practical help. If I could only earn money in some way! I wish I knew of some rich people who wanted a governess for their children, and who would not mind giving a good salary; it would be a change for me, and I could give Bessie a little change, too. I believe she would get over her illness yet if she had change of air, and plenty of good, nourishing food; but she will never get better where she is."

There had never been one word of love spoken between Alfred Webster and Netta; still he knew perfectly well that if ever he married it would be to Netta Bateman. At present he had no home to offer her; but he knew his own power, and felt that in time he would be able to offer her, if not a luxurious home, still a name that she need not be ashamed of; he also felt that Netta would not refuse that name. Meanwhile, he was content to wait, so long as she was near him, but to have her exposed to the "tender mercies" of the Atlantic Ocean, especially at that time of the year, and then be so far away, was quite another thing. So when Netta spoke of some rich people, and a big salary, he moved uneasily in his chair, and his colour changed more than once. What a battle he was fighting with his conscience just then! The tempter spoke loudly, and authoritatively, "Burn the letter; say nothing about it; no one will be the wiser;" but the still small voice of right whispered "You will be unworthy of the love you crave if you do."

There is one supreme battle fought in the lives of most people; if right prevails, then the character is strengthened, and the next victory becomes easier: on the other hand, if wrong prevails, the character invariably suffers after. I know not if then was fought the supreme battle in Alfred Webster's life; but judging from his

appearance it must have been a very hard struggle. However, right prevailed, and, after steadying his voice as best he could, he said:

"It is a very strange coincidence, but, when I was on the Continent, I met an American lady—a widow—with one little girl, and immensely rich. When she went back to London, I gave her a letter of introduction to my parents, and this morning I had a letter from my sister, saying that directly after Christmas she is going home, and wishes very much to take back with her an English lady as governess to her little girl; salary, I know, would not stand in the way."

"I am afraid the child would be terribly spoiled," said Netta.

"I think not," answered Mr. Webster; "her mother did her best, but so far the attempt had failed. She is a loving and lovable little thing, and passionately fond of music."

"May I go, papa?" whispered Netta.

"My dear child, how can we spare you!" said the father; "besides, I don't like to think of my little girl earning her own bread."

"Oh, papa! I won't mind that a bit, and you know I am fond of children; I am half in love with the little girl already," said Netta. But no one else seemed to care for the arrangement; however, Netta enlarged so on all the advantages that her father promised to write to Mrs. Hargreaves in the morning.

When Mr. Webster and Ernest went back to the Hall, and spoke about it to Mrs. Mordaunt:

"Well, Alfred," she said, "I meant to write to your parents to-morrow to ask them to spend Christmas with us; I will now include your friend in the invitation, so that if Miss Bateman really does go—and I think the change might do her good, she cannot possibly go on much longer as she is—she will not be quite among strangers."

In a week or so, Mr. and Mrs. Webster, Mrs. Hargreaves and Olive came down to the Hall, and the Batemans were asked over to meet them. Mrs. Hargreaves and Netta were delighted with each other; as for Olive, she promised to be good, goods, goodest, if Miss Bateman would only be her governess, and fairly went into raptures over Netta's playing.

"And now, Miss Bateman, when shall we start?" said Mrs. Hargreaves; for, as she told Mrs. Mordaunt, she was determined to have Netta at any price. "I am longing to be at home once more."

"You will, of course, stay here till after the concert," said Mrs. Mordaunt, "and then you can go back to London, and Miss Bateman will follow you as soon as she is ready."

"Oh, mamma, mayn't we stay here till Miss Bateman comes, too?" pleaded Olive. "I like being here, I do, and hate London, where you can't go out without a hat on and gloves"—gloves were Olive's pet aversion,—"and where there are no nice ponies to ride."

"That's right, Olive," cried Ernest; "you shall stay any way, even if mamma does go back to that horrid London; you will stay with me, won't you?"

"I will stay with you for ever and ever," said Olive; "I will marry you."

"Will you, little one?" said Ernest, with a sly look at Addie; "well, we'll have a ride on the ponies now; we'll see about the other proposal after."

"Woman's rights!" said Alfred, laughing.

"Now you will stay, won't you?" asked Mrs. Mordaunt "Have you many preparations to make in town?"

"Oh, no!" answered Mrs. Hargreaves; "I can accomplish all in a few days."

So it was decided that they were to stay, much to the satisfaction of Olive, who "did not want to go back to that horrid, noisy London; but wished she could go to sleep at the Hall and wake up the next morning at her own beautiful home in America." But poor little Olive was destined to go back to her beautiful home without her "darling" Miss Bateman.

"Papa, will you be very busy to-morrow?" asked Netta, some days after the concert, which passed off most successfully.

"Not very," answered Mr. Bateman; "I have one or two families at the further end of the parish whom I have not visited for some time. I had thought of going to see them tomorrow."

"That will do beautifully," said Netta; "if you will please drive me round too; otherwise I am afraid I shall never get my 'good-byes' over have been out three days and have just been to three places: there's no getting away."

"Very well," said the father; "as the days are so short we had better start directly after breakfast."

Mr. Bateman little thought then, that it would be his "goodbye," and not Netta's.

It was one of those mild, sunny days with which we are sometimes favoured, even in mid-winter; and Mr. Bateman and Netta had had a most enjoyable day. They were both great favourites, and rich and poor had been very glad to see them; and hoped "Miss Netta" would soon be back amongst them again.

They were driving home in the dusk, and Mr. Bateman was remarking on some white object which he thought he saw on the road. He had scarcely finished speaking, when the horse suddenly shied, and turned

completely round. Netta and her father were both thrown out of the phaeton, but in some miraculous way Netta escaped unhurt. "When she recovered from the shock, she saw her father lying in a heap on the ground.

"Are you hurt, papa?" she cried. No answer. "Papa! speak to me, papa!" she again cried.

Mr. Bateman uttered a low groan, and fell back heavily to the ground. Poor Netta was in despair! But luckily there were some men going home from their work at the time, and they came to the rescue.

The horse was now standing perfectly still, and looking as if thoroughly ashamed of the mischief it had done. The men tried to lift Mr. Bateman in the phaeton, but finding they could not do so, they made a litter, and carried him home, whilst one of their number drove off for the doctor.

"How is our friend?" asked Mr. Mordaunt, who had gone over to meet the doctor as he came from the Manor-house.

"He may live, perhaps, for years," replied the doctor; "but he will never preach again."

.....

"Are you there, Netta?"

"Yes, papa."

"Are the Websters gone?"

"No, papa; they are in the dining-room talking to Mr. Colborne."

"They are quite reconciled now to living in the country, and are going to rent one of Ernest's new cottages," said Mr. Bateman.

"I think it will be a very pretty cottage; I saw it yesterday," replied Netta.

"I am very, very sorry for them," said Mr. Bateman; "they seem to have a good deal to reproach themselves for. Mrs. Webster says that if they had lived quietly, but comfortably, as the Mordaunts live at the Hall, they might have made ample provision for old age; besides, they can now see that Alfred ought to be thinking about a home for himself."

"We can wait, papa."

"Wait till the old people die! Not a very nice thought for the old people. How pleasant it would be for you three, if you would live on here in the old home, and Addie at the Hall, and Agnes settled at the Rectory."

"But Agnes is not settled at all yet, papa," said Netta, laughing.

"No, not yet, not yet; but Mr. Colborne spoke to me to-day; and I think it quite likely that he will be Hector of Fanarth some day; the living is in the gift of his uncle."

"Don't you think you had better go to sleep, papa? I am afraid you have had too many visitors to-day," said Netta, putting her cool hand on her father's forehead.

"No, child, I can't sleep: the Websters have set me thinking. How long is it now since the accident?"

"A little over four months, papa."

"I wonder Mr. Cromby does not write."

"He has, papa."

"And accepts my resignation, of course?" asked Mr. Bate-man, a little huskily.

"He hopes to be home now in a week or so, and says that he will then see about it."

"Then, I suppose, Mr. Colborne will formally take my place. What are we to do then, Netta?"

"Agnes and I are going to open a school, papa."

"Open a school! Then my little girl will have to work for her own bread after all, and her father's, too," he said, looking fondly at Netta. "Your old age pension would not be amiss now, Netta."

"Oh, Agnes and I will do beautifully, papa; we have been promised several pupils already."

"But I should have made some provision for this. If I had my time over again——"

"Nevermind, papa," said Netta, smiling; "you can formulate an old age pension scheme for others instead."

"Taking as a basis Joe Wiseman's annuity stamp?"

"What do you really think of that, papa?" asked Netta.

"I don't see why it should not do," replied her father. "It would be very convenient and easily worked, and if there were some such easy method, the habit might become pretty general, even if it were not compulsory."

"I should try to go to sleep now, then, if I were you," repeated Netta, kissing her father's feverish brow; "and next week we will work out all the details of the scheme, and then send it out to the colonies, so that they can profit by our experience."

"My dear child," answered the father, "I am afraid that young countries are like young people—they prefer buying their experience. But something ought to be done. 'Poverty is a heavy burden when on the shoulders of an old man.'"

Aluckland:

Wilson and Horton, General Printers, Queen and Wyndham Streets.

1894

Front Cover

The Petition of Major Kemp te Rangihwinui, to the House of Representatives.

June 21st, 1894.

*Re* Horowhenua Block.

# **THE HUMBLE PETITION OF MEIHA KEEPA TE RANGIHIWINUI (commonly known as Major Kemp), a Native Chief of the Wanganui and Manawatu Districts.**

[Copy.]

SHEWETH—

1. That on the 10th day of April, 1873, an order was duly made by the Native Land Court, under the provisions of "The Native Lands Act, 1865," and "The Native Lands Act, 1867," for the issue of a Certificate of Title in favour of Meiha Keepa Te Eangihwinui (commonly known and hereinafter referred to as Major Kemp) under the 17th section of "The Native Lands Act, 1867," for a block of land at Horowhenua, in the District of Manawatu, in the Provincial District of Wellington, containing 52,460 acres, more or less; and that on the same day an order was made, pursuant to the provisions of the said 17th section of "The Native Lands Act, 1867," for the registration in the said Court of the names of 148 aboriginal natives of New Zealand, as the owners of the said land. The finding of the said Court on which these orders were based was that the Muaupoko tribe was entitled to this land, and the list of owners was intended to include all the members of the Muaupoko tribe so entitled. On the 27th June, 1881, a Certificate of Title, under the provisions of the said 17th section of "The Native Lands Act, 1867," was, pursuant to the said orders, duly issued by the Native Land Court, under the seal of the Court and under the hand of the Chief Judge thereof, in favour of Major Kemp for the said block of land, the effect thereof being to constitute him a trustee for the owners whose names had been registered in the Court as aforesaid.

2. In the month of November, 1886, the said Native Land Court sat at Palmerston North for the purpose of partitioning the said block of land, upon the application of your petitioner, Major Kemp; and the Court, in the said proceedings, purported to act under the provisions of "The Native Lands Acts," "The Native Land Court Act, 1880," and "The Native Land Division Act, 1882."

3. On the 25th of November three Division Orders were made by the said Court, with the unanimous consent of the owners then present in Court.

4. On the 1st of December other Division Orders were made, by general consent, the result being that all the persons named in the Native Land Court Certificate of Title as owners received on partition some portion of the said block of land in their own right. But all the portions so awarded in severalty were covered with bush, and had never been actually occupied or resided on by the Muaupoko tribe.

5. The effect of the partition among the owners, so far as it had now been carried, was to leave the residential portion of the block, called Horowhenua No. II., containing 14,975 acres, and including the whole of the Horowhenua Lake, quite intact.

6. The tribe, having determined to keep this portion of the estate unbroken as a permanent home for the people, declined to have the partition carried any further, and moved the Court to order a Certificate of Title for the same, as before, in the name of your petitioner, Major Kemp.

7. At this stage of the proceedings, Wirihana Hunia, one of the registered owners, came forward as representing the Hunia family, and objected to the order being in the name of Major Kemp alone, After a short retirement from the Court for consultation, Major Kemp agreed to admit the name of Warena Hunia (Wirihana's younger brother) as co-trustee with himself, and he then applied to the Court to join Warena Hunia with him in the order, which was done accordingly, there being no dissentient.

8. In giving his consent to the introduction of Warena Hunia's name, your petitioner understood that he was consenting to have a joint trustee with himself in the management of the estate for the benefit of the tribe to whom it of right belonged; and that was the universal belief among the owners then present in Court, who permitted the arrangement to be recorded unchallenged.

9. After the Division Orders hereinbefore mentioned had been made, a survey of the block was made and a proper plan of the subdivision prepared for the Court; after which certificates of title were ordered to be issued in conformity with the provisions of the Land Transfer Act.

10. In the month of February, 1890, a sitting of the Native Land Court was held at Palmerston North for the

purpose of further partitioning the said parcel of land known as Horowhenua No. II. between Major Kemp and Warena Hunia, upon the application of the latter. It then became known to your petitioner and his people that by a fiction of law, the land had become the absolute property of the two persons named in the certificate of title, and was unconditionally at their disposal as in their own right.

11. The Muaupoko tribe, who all along fully understood and believed that their interest in the said block of land was held by Major Kemp and Warena Hunia, in trust, now discovered that without any intentional consent on their part, the whole estate had passed in law to the two persons named in the order of the Court, and that their ancestral home on which most of them had been born—their houses, their cultivations, their burial-places, and their lake-fishing grounds—had passed away from them for ever! No warning had been given to them in Court that the effect of the order to be made would be to divest the said lands from the acknowledged owners, or that it was necessary or desirable that the trusts under which the said lands were held should be in any way declared or protected. Indeed there is reason to believe that the Court itself was unaware of the full effect of fee order it had made: otherwise it is difficult to conceive how it could have allowed such an order to be entered up without a word of warning to those concerned.

12. At the sitting in February, 1890, notwithstanding that the trust in the said lands was insisted on by Major Kemp and admitted by Warena Hunia, the Native Land Court proceeded to partition the said lands as though the same were held by them in their own right, and after causing a valuation of the estate to be made divided the said block into two parcels called Horowhenua No. II a., valued at £13,392, and Horowhenua No. II b., valued at £12,244, and awarded them to Major Kemp and Warena Hunia respectively.

13. Major Kemp being dissatisfied with the said proceedings of the Native Land Court, appealed to the Chief Judge of the said Court for a rehearing and a rehearing was ordered accordingly. This rehearing took place in the month of May, 1891, before Judges Mair and Scannell, when your petitioner, Major Kemp, again insisted upon the trust, and protested against the land being dealt with by the Court as the private property of the two trustees. In this course he was supported by the general body of owners then present in Court.

14. The said Judges declined to consider or inquire into the alleged trust, believing that they had no power to do so, and they made an order on the 10th day of April, 1891, confirming the previous order for partition. The following is a copy of the judgment delivered on the said rehearing:—

## **Horowhenua No. II.: Judgment—**

*"This is a rehearing of a partition order at Palmerston North, on 10th April, 1890, at a Court presided over by Judge Trimble, deciding and allocating the relative interests of Meiha Keepa Te Rangihwinui and Warena Te Hakeke, the two owners in the order of the Court for Block of land called Horowhenua No. II., containing 14,975 acres, made on 1st December, 1886, on partition of the Horowhenua Block 552,000 acres and in which partition order, dated 1st day of December, 1886, and the Land Transfer Certificate, dated 19th July, 1888, issued thereon, the said Meiha Keepa Te Rangihwinui and Warena Te Hakeke are named as the sole owners.*

*"Although questions outside the jurisdiction of the Court have been introduced into the case, the only matter with which the Court can deal decisively is the relative share of each owner as against the other, and on this the Court decides from the evidence of every kind before it, that the decision of the original Court, that of 1890, should be confirmed, and confirms it accordingly, and orders in accordance with this decision, as well as a report to the Supreme Court on the question submitted, will be made; the partition orders to date back to the date of the original hearing and to issue when an approved plan of the land the subject of each such order is endorsed thereon.*

*"But although the Court in making these orders is confining itself to the matters within its jurisdiction, it feels bound to add that from what has transpired during the hearing of the case, as well as what it has seen during the inspection of the block, it is very clear that the issue of the order in 1886 in favour of Meiha Keepa Te Rangihwinui and Warena Te Hakeke was a severe loss to the Muaupoko tribe.*

*"The partition of 1886, followed by the Land Transfer certificate, made those the sole legal owners of a piece of land which up to that time was a part and a most important part of the tribal estate of Muaupoko, where from time immemorial they had lived and cultivated.*

*"It is not within the province of the Court to enquire as to how or for what purpose the certificate for that piece, clearly the property of the bulk of the people of Muaupoko, was issued in the names of two persons only, but the Court feels that under the whole circumstances it is its duty to lay such facts as are within its knowledge before the Chief Judge in order that if any application is made on the subject he would be in a position to advise as to whether it would be desirable to institute further enquiry into the whole matter with a view to ultimate justice being done to all the parties."*

15. Finding the Native Land Court powerless to help them Major Kemp and other members of the Muaupoko tribe petitioned Parliament in the Session of 1890, setting out the above facts and praying the House

to "take such measures by legislation as will suffice to protect them and to establish the trust."

16. The Native Affairs Committee, to which the said petition was referred, made the following report thereon:—

"No. II., 1890. Petition of Major Kemp and 63 others.

"Petitioners complain of the position Major Kemp holds as Trustee for Block II., containing 14,975 acres of land at Horowhenua and asking Parliament to decide his position in the matter. I have the honour to report as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this Committee, after a lengthened hearing of witnesses, this Committee has come to the conclusion that a trust was understood to be created when the Horowhenua Block No. II. was vested in Major Kemp and Warena Hunia; and this Major Kemp himself states was the understanding. But the legal opinion appears to be that, at this stage of the proceedings which are now being conducted in the Supreme Court, no plea of the trust existing can be asked, and if it could, would have no effect. That under these circumstances, the necessary legislation should be provided to authorise prehearing of the block, with the object of subdivision among the federal parties concerned.—20th August, 1800."

17. In the Session of 1891, Major Kemp and other members of the Muaupoko tribe again petitioned the House of Representatives to the same effect as before, and with a similar result, the Committee recommending the petition to the favourable consideration of the Government.

18. The immediate effect of the report of the Native Affairs Committee in 1891 was that a Bill was introduced by the Government and passed into law under the title of "The Native Land Courts Acts Amendment Act, 1891," whereby the whole of this land was made "inalienable in any manner whatsoever until the termination of the next Session of the General Assembly." And in the Session of 1892 Major Kemp and 62 other members of the Muaupoko tribe petitioned Parliament to continue this protection, and to take such other measures as would assure and establish the rights of the real owners of the land.

19. The report of the Native Affairs Committee in 1892 was brought up too late to admit of any remedial legislation, to protect the interests of the Muaupoko tribe, and to prevent any alienation of the land in violation of the alleged trust. Mr. Ballance's Government accordingly made a nominal payment to Major Kemp, and advised His Excellency the Governor to proclaim this block under the provisions of "The Native Land Purchases Act, 1892," the effect thereof being to bar all private negotiations and all alienations, except to Her Majesty the Queen, for a period of two years from the date of such proclamation. This proclamation was issued on the day of the prorogation of Parliament, on which date the protection secured by the suspensory Act of 1891 would otherwise have lapsed.

20. The protection of the rights of the tribe through this considerate action on the part of the Government will cease by effluxion of time in October next.

21. An action has been commenced by Major Kemp and other members of the Muaupoko tribe, in the Supreme Court of New Zealand, against Warena Te Hakeke (otherwise called Warena Hunia), in which the plaintiffs pray (*inter alia*) that the trust may be affirmed by the decree of that Honourable Court; that an enquiry may be had by reference to the Native Land Court as to who are the persons entitled under the original Certificate of Title; that Warena Te Hakeke may be restrained by injunction from selling, transferring, or charging the said lands or any part thereof; that the Certificate of Title issued to Major Kemp and Warena Hunia may be declared void as against the plaintiffs and the other members of the Muaupoko tribe in possession of the block at the time of the issue of the said Certificate of Title; and that Warena Te Hakeke, who now claims to be the absolute owner, may be dismissed from the trusteeship.

22. Although your petitioner, Major Kemp, has used all diligence in prosecuting his suit, the action cannot be tried before the Wanganui Sittings at the end of September or beginning of October next, and it may be delayed considerably beyond that date.

23. Under all these circumstances your petitioner and the people whom he represents have determined to approach your Honourable House with a prayer for relief; for they are firmly persuaded that Parliament will not allow them to suffer through their ignorance of English laws and customs, or permit of their being stripped of their ancestral home simply because they failed to make their trustees execute a declaration of trust, as required by the Statute of Frauds of which they had at the time no knowledge whatever, and as to the necessity for which they received no instruction or warning from the Court at the time the order for a certificate of title was made. The favourable reports made from time to time by the Native Affairs Committee, and the readiness with which the Government has extended its protecting hand affords them an assurance that they will not approach your Honourable House in vain.

24. Your petitioner has already shewn to the Committee of Native Affairs that, in agreeing to entrust their lands to the keeping of representative chiefs, the Muaupoko people were doing nothing unusual, and that, from a Maori point of view, it would never occur to them that they were conferring an absolute estate upon the persons so selected and divesting themselves in law of their inheritance—of the land on which they were

*residing and upon which most of them were born. Your petitioner is prepared to shew this again, if necessary, from the mouths of many credible witnesses; and, having regard to past experience in this matter, whilst fully assured of the strength and justice of his case, he feels more confidence in coming to Parliament for relief than in trusting to the intricacies and uncertainties of the Law Courts.*

*Wherefore your petitioner humbly prays that your Honourable House will pass a measure empowering the Native Land Court to enquire into the alleged trust, and if satisfied on such enquiry that such trust exists, to ascertain by its ordinary methods, who are the persons beneficially entitled, and in what shares or proportions.*

*And your petitioner will for ever pray, etc.*

*[Signed.] Meiha Keepa te Rangihiwiniui.*

## **Objects of the Royal Colonial Institute.**

"To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character." (Rule I.)

There are two classes of Fellows (who must be British subjects), Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of two Fellows, one of whom at least must sign on personal knowledge. The former pay an entrance fee of £3, and an annual subscription of £2; the latter an entrance fee of £1 1s., and an annual subscription of £1 1s. (which is increased to £2 when in the United Kingdom for three months). Resident Fellows can compound for the annual subscription by the payment of £20, or, after five years' annual subscription of £2, on payment of £15; and Non-Resident Fellows can compound for the *Non-Resident* annual subscription on payment of £10.

The privileges of Fellows whose subscriptions are not in arrear include the use of the Institute building, which comprises Reading, Writing, and Smoking Booms, Library, Newspaper Room, &c. All Fellows, whether residing in England or the Colonies, have the Journal and the annual volume of Proceedings forwarded to them. Fellows are entitled to be present at the Evening Meetings, and to introduce one visitor; to be present at the Annual Conversazione, and to introduce a lady.

## **Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute.**

THE Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute is an official record of the transactions of the Institute, published on the first of each month from December to July inclusive, in advance of and in addition to the annual volume of Proceedings, and contains reports of Papers and discussions, elections of Fellows, donations to the Library, notices of new books presented to the Library, and official announcements of the Institute.

The Journal is sent to each Fellow, thus assuring a circulation throughout the British Empire of nearly 4,000 copies a month, or 32,000 copies a year.

A limited number of suitable advertisements will be accepted at the following scale of charges, payable in advance:—

## **THE COLONIAL COLLEGE AND TRAINING FARMS (Limited).**

### **Hollesley Bay, Suffolk.**

Sketch of the Colonial College and Train Farms

Founded in January 1887, under the auspices of Agents-General for the Colonies, leading Members of the Royal Colonial Institute, the Head-Masters of Eton, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Clifton,

Haileybury, &c.

The College provides for those intending to Emigrate such Practical Training as will test their fitness and qualify them for Colonial Life,

It is situated on its own estate in a fine and very healthy position on the Sea-coast.

Farms of over 1,800 acres are carried on by the College, for the instruction of its Students, who thus have unrivalled facilities for becoming practically, as well as theoretically, acquainted with all branches of Agriculture, and with Horse, Cattle, and Sheep Breeding &c., on a large scale.

Instruction is also given in Dairying, Veterinary Science and Practice, Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy, Forestry, Horticulture, Land Surveying and Building Construction, Book-keeping, Engineer's, Smith's Carpenter's, Wheelwright's, and Harnessmaker's Work, Riding, Ambulance, and various other subjects necessary to the Young Colonist.

Many Students of the College are settled in almost every part of the Empire, with whom, as well as with other trustworthy Correspondents able to render valuable assistance to new-comers, regular communication is kept up.

The work of the Institution has been periodically recognised as of great value by Statesmen of the highest rank at home and in the Colonies.

Prospectus may be obtained from the Resident Director.

## Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute

No. 1. Session 1893-94.

DECEMBER 1893.

*All communications to be addressed to the Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London.*

## Proceedings.

### First Ordinary General Meeting.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, November 14, 1893.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

Amongst those present were the following:—

- MR. E. T. AGIUS
- SIR JOHN AKERMAN, K.C.M.G.
- MESSRS. J.F. ALDENHOVEN
- T. J. ALLDBIDGE
- MRS. J. A. ALLOWAY
- MR. T. W. ALSOP
- MR. AND MRS. J. K. ANDERSON
- MR. J. ASTLEFORD
- MR. AND MRS. AUGERAUD
- ARCHDEACON/F. W. AUSTIN
- MR. W. BARCLAY
- SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
- MR. A. S. BAXENDALE
- DR. A. BEALEY
- MESSRS. S. BEALEY
- J. A. B. BEATTIE
- REV. H. S. BEARD
- MESSRS. H. H. BEAUCHAMP
- F. FAITHFULL BEGG
- MRS. H. J. BELL
- MR. AND MRS. C. BETHELL

- MR. E. A. BICKMORE
- MR. AND MRS. H. F. BILLINGHURST
- MR. A. BIRCH
- HON. HUME BLUCK
- DR. W. H. BLENKINSOP
- MESSRS. A. W. BODGER
- H. BOIS
- BOLTON
- G. BOULTER
- S. BOURNE
- RT. HON. SIR GEORGE F. BOWEN
- G.C.M.G.
- MESSRS. F. K. BRADFORD
- H. BRANDON
- SIR JOHN C. BRAY
- K.C.M.G.
- RT. REV. THE BRSNOP OF BRISBANE
- MRS. BRISCOMB
- DR. J. H. BROOKS
- MR. JAS. H. BROOKS
- DR. A. M. BROWN
- MESSRS. R. M. BROWN
- M. BURTT
- C. S. CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON
- D. CAMPBELL JOHNSTON
- G. MURRAY CAMPBELL
- COLONEL H. CAUTLEY
- R.E.
- MESSRS. E. J. CHALLINOR
- H. W. CHANTRELL
- H. CHAPLIN
- J. CHISHOLM
- D. A. TRAILL CHRISTIE
- S. CHUDLEIGH
- J. CHUMLEY
- MR. AND MRS. J. F. CHURCHILL
- MESSRS. A. A. CLARK
- J. M. CLARK
- MISS A. S. CLARKE
- MR. AND MRS. R. B. B. CLAYTON
- MR. J. AND MISS COATES
- MESSRS. A. B. COBB
- ST. Q. COCKBURN
- N. L. COHEN
- MRS. AND MISS COLE
- MESSRS. G. E. COLEBROOK
- J. H. COLEMAN
- J. W. COLMER
- A. R. COLQUHOUN
- J. COMISKEY
- J. COMRIE
- MR. AND MRS. H. M. COOKE
- MAJOR A. M. COSBY
- CAPT. COSENS
- PROF. E. CROOKSHANKS
- MR. F. L. COX
- MR. AND MRS. G. COWIE
- MESSRS. W. S. CUFF

- C. E. CULLEN
- CUMBY
- P. CUNNINGHAM
- B. S. CURLING
- BARONESS D'AMICO
- MR. T. WATKIN DAVIES
- MAJOR DAUBENEY
- DR. R. DAWSON
- MR. F. DEBENHAM
- MR. AND MRS. G. L. DENNISTON
- MESSRS. C. S. DICKEN, C.M.G.
- P. C. DON
- D. DRAPER
- ROGER DUKE
- J. S. DUNCAN
- A. DUTHOIT
- FRANK M. DUTTON
- MR. AND MRS. FRED DUTTON
- LT.-GEN. SIR BEVAN EDWARDS, K.C.M.G., C.B.
- MRS. D. EDWARDS
- MR. S. EDWARDS
- MAJOR L. EDYE
- MESSRS. C. WASHINGTON EVES
- C.M.G.
- J. EWART
- MR. AND MRS. C. E. FAGAN
- MR. J. H. FAWCETT
- MR. A. AND MISS FELL
- MESSRS. J. FERGUSON
- R. T. FIREBRACE
- J. M. FISHER
- SIR W. H. FLOWER, K.C.B.
- CAPT. J. FORREST
- MESSRS. H. GAMMIDGE
- A. E. GAWTHROP
- DR. GIBBON
- DR. H. O'H. GILES
- MESSRS. E. GLANVILLE
- C. S. GOLDMANN
- H. GOODLIFFE
- MR. AND MRS. F. G. GOODLIFFE
- MESSRS. C. GORDON
- G. W. GORDON
- J. W. GORDON
- MAJOR F. W. SBAFIELD GRANT
- MESSRS. H.E.W. GRANT
- W. D. GRAY
- J. GRAYETT
- W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN
- A. E. GRESWELL
- REV. W. P. GRESWELL
- MESSRS. W. J. GWYN
- E. HAGGARD
- B. HALLENSTEIN
- M. HALLENSTEIN
- H. B. HALSSSWELL
- J. HAMILTON
- MR. AND MRS. T. J. HANLEY

- MESSRS. J. HARKER
- J. HARWOOD
- H. HAYMAN
- H. L. HAYMAN
- L. M. HAYMAN
- J. F. HAYWARD
- J. K. HAWTHORN
- R. W. E. HAWTHORN
- RALPH HEAP
- CAPT. AND MRS. G.N. HECTOR
- MR. R. B. HEINEKEY
- REV. A. S. HERRING
- MESSRS. H. HILL
- J. P. HOGAN, M.P.
- SIR ARTHUR HODGSON
- K.C.M.G.
- MESSRS. W. HOLMES
- J. HOPKINS
- MISS HOWLAND
- MESSRS. E. B. HURLEY
- J. HUTCHINSON
- BARONESS INGUANEY
- MESSRS. H. IRWELL
- D. L. JACOBS
- E. M. JAMES
- R. J. JEFFRAY
- F. JENNINGS
- G. H. JENNINGS
- R. JOHNSON
- T. JOHNSTON
- MR. AND MRS. OWEN F. JONES
- MESSRS. R. H. JONES
- R. J. KELLY
- S. W. KERSHAW
- MR. AND MRS. W. KING
- MESSRS. W. KNOX
- F. P. DE LABILLIERE
- RT. HON. LORD LAMINGTON
- SUBG MAJOR J. J. LAMPREY
- MESSRS. R. LANDALE
- W. G. LARDNER
- W. L. LOW
- R. LAWSON
- J. L. B. LE MAISTRE
- MRS. LIDDLE
- MESSRS. G. H. LLOYD
- WALTER LONG
- M.P.
- A. G. LOW
- M. W. LOWINSKY
- F. LUNNIS
- MR. J. L. AND MISS LYELL
- MESSRS. K. N. MACFEE
- M. MACFIE
- A. MACKENZIE MACKAY
- FREDERICK MACKENZIE
- G. S. MACKENZIE
- D. MCEWEN

- E. MCEWEN
- COLONEL MCKEAN
- MR. N. MCLAREN
- CAPT. J. C. MALING, C.M.G.
- MESSRS. W. MANLEY
- A. M. MARKS
- W.B. MARKS
- JAS. MARTIN
- DR. H. W. MAUNSELL
- MR. AND MRS. R. MAXWELL
- MESSRS. G. D. MEUDELL
- ALEX. MICHIE
- MR. AND MRS. A. MICHIE
- MR. W. H. MIDDLETON
- SIR CHARLES MILLS
- K.C.M.G., C.B.
- REV. J. GRANT MILLS
- MESSRS. THOS. MILLS
- J. M. MILNE
- SIR CHARLES MITCHELL
- K.C.M.G.
- DR. YORK T. G. MOORE
- MESSRS. S. V. MORGAN
- E. W. MOSS-BLUNDELL
- A. MYERS
- MR. A. M. AND MISS NICHOLLS
- CAPT. R. J. NORRIS
- D.S.O.
- MR. J. NOYES
- MRS. M. AND MISS ONSLOW
- MESSRS. W. W. OSWALD
- P. BERRY OWEN
- J. B. PALMER
- CAPT. PALMER
- MR. H. B. PAPENFUS
- LIEUT.-COL. J. PATON
- MR. AND MRS. MYLES PATTERSON
- MESSRS. R. PAUL
- J. M. PAULTON, M.P.
- W. PEACE, C.M.G.
- E. C. PENNEY
- W. B. PERCEVAL
- H. A. PERKINS
- J. PHILLIPS
- L. PHILLIPS
- T. G. PLEYDELL
- MRS. R. POWER
- MESSRS. P. D. PRANKERD
- P. J. PRANKERD
- C. C. RAWSON
- C. A. ROBERTSON
- J. B. ROBERTSON
- E. ROBINS
- CAPT. W. P. ROCHE
- MESSRS. J. P. RODGER
- R. ROME
- D. D. ROSEWARNE
- G. C. ROTHERY

- F. Y. ST. LEGER
- F. N. SALAMAN
- MR. AND MRS. E. SALMON
- SIR SAUL SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., C.B.
- MESSRS. F. D. SAUNDERS
- H. J. SAUNDERS
- J. H. D. SAUNDERS
- T. D. SAUNDERS
- ALEX. SCLANDERS
- A. W. SCLANDERS
- W. H. SCOTT
- B. SEIMENT
- J. L. SHAND
- MISS FLORA L. SHAW
- MR., MRS, and MISS SHORTRIDGE
- MESSRS. S. W. SILVER
- H. G. SLADE
- E. A. SMITH
- SIR C. CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G.
- MR. CHARLES SMITH
- SIR EDWIN T. SMITH
- K.C.M.G.
- SIR F. VILLENEUVE SMITH
- MESSRS. J. SMITH
- T. SMITH
- F. F. SOUTHWELL
- T. E. SPENCER
- A. G. SPOTTISWOODE
- G. A. SPOTTISWOODE
- SIR EDWARD W. STAFFORD, G.C.M.G.
- RT. HON. THE EARL OF STAMFORD
- MESSRS. E. STANFORD
- JUNR. W. J. STEELE
- A. H. P. STONEHAM
- O. R. STRICKLAND
- H. W. STRUBEN
- J. STUART
- R. SWAN
- H. SYMONDS
- G. W. TAYLOR
- H. L. TAYLOR
- J. V. E. TAYLOR
- V. A. TAYLOR
- C. G. TEGETMEIER
- J. THOMAS
- DR. E. SYMES THOMPSON
- MESSRS. S. LESLIE THORNTON
- F. T. D. THOROLD
- MR. MRS. AND, MISS THRUPP
- MR. AND, MRS. W. J. B. TIPPETTS
- MESSRS. A. B. TINKER
- G. A. TOMKINSON
- LIEUT. A. W. TOBLESSE, R.N.
- GENERAL TWEEDIE
- MR. K. W. VAUGHAN
- MR. AND, MRS. J. E. M. VINCENT
- MESSRS. J. B. WALKER
- R. WALROND

- G. WARD
- W. C. WATSON
- W. WEDPEL
- REV. H. M. WEST
- MR. AND, MRS. WESTWORTH
- MESSRS. W. H. WHYHAM
- A. L. W. WILLIAMS
- MISS WILLIAMS
- MESSRS. J. WILLIAMSON
- J. WILSON
- JOHN WILSON
- J. S. WING
- J. WARNER
- C. WRAY
- A. E. WRIGHT
- C. WRIGHT
- SIR JAMES A. YOUL, K.C.M.G.
- MR. E. M. YOUNG
- LADY AND
- MISS FOX YOUNG
- SIR FREDERICK YOUNG
- K.C.M.G., AND, MISS YOUNG
- COLONEL AND, MRS. J. S. YOUNG, MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN, (SECRETARY).

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read I and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 115 Fellows had been elected, viz. 18 Resident and 97 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows:—

- *Alfred D. Broughton*
- *James Chisholm*
- *Capt. E. H. M. Davis*
- *R.N., Capt. James A. Elmslie*
- *R.N.R., A. M. Ferguson, Waldemar Friedlaender*
- *George Goodsir*
- *Reginald W. E. Hawthorn*
- *Robert B. Heinekey*
- *George C. Jack*
- *R. Vincent Jellicoe*
- *Donald Mackay*
- *Peter Purvcs*
- *N. Sherwood*
- *Rev. Stewart Smyth*
- *Allen H. P. Stoneham*
- *Charles G. Tegetmeier*
- *H. Rose Troup.*

Non-Resident Fellows:—

- *Leonard Acutt (Transvaal),*
- *George A. Adolphus (Gold Coast Colony)*
- *Walter J. Agar (Ceylon)*
- *John G. Auret (Transvaal)*
- *George Ball-Greene (British Guiana)*
- *Petrus C. Bam (Cape Colony)*
- *William Baynes (Natal)*
- *Robert J. Beadel (Ceylon)*
- *Anthony Bell (Cape Colony)*
- *J. J. Beningfield (Natal)*
- *Robertson F. Bertram (Transvaal)*
- *C. Dimond H. Braine*
- *C.E., Lindsay W. Bristowe (Gold Coast Colony)*
- *J. H. Brown (Bahamas)*

- *Alfred T. Bryant (Straits Settlements)*
- *Robert E. Bush (Western Australia)*
- *Anthony M. Caccia (India)*
- *Allan Cameron (Transvaal)*
- *Emil Castens (Cape Colony)*
- *Harry Clayton (Transvaal)*
- *W. H. Dawson (Burma)*
- *H. Dietrich (Transvaal)*
- *Lord Percy S. Douglas (Western Australia)*
- *David Draper (Natal)*
- *Dr. A. E. Edwards, jun. (Antigua)*
- *Julian Evelyn (Barbados)*
- *J. Meadows Fisher (Transvaal)*
- *Donald W. Ferguson (Ceylon)*
- *E. Roney Forshow (British Guiana)*
- *Percival R. Frames (Cape Colony)*
- *Wm. Percy Fraser (Transvaal)*
- *J. C. Godley (Ceylon)*
- *Henry Hains (Transvaal)*
- *Albert H. Haider*
- *M.A.I.M.E. (Transvaal)*
- *Bendix Hallenstein (New Zealand)*
- *Frederick Harford*
- *M.L.C. (Grenada)*
- *J. McKenzie Henry (New Zealand)*
- *J. E. Hewick (British Guiana)*
- *Alfred W. Holt (New South Wales)*
- *Augustus W. Hood (British Honduras)*
- *Henry G. Humby*
- *M. Inst. C. E. (Transvaal)*
- *Edward M. Hutton*
- *M.A. (Gibraltar)*
- *H. R. Jacobsen (Jamaica)*
- *Leslie Jarvis (Antigua)*
- *Peyton Jones*
- *M. Inst. C. E. (Victoria)*
- *C. Dougald Kennedy (New Zealand)*
- *Major Louis F. Knollys*
- *C.M.G. (Ceylon)*
- *Jacob W. Lewis (Sierra Leone)*
- *W. H. Longden (Transvaal)*
- *Henry J. Low (Canada)*
- *R. D. McGibbon*
- *Q.C. (Canada)*
- *Thomas G. Macarthy (New Zealand)*
- *David G. Mantell (Ceylon)*
- *Peter H. Marais (Cape Colony)*
- *Wigram M. Maxwell (Cape Colony)*
- *Alexander Michie (New Zealand)*
- *Alfred H. Miles (New Zealand)*
- *Isaac Meyers (Trans-vaal)*
- *Edward M. Mort (New South Wales)*
- *William Newdigate (Cape Colony)*
- *William Nichol*
- *M.I.M.E. (Cape Colony)*
- *Dr. Percy A. Nightingale (Johore)*
- *Rt. Revd. Bishop Oluwole*
- *D.D. (Niger)*

- *Major E. Roderic Owen (Uganda)*
- *William Peter (Victoria)*
- *Louis Playford Transvaal)*
- *Hon Leslie Probyn (Attorney-General, British Honduras)*
- *Nathaniel Raphael (Transvaal)*
- *Sydney H. Heed (Victoria)*
- *Cornelis Rissik (Transvaal)*
- *M. B. Rochfort (British Guiana)*
- *Daniel J. Rousseau (Cape Colony)*
- *Colonel W. H. St. Hill*
- *M.H.A. Tasmania)*
- *Helperius B. Sauer(Transvaal)*
- *Henry J. Saunders*
- *A.M. Inst. C.E. (Western Australia)*
- *William J. Scott*
- *M.B. (Natal)*
- *Cecil E. Seaville (Capt Colony)*
- *R. Tennant Shields (Queensland)*
- *Dr. Robert M. Simpson (Canada)*
- *Charles Southey (Cape Colony)*
- *Frank F. Southwell*
- *C.E. (Cape Colony)*
- *Dr. Henry Symonds (Cape Colony)*
- *Richard Teece (New South Wales)*
- *Wm. Burns Thomson (Orange Free State)*
- *Dr. John T. Toll (South Australia)*
- *Prescott Upton (Natal)*
- *S. H. Van Diggelen*
- *J.P. (Transvaal)*
- *H. M. C. Walch (Tasmania)*
- *Giles F. Walker*
- *J.P. (Ceylon)*
- *Frank Watkins (Transvaal)*
- *C. A Scott Watson (South Australia)*
- *Rt. Revd. W. T. Thornhill Webber*
- *D.D. (Lord Bishop of Brisbane)*
- *John J. Weston (New South Wales)*
- *David Wilson (Victoria)*
- *James Winter (British Guiana)*
- *W. D. Wood (New Zealand)*
- *G.H. Cory Wright (West Indies).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN called upon the Right Hon, the EARL OF ONSLOW, G.C.M.G., to read his Paper on

## **State Socialism and Labour Government in Antipodean Britain.**

"What Lancashire thinks to-day England will think to-morrow" was a proud boast of the great manufacturing county, and thirty years ago it was a true one. But thirty years ago the English Parliament had not taken the "leap in the dark" which was to confer the franchise on those whom Mr. Lowe contemptuously called "the persons who live in these small houses," still less was it in contemplation that the toiler in the fields, the lodger, and the domestic servant should have electoral rights equal to those of the Manchester manufacturer.

Every extension of the franchise has brought about a corresponding change, and as each class has felt its predominance in the Legislature it has enacted laws to further its own interests. In 1867 the artisans obtained

the franchise, and in 1871 Trade Unions were legalised, the law of conspiracy was abolished, and the relations of the servant to the master put on a footing of equality,

The electoral privilege has now been so far extended as practically to constitute manhood suffrage.

At the present day we appear to be approaching a period of our history when the Labour interest, hitherto so little regarded by Parliament, will not only engross the major part of its time, but will command the direction of the policy of the State. In such a case the most interesting subject to which the statesman can apply his study are the aims and demands of those who have acquired such great political power. In this country as yet those aims and demands can hardly be said to have been clearly formulated. The representatives of Labour have indeed sought to shape current legislation for the advantage of labour, but they have not as yet exhibited any unanimity in their platform—even in the demand for shorter working hours.

We cannot affirm more at present than that the labourer wants in some manner to lead a brighter life and to increase the comforts of his home. No distinct scheme for the attainment of those objects has been put forward, certainly not by the labourer in the rural districts. Most heartily do I wish that it were so, for none is so uneasy as the man who only knows that he is wretched, but has no scheme for improving his position. All that those who lead the labourers have pointed to is the regulation of the conditions of labour by the State under the direction of a Parliament dominated by a Labour electorate. In the meanwhile we are witnessing on the part of statesmen of both parties in England the gradual abandonment of the doctrine of "laissez faire," the gradual recognition of the principle that, in addition to the accepted duty of the State to protect life and property, there is a further duty to make life endurable—even to make it happy.

The State no longer looks passively upon the struggle for existence, but endeavours to make existence possible under conditions less severe than those of constant struggle; as a New Zealand statesman put it, "We are commencing a struggle against the struggle for existence."

If, therefore, we desire to ascertain the policy, and to speculate on the future legislation of the new democracy in England, we must no longer look to the successors of Bright and Cobden, or hearken to the teachings of what is known as the Manchester School, to understand what is working in the minds of those who are now the masters of this country, but we must look to the best educated men who work with their hands, to those who having similar aims and ambitions are able to satisfy them without destroying ancient institutions to which people have become accustomed; institutions which are revered by many—even of those holding advanced views.

## **THE CONDITION OF THE COLONIAL WORKING MAN.**

Nor can we form reliable opinions of the policy of the working class under forms of government different from our own. But "*Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*" In Australasia, and specially in New Zealand, we have men, or the sons of men, who have but recently left our shores, living in a temperate climate, and governed by King, Lords, and Commons under a parliamentary and party system precisely similar to our own. In some of these Colonies, notably Victoria and New Zealand, education, which in England has been compulsory for seventeen years and free for only two, has been both free and compulsory for twenty years. Blood was shed in England forty-five years ago to win the six points of the People's Charter—Manhood Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote by Ballot, Abolition of Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, and Equal Electoral Districts. Substituting triennial for annual Parliaments, as demanded by the Chartists, we shall find that New Zealanders enjoy every one of the points of the Charter.

Therefore, it is to Australasia, and especially to New Zealand, that we must look for an example of the manner in which political power is wielded by the best-educated English worker under political and climatic conditions similar to, though more favourable than, those of the Mother Country.

A vast amount of information is available to the public among the documents respecting labour in foreign countries and our Colonies, collected by the Labour Commission, the services of whose staff will, it is to be feared, be lost to the country upon the conclusion of the labours of the Commission; but the admirable reports prepared and edited by Mr. Drage, the secretary, deal rather with labour troubles and the condition of labour than with the results of labour government. With the exception of Sir Charles Dilke's accurate work, "Problems of Greater Britain," published before the Labour party in New Zealand attained to their present power, there has, as Mr. Fairfield complains, been given to the public no complete account of important legislative acts adopted by the Colonies which are in advance of co-related Imperial Acts.

Not only do exceptionally favourable conditions exist in New Zealand, but the statesmen of that Colony have formed an exalted ideal of their duty. They think that, being possessed above other English-speaking communities of these conditions, they owe a debt to that great Empire of which they are proud to form a branch. They feel that it has fallen to their lot to make experiments in the direction in which the spirit of the age is everywhere tending.

## THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE ADOPTION OF STATE SOCIALISM IN NEW ZEALAND.

In referring to the views of the statesmen with whom I have been brought in contact in New Zealand I shall confine myself in the case of all now alive and engaged in political life to those expressions of opinion which have been made public, and are generally accessible; but I feel that I may refer rather more freely to the views expressed to me in private by those who are no longer engaged in party strife, and specially to the two able and conscientious statesmen who held the office of Prime Minister under the Crown while I was there. Those two men (Sir Harry Atkinson and Mr. Ballance) were of opposite parties and of opposite natures, but both were actuated by a deep-rooted feeling of patriotism to their Colony, of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of a determination to sacrifice their own wealth and their own lives in order to increase the well-being of their less-fortunate fellow-Colonists. Not only was Mr. Ballance, the leader of the Liberal party, a believer in State Socialism, but similar ideas actuated his political opponent, Sir Harry Atkinson, the leader of the less advanced party. Neither statesman looked forward to an immediate fulfilment of the prophecies of Mr. Bellamy: their Socialism was of the Fabian order, "advancing always but in spiral lines." It was founded on a conviction of the parity of administration of municipal and State institutions in the affairs hitherto conducted by individuals, and in the gradual shrinkage of the interest to be obtained on capital. Sir Harry Atkinson was a firm believer in the gradual assumption by the State and municipalities of all the institutions which minister to the every-day wants of the people. He believed that as a consequence the difficulty in the remunerative employment of capital would be an increasing one. He saw that 3 per cent. Consols had become  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. "Goschens," and expected the next generation to be acquainted with 2 per cent. "John Burns" if not with 1 per cent. "Sidney Webbs."

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, with the leaders of both parties in the State, convinced of the advantages of State Socialism, that we should be witnessing in New Zealand a series of experiments in that direction not to be found in any other part of the world.

Sir Robert Stout, once himself Prime Minister, and still undoubtedly the ablest man in the Liberal ranks, though he does not hold; the reins of office, in consequence of absence from Parliament when the Ministry was formed, says of the policy of the Government party:—

*"We have a noble opportunity. We stand in many ways in the front rank of nations, and for this reason, that we are not encumbered by privileges; we are not encumbered by prejudices; and we are therefore free to make experiments. I ask the House to make these experiments. I ask the House to believe that these experiments may be made. I ask the House to think that even if these experiments fail still it is our duty to make them."*

This desire was greatly increased by the results of the last election, adding as it did to the representatives of the people a number of men who were actually engaged in various handicrafts at the time of their election, and who came to the House imbued with a most conscientious desire to discharge their duty to constituents who had never before been in a sufficient majority to send men of their own class to represent them in Parliament.

## THE STRIKE OF 1890 AND THE ELECTION OF 1891.

The election of 1891 followed immediately on the great strike of 1890. That strike commenced with the Shearers' Union, whose members declined to work alongside of men who did not belong to any Union. The quarrel soon spread to the seamen, the Maritime Council, and the Trades and Labour Council, embracing almost every kind of labour. The fight did not, like the present lamentable dispute in the coal trade here, centre on a particular amount of money to be paid for a given amount of work, or time spent in working, but on the question whether men should work for employers who had combined, and whether employers should be allowed to employ men who had not combined.

Melbourne was without gas and enveloped in darkness for three days. Intercolonial shipping was stopped, for the labourers were afraid to work lest they should suffer violence at the hands of the Unionists. The remarkable spectacle was witnessed of the smart young merchants and clerks of Melbourne, begrimed with dirt, working in the holds, on the wharf, and at the donkey-engine.

It was pointed out in the Victorian Parliament that this doctrine of the "complete boycott," as it was called, carried to its logical conclusion would prevent the Unionist even from entering heaven, so long as any free men were also admitted there; while if he appeared at the gate of the other place the president would refuse him admission lest he should be calling out the stokers.

The mandate of the Unions was loyally obeyed at the cost of heavy suffering, not in the hope of higher wages, but from a sentiment which, however misguided, one could not help admiring—that of the bond of fellowship.

Upon one occasion I remember a ship was being loaded with manganese from a lighter. The lighter was

"Union," so some lumpers thought it no harm to earn a few shillings by loading at least a "Union" lighter. To their horror, however, shortly after commencing work a messenger arrived in hot haste to tell them that, though the lighter, the baskets, and the shovels were "Union," the man at the winch on board the ship hoisting up the manganese was "free," and they must at once desist from their work.

As anyone might have foreseen who reflected that out of 420,000 workmen in New South Wales alone only 40,000 were Unionists, after protracted suffering the strike collapsed by the final consent of the Unionists to work alongside of free labourers.

Certain members of the New Zealand Parliament, foreseeing how wide would be the breach between the parties at the forthcoming election, commenced at once to worship before the shrine of the Union. It was proposed by obstructing business to prevent the prorogation of Parliament until the strike should be settled; one member went so far as to send the following telegram to the Secretary of the Wharf Labourers' Union in his constituency:—

*"Sir George Grey and others think with me that we shall commit grave error to allow Parliament to terminate next week before strike terminates. But I dare not stone-wall without your direction. Kindly advise."*

## **THE BALLOT-BOX PREFERRED TO INDUSTRIAL WAR.**

The defeat sustained by the Labour party in the strike caused the leaders to see plainly that strikes are a mistake, and a waste of force and of resources; that the ballot-box gave them better opportunities of success than industrial warfare. The energy thus displayed was the result of new hopes inspiring a defeated but not dejected party; a party who learned that—

*"When you organise a strike, it is war you organise;  
But to organise our labour were the labour of the wise."*

Up to that time no election had been fought in New Zealand on strictly party lines as understood in this country, but the election of 1891 was distinctly a fight between the party of Labour and the party of Capital, and the Labour party won.

According to the analysis of one of its members the newly elected Parliament consisted of lawyers, merchants, farmers, and landowners, each ten; of six journalists, four Maories, two brewers, two mine agents, and two bootmakers; while each of the following classes had one representative: a major, a captain, a doctor, a pensioner, a shipping agent, a contractor, a builder, a painter, a tailor, a stonemason, a carpenter, and a lamplighter. There is on record a resolution of the Town Council of the borough represented by the lamplighter, which runs "that leave of absence be given to the borough turncock and lamplighter during the Session of Parliament, and that his son be accepted as his substitute." To these may be added four nondescripts included as "gentlemen." Even then there were only seven mechanics to 80,000 wage-earners in the Colony, while the 3,000 professional men were better represented than the 40,000 farmers.

Although among the new Ministry there was not to be found any who was at the time of the formation of the Government working for wages, several at an earlier period of life would have been described as working men. Not one of the Ministers belonged to the squatter or landowning class, or was among the larger employers of labour.

The Labour party was strong in the new House, and, with the exception of one or two free lances, chiefly men disappointed of place, accepted the new Liberalism and presented an undivided front to the Capitalist opposition.

## **LABOUR LEADERS IN NEW ZEALAND AND NEW SOUTH WALES.**

In New South Wales the influence of the Trade Unions at the election was not less marked. About thirty members were sent to the Legislature of that Colony at an extraordinary small expenditure of money. Though there was an abundance of candidates the discipline of the Labour party checked individual ambition. Nominations were unlimited, but the candidate was chosen by ballot, and the decision of the ballot scrupulously respected. Nowhere did Labour candidates run against each other.

Unlike their brethren of New Zealand they did not, however, choose a leader outside their ranks from among those possessing parliamentary experience, nor were they able to select one man from their own body. Under a divided leadership they endeavoured by holding themselves aloof from both parties to wield the balance of power. Coalitions between sections of the other parties in Parliament, however, foiled them in this attempt, and they have never succeeded in imposing their will upon any Government in New South Wales.

## THE NEW ZEALAND HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the New Zealand Upper House, as might be supposed, the new Ministry did not find a large following. The Prime Minister assured the Governor that in a House of thirty-four members he could rely on the support at all times of but four or five "peers."

In Colonial Upper Chambers it is the practice to vote, not in accordance with strict party proclivities, but in accordance with the duty of a nominated Upper House towards the decisions of the people's representatives. The result was that during the Session of 1892 the Minister who leads in the Upper House was supported in fifty-three divisions by an average of within a fraction of eight independent members, while the Governor reports to the Secretary of State that out of thirty-seven Government measures all were carried save two; that if the Government had been reinforced by the twelve new Councillors which the Governor had been advised but hesitated to appoint, they would have been victorious in every division save one; always supposing, of course, that the Government nominees supported the Government—an hypothesis which I shall presently show to have been somewhat prematurely assumed.

After a contest with the Governor, decided by the Secretary of State in favour of the Ministry, twelve "peers" selected from the party in power were added to the Legislative Council. Of these four were working men, two compositors, a storeman, and a boiler-maker. The story goes that when the telegram announcing His Excellency's appointment of the latter gentleman arrived the new Councillor was at work inside a boiler. At first he disbelieved the voice of the messenger announcing the delivery of so unusual a missive as a telegram, but on becoming convinced of its reality said, "Well, shove it through the hole at the top," and it was under such circumstances that he became aware that in future he would be entitled to the distinction of "Honourable" throughout the British Empire.

The reception of these gentlemen and their attitude after taking their seats is worthy of a moment's notice, as bearing on the influence which Second Chambers appear to exercise on the English mind, whether the recipient of a call thither be a Whig of the English squirearchy or a Trades Unionist of the New Zealand working men.

It was agreed by the older members of the Council that before the opening of Parliament certain of their body should assemble at the door to greet the newly elevated "peers," to make them welcome and acquaint them with the ins and outs of the building.

One of the oldest Councillors, Sir George Whitmore, elevated to his present position for the gallant manner in which he had led our troops to victory against the Maories, said on the opening day:—

*"We are here as members of the revising Chamber of the Parliament of New Zealand, and we none of us represent either classes or localities. Whatever we may do we must do it for the general good of the Colony, and I hope we shall not hear anything about 'Labour Members' of this Council."*

Parliament had been but little more than a month in Session before a Bill to take Public Parks out of the care of specially elected Boards and to hand them over to the ordinary Local Authority was introduced by the Government through the mouth of Sir Patrick Buckley, the Colonial Secretary, upon which Mr. Bolt, one of the newly created Labour "peers," rose to say that he would like in a few words to express his disapproval of the whole Bill, and on a division on the motion to go into Committee it was seen that the Council was equally divided, while three out of the four Labour Councillors were to be found in the Opposition lobby. Later, on the second reading of a Government measure involving the most important changes in the electorate, to admit a new class of voters almost equal in number to those already exercising the franchise, Mr. Jenkinson (the boiler maker) said:—

*"We were told that our duty was to come here and vote for the proposals of the Government, and that that was the only reason why we are here. Now what preposterous nonsense! We have voted against those measures which we did not think good measures and shall do so again, and we find that some intend to vote against this measure."*

Of the twelve persons appointed by the Government to the Legislative Council not less than half voted against this Ministerial proposal. So the Prime Minister of England is not the only Prime Minister who has found his measures opposed, and that very soon after favours conferred, by those to whom he has himself given the power to do so.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE.

As an illustration of how a democracy is apt to be led astray by a craving for equality I should like to call attention to the attitude assumed towards the Civil Service.

The salaries paid to officers of the Civil Service are markedly lower in New Zealand than in England,

though I doubt whether either in ability, in single-hearted desire to serve the State, or in loyalty to the political chief of the hour would they yield the palm to our own Civil Servants. Yet members of the Democratic party never ceased to attack the qualifications, the ability, and even the honour of these men upon every occasion when Parliament was tailed upon to vote their salaries.

The democracy seem only to have perceived the difference between the remuneration of the brain worker and of the hand worker. They appear to have been consumed with an envious desire to exchange the fustian for the black cloth coat, forgetting that if the State, is to discharge these new duties and to minister to the wants of the people the officers of the State must be the most competent that can be found, and must be maintained in such a position of; comfort as will place them above the constant and serious temptations which are the greatest danger to the successful development of State Socialism.

When the spirit of economy was abroad the first to whom the pruning-knife of retrenchment is applied are the servants of the State, from whose salaries 10 per cent, is knocked off all round by one stroke of the pen.

It is reported that a retrenching Minister was travelling in the Government lighthouse steamer to address a meeting of constituents fixed for a particular hour. He urged the captain, one of the oldest officers of the New Zealand Service, to accelerate the pace of the vessel, with the remark, "She doesn't seem to me to travel as fast as she used to." "No," replied the skipper, "I don't think she does, sir, since you took 10 per cent, off the *screw*."

## EXPERIMENTS IN STATE SOCIALISM.

The State in New Zealand has undertaken, in addition to such Unties as the Postal Service, many functions which are new to us, and some of which I will briefly describe.

English municipalities, recognising their duty in the direction of; promoting the health and cleanliness of the people, have for many years been entrusted with the supply of water for those purposes but in New Zealand the Government supplies water to enable workers to earn their living in the business of gold-mining.

Gold-mining, especially in the Antipodes, is connected in most men's minds with rapid accretion of fortunes at comparatively little trouble. Those days have passed away and the alluvial gold-mining in New Zealand yields to the careful and industrious miner who is fortunate enough to possess a claim, an average earning of 30s. a week—a rate of remuneration not higher than ordinary wages. Every particle of earth on a man's claim has to be carefully washed, so that the gold dust may be "panned" out of the soil. For this purpose it is necessary to have a copious supply of water at a high pressure. In privately owned mines dams are constructed, hose laid on, and tail-races to carry off the waste and debris washed away, are provided at an expenditure of capital wholly beyond the means of the working miner.

Here the State in New Zealand steps in. In 1877 the Government bought up the existing water rights at a place called Kumara and constructed a water-race from a reservoir at a high elevation at a cost of £37,367. To carry off the tailings it was necessary to construct a sludge channel in 1884 at a further cost of £17,000. At that date it was estimated that the profit on the undertaking for seven and a half years had been at the rate of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent, on the capital invested, but that, taking into consideration the amount received for gold duty and for miner's rights, with the estimated contribution of each miner to the general taxation, it was calculated the Government had received at the rate of £9,966 per annum, equal to 4? per cent, on the total outlay.

Last year the sales of water amounted to £6,645 and the expenses were £1,584, leaving a profit of £5,061: 172 men used the race, and produced £39,932 worth of gold.

Unfortunately constant alterations are required to the sludge channel, as it from time to time gets filled up at the outfall by the enormous quantity of debris coming down. These alterations are carried out by the miners on the spot, and are paid for by the Government, not in cash, but by subsidy, allowing to the miners a supply of water up to the amount of the subsidy after the channel has been constructed.

## THE LABOURER AND THE LAND.

Another of New Zealand's Socialistic experiments more easily carried out where large tracts of land belong to the State than hem is that of village settlements.

Acting on the doctrine that the State should not permanently alienate the public domain, the land is let for a lease in perpetuity, that is, for 999 years, at a rental equal to 4 per cent, on the value of the land. No rent is payable for the first two years. No man may have more than 100 acres, and his application is not entertained if it be shown that he possesses land elsewhere in the Colony. When he has built a house on his plot the Government advances him a sum not exceeding £20 on the security of it, and a further sum not exceeding £50 at the rate of £2 10s. an acre for the first 20 acres cleared and cropped. Upon these advances interest at the rate of 5 per cent, is charged. Married men are given a preference. In the province of Auckland the scheme was inaugurated at a time of great pressure from the unemployed, and it has been extensively tried. Although some

of the sections taken up have been abandoned, wherever the improvements have been effected and advances made, the Government have readily found other tenants to take them up, showing that the security for the outlay is sufficient. The Government further assist the village settlers by employing them as much as possible on road-making, and where it is found necessary to build schools for them (which under the Education Act is done wherever ten or more children are beyond the reach of an existing school) the settlers are employed upon the building.

I visited two of these settlements in similar circumstances and in the same district: one formed by a voluntary association of earnest industrious men under a capable leader, the other by a mixed band of unemployed—settlers rather from necessity than from choice—who met for the first time on the steamer that took them from the town to see the settlement. The latter were making a living indeed out of the settlement, but had expended much of the money advanced by Government at the nearest store on articles most of which they could quite well have grown themselves, and were clamouring to the Government to take them out of the "hole" they had brought them to. The voluntary association, on the other hand, appeared thoroughly contented. Under a spreading puriri tree they gave us a luncheon of bread, milk, cheese, honey, vegetables, and fruit, all grown on their own plots. A laughing crowd of children played round, and their only complaints were that the winter rain played havoc with the roads, while they had no chance to have their plots by purchase "for their very own," as the children say. Up to the present time 900 men in 85 settlements have availed themselves of the provisions of the Act, holding 22,677 acres, an average of 25 acres each man; £24,625 have been advanced; the total amount receivable for rent and interest has been £10,522, of which about £2,000 is in arrear; but the value of the land upon the security of which this advance has been made as improved by the settlers is estimated at £61,699.

The opinion which I formed was that in any case the State had good security for its advances, but that only careful selection both of the land and of the men, with a real desire on the part of the settlers to become small farmers, would ensure success.

To empower them to obtain their freeholds would no doubt bring with it a temptation to become encumbered by mortgage, but the power to sell or charge a long lease is not far removed from that of effecting a mortgage.

Associations of not less than twelve persons may take up land on the same terms in blocks of from 1,000 to 11,000 acres, provided there be not less than one selector for every 200 acres. I pointed out to General Booth that this land law appeared to be specially suited to the purposes of his Over-sea Colony, but consideration of distance and want of funds have hitherto deterred him from attempting it.

About sixteen years ago a large party of Scandinavians took up land on this system. Each family was allowed 40 acres. At the time the settlement was formed it was all dense bush, and there was no European within twenty miles, but the Government were constructing a road forty miles long to pierce the bush. The settlers were employed on this. Now the bush is cleared, the land laid down to pasture which will carry four sheep to the acre. All the original settlers save two are still in the settlement; those two cut up their farms to form what is now a flourishing township.

The establishment of State farms for the employment of elderly men who should live rent free on the property, and cultivate the land under co-operative contract, has been contemplated. As yet, however, the Government have not succeeded in combining circumstances of soil, access, &c., on any site sufficiently suitable for the purpose.

The Cabinet of new South Wales has set aside £20,000 for advances to village settlers under conditions similar to those in force in New Zealand.

New Zealand, notwithstanding the fertility of some of its soil and the extraordinary amount of produce exported in proportion to its: population, is rich only in patches. In the North Island there is one huge area all covered with the pumice and scoriae of volcanic eruptions, and another area still in the hands of the Maories; in the South Island are found range upon range of rocky snow-crowned mountains which so close in upon the sea in parts of the west and south of the island as to leave hardly any land available for cultivation.

## **RESUMPTION OF THE NATIONAL ESTATE.**

The present Government entertain very strongly the opinion that it huge mistake was made in the early days of the Colony when land was sold in large blocks at low rates with the view of expending the proceeds in opening up the Colony, and that the result has been, while increasing to an enormous extent the export of frozen mutton grown on the extensive pasture lands, to diminish the demand for agricultural labour and to restrict the amount of land available for the plough and "petite culture." In the words of Tennyson inspecting England before the coming of Arthur—

*"And so there grew great tracts of wilderness  
Wherein the beast was ever more and more,  
But man was less and less."*

The Labour party in imposing a progressive land tax made no secret of their hostility to large estates. The policy of this tax is usually known as the "bursting-up" policy, and the leader of the Labour party, the Minister for Labour, said:—"The graduated tax is a finger of warning held up to remind them that the Colony does not want these large estates. I think, whether partly or almost entirely unimproved, they are a social pest, an industrial obstacle, and a bar to progress." This is strong language, and was bitterly resented; but it no doubt embodied the views of the Labour party at the meeting of Parliament. Much has happened since to modify those expressions. It was found, for instance, that a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the Colony were shareholders in banks and financial institutions which are interested either by way of ownership or advances in these large estates. The advocates of land taxation wished to tax the unearned increment, and not the product of industry; it was consequently thought advisable to deduct from the value of all estates that of the improvements effected upon them.

I wonder whether rural landowners in England would not jump at the chance to exchange the income tax they now pay for a land tax based on the value of their land after deducting from it the value of all buildings, fences, hedges, ditches, gates, and acts of husbandry.

Moreover, there is a provision in the Taxation Act which I commend to distressed landowners who can find no market for their property, but are trembling lest the advancing wave of democracy sweep away the little that is left to them. Under that provision where an owner is dissatisfied with the valuation of the Land Tax Department, and puts in a declaration that his land is not worth the amount of the departmental valuation, he may call upon the Government to bring down the valuation to his figure, and if they decline to do so they must purchase the estate at the owner's valuation. It is recognised that to take land except for the public advantage would be tyrannical, while to give less than its value, at least as estimated by the owner, would constitute robbery.

This procedure was adopted by the owners of one of the largest estates, if not the largest, in the Colony—an estate which was coterminous with a whole county, possessed its own port for the shipment of produce, and had on it as handsome and well-appointed a country-house as you would find built within the same period in England. The total area of that estate was 85,861 acres. The Government valued it at £304,826, or £3 11s. 5d. per acre all round; while the owners valued it at but £260,220, or £3 0s. 11½d per acre all round. They asked for a reduction in value of £41,606, or that the Government should purchase it at the owners' valuation. This the Government decided to do, the purchasers accepting in payment Treasury Bills at 4½ per cent., with six months to run. After setting apart a sufficient area to be sold with the Mansion House this estate was divided into three parts, one-third to be sold by public auction, one-third to be leased in perpetuity, and one-third to be leased for grazing runs.

The independent valuations made and the general opinion seem to indicate that the Government have not made a bad bargain, while the owners, I happen to know, are congratulating themselves hugely on having disposed of the property.

There are now open for immediate settlement on this estate 20,000 acres of good agricultural land, a third of which is estimated to be worth £7 5s. an acre, and the remaining two-thirds worth £5 an acre; 0,000 acres are available for dairy purposes, and a large area for pasturage.

If, then, the Government can find the money without unduly saddling the Colony with additional debt, and will strictly hypothecate and earmark the proceeds of sales to the service of that particular debt, it would appear that the experiment in the resumption of the national estate is likely to be satisfactory both to the Government and to the landowners.

## **THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT.**

New Zealand was the first Colony to establish a Labour Department with a Minister at its head. In 1891 such a Department was created with 200 branches in various parts of the Colony to compile statistics and to control and direct the movements of labour. By its agency 2,974 persons were provided with employment in 1891, and 3,874 in 1892, about one-third being put to work which the Government had in hand.

It must not be forgotten that the Governments in the Colonies have one common advantage over us in England, inasmuch as: the railways are the property of the State, and although the Labour Department is strictly debited with the exact cost of transport of each man to find work, it is but robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Labour bureaux have also been established in New South Wales and Victoria. In the former Colony, although the Government made it quite clear that no relief works would be provided in connection with it, the bureau appears to have been successful. Despite the opposition of those who wished to have it conducted solely on Unionist lines, 11,000 men found employment through it before last July.

In Victoria, on the other hand, relief works were organised in connection with the bureau on a large scale, including a habitation for the Melbourne City Council and a railway which it was not pretended would ever pay its working expenses; yet in March of this year from 6,000 to 7,000 men were on the books waiting for work, many of them willing to accept it at the lowest possible wage. In May the bureau was done away with, having become a magnet to draw all unemployed labour to the capital—a danger which New Zealand by the establishment of numerous branches seems to have escaped.

## **CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR ON PUBLIC WORKS.**

Impressed by the abuses shown to exist in England by contractors who sweat their workers, the Government of New Zealand have in the execution of public works dispensed with the contractor, and entrusted the carrying out of work to gangs of men under a system which is not altogether new to many private employers. The Government Engineer lays out the work and fixes the price to be paid, based on the amount of wages. The men then form themselves into gangs, in which it is alleged that the strong men join with the strong, while the weak unite with the weak, so that, although the latter may be longer in getting through their task, they are now excluded altogether from obtaining employment. The arbitration of the Engineer takes the place of the higgling of the market. Cow petition is altogether eliminated, and it is, of course, a question whether the State, thus depending entirely on the Government Agent's valuation, is getting its work done as cheaply as it might.

## **NOT RELIEF WORKS.**

It should be clearly understood that these are not relief work in the ordinary sense of the term, but are works which would have under any circumstances to be carried out by the State, and are not undertaken for the purpose of creating work.

Moreover, when we consider what enormous sums of borrowed money have been spent in New Zealand on public works, it is not a little to the credit of a Government which depend for their support on the Labour vote that they should now for five years have abstained from borrowing in England. The expenditure of such money on the employment of labour would have increased the popularity of the Government, but at the expense of sound finance and of the credit of the Colony.

## **THE PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE.**

The Government have power to act as trustee for any person who chooses to put his estate in the hands of the Public Trustee. The Public Trust Office has now been over twenty years in existence. All private individuals and every executor or trustee, as well as corporations and friendly societies, may vest property in the Public Trustee for such purpose as he may by the trust deed appoint. The Public Trustee, however, declines to be associated in a trust with any other person, and only accepts trusteeship subject to the approval of a specially constituted Board of Advice.

## **The State Railways.**

The railways in all the Australasian Colonies have with few exceptions been constructed by the State. This experiment, if such it can still be called, has not been found to be entirely satisfactory. Many lines have been constructed without reasonable prospect of remunerative return to satisfy localities and to secure to the Government the support of their representatives.

The advocates of State Socialism may seek to justify this policy on the ground that facilities for locomotion should be provided for the community by the community, and that if it be desirable that collections and deliveries of letters should take place even where not remunerative, so it is desirable that every man should have reasonable facilities for railway travel.

In Victoria it was found that the pressure of constituencies on Members, and of Members on Ministers, made it impossible to conduct the administration of the railways in an economical banner, and strictly upon commercial principles. A Board of Commissioners, independent of direct Parliamentary control, was therefore appointed in that Colony; and the example of Victoria has been followed by her sister Colonies.

In New South Wales and New Zealand a disposition has been shown to revert to the State administration previously in existence, and a Commission was appointed in the former Colony to inquire into the

administration of the Commission in New South Wales.

The result of this Commission has been to show that the railways were far more economically administered under the Commissioners; that the charges of "sweating" labour were entirely groundless; and that while no man was paid a lower wage than seven shillings a day, the greater number received wages varying from seven-and-sixpence to eight shillings a day.

In Victoria, on the other hand, a disastrous state of affairs has been disclosed. The difference between the Budget estimate and the facts was ascertained to be something like a million and three-quarters, largely on railway account, and the system of direct political control has been reverted to in that Colony.

While in New Zealand the Ministry have proposed to Parliament that the Minister should himself be one of four Commissioners, with a second vote in case of equality, so that the Minister and one Commissioner would formulate the policy that should govern the State railways. This proposal has, however, been rejected by the Upper House, and the powers of the Railways Commissioners will now lapse in February next.

## **THE EIGHT-HOURS DAY.**

As is well known there is no legislation in any of the Australian Colonies limiting the hours of adult male labour generally, but it is an accepted custom, and perhaps the most stringent rule of all trade unions, that eight hours constitute a working day.

There are laws not dissimilar to our own limiting the hours of female and child labour in factories and elsewhere. A factory in New Zealand, it may be noted, is any place where three or more persons are employed, and a supply of drinking water must be provided. There are regulations as to the minimum space of cubic air to each worker, and in large factories a place outside the work room must be found for women's meals.

In the mining industry persons in charge of steam machinery are prohibited from working more than eight hours, exclusive of the time necessary for raising and exhausting steam.

## **Shop Hours.**

The employment of assistants in shops has been regulated by insisting on one half-holiday in the week, a limit to the working hours of women and persons under eighteen to forty-eight hours a week. Proper sitting accommodation must be provided for females.

The inspectors of factories who administer this Act report that in the towns (especially in the provincial capitals of the South Island) employers have held public meetings to settle the half-holiday at which "they not only attempted to meet the Act in a generous manner but they showed an enthusiasm which was of a most unselfish character." To fix the day for the half-holiday caused no little friction between town and country, and between city and suburbs, but almost everywhere the expressed wish of the majority was accepted. In a few places difficulty was experienced owing to the owners of shops where no assistants are employed being kept open to catch the business of the closed establishments, forcing the proprietors of the latter to reopen against their more generous instincts. In these cases the Act has been met by letting one assistant off duty on one day and another on some other day. A proposal to make Saturday a general and compulsory half-holiday throughout the Colony has been rejected by Parliament.

## **THE INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.**

The Government Insurance Department in New Zealand has been established close on a quarter of a century. At the time of its establishment Sir Julius Vogel quoted a petition to the Imperial Parliament alleging that out of 400 insurance companies established up to that time in Great Britain only 120 had survived. He reminded his hearers of failures such as the European, the London and Westminster, the French Credit Viager, and the Mutual Trust of New York, involving terrible losses to shareholders and policyholders. An attempt to put the business under a board partly elected by the policy-holders was after trial rejected, and it is managed exclusively by Government officials.

The Department is prohibited from advancing money on mortgage up to more than one-half the value of any property, and not more than a moiety of its funds may be so employed; the remainder may only be invested on the loans of the Government or of local authorities constituted by Act of Parliament. Yet the rate of interest earned is £5 8s. 11d. per cent.

The Department does no business outside the Colony, profiting thereby from the exceptionally low death-rate, 11.71, as against 18.9 in England. Some seven and a half millions are assured to its policy-holders, of whom there are 28,000.

Two enterprising American and four Australian offices doing large business compete with the Government, but it seems probable that the advantage possessed by the Department of offering the guarantee of the State will

ultimately beat its competitors out of the field. In 1880 it was determined to divide the profits, then amounting to £78,000, among the policy-holders in the shape of reversionary bonuses. Upon each successive quinquennial valuation a similar bonus has been distributed.

Not only are the Postal and Telegraph Services, as in England, in the hands of the Government, but the telephones in every town are also under Government control.

## **CABLE COMMUNICATION.**

No attempt has as yet been made to lay a Government cable, though it has more than once been suggested that such should be undertaken between New Zealand and Australia.

I heartily wish that a supply of news of real importance to the Colonies and England could be undertaken by the State. As matters stand in the competition for business between the papers, the population is often fired with indignation against the Mother Country by information sent without the necessary qualification for the sake of brevity or despatched without waiting for investigation in order to secure priority. Ludicrous mistakes arise from mixing up several items of news; as, for instance, when the Colony was informed that I had written a despatch to the Secretary of State to the effect that New Zealand would not consent to join in the Federation with Australia because the Farmers' Alliance urged its members to hold wheat for better prices in Australia. Or on the occasion of a political speech referring to Mr. Parnell, made on the day that Veracity, Tyrone, and Lobster finished in the order named for the Lincolnshire Handicap, when the public were informed that an eminent statesman had declared the Irish leader to have all the voracity of a Tyrone lobster.

## **EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.**

The Employers' Liability Acts have practically but not entirely abolished the doctrine of common employment. In other respects the law is similar to that proposed by the Bill now before Parliament, save that a contractor is liable for injuries sustained by the employe of a sub-contractor. The Government assume the same liability for their workmen as that of any other employer.

Workmen first and contractors after have a lien taking precedence of all other mortgages or charges on land and chattels for work done by them.

## **REGISTRATION OFFICES.**

All servants' registry offices are licensed, and the registers kept therein are open to public inspection; while the particulars of information to be supplied to persons seeking employment, with the fees charged, are regulated by the Local Authority.

## **A LABOUR BILL "POUR RIRE."**

It may be supposed that legislation of this sort did not pass through Parliament without considerable opposition, specially from the adherents of the policy of "laissez faire" and the opponents of grandmotherly legislation. One member went so far as to introduce a Bill which was a not unamusing skit on the extension of Government inspection and control over private enterprise. It was entitled "The Washers and Manglers Act 1892."

"Mangier" was defined as any female who undertakes the violent compression of any wash between rollers, and a "washerwoman" as a female who undertakes the washing of a wash.

Every washerwoman was to be licensed, such licence only to be given subject to a certificate of character from four Justices of the Peace and one policeman, the licence to be painted on her place of business in Roman letters two feet deep. All washes were to be marked or branded with marks registered by the owner with the Registrar of Stock brands. Lists of wash were to be open to public inspection and to be deposited with the Minister, the Auditor-General, and the Resident Magistrate. In the event of the wash returned not being in accordance with the list, the Auditor-General was to report to the Minister, who was to arbitrate between the parties.

## **WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

But by far the most interesting experiment yet attempted in any community under the Crown is about to be tried in New Zealand.

If the extension of the franchise in England was for one party a leap in the dark, the extension of the franchise to women for both parties in New Zealand is a purely problematical experiment. Few dare

foreshadow the result of the election to be held next month. All that we know is that the electorate is now nearly doubled.

Will women be able to exercise their newly acquired privilege, or does the cradle indeed lie across the door of the polling booth?

Will the ladies with the long hair and gentle faces vote as well as those with the short hair and the hard faces?

Will the men be allowed to prolong the hardships of industrial strife, or will the new electors compel resort to a tribunal of arbitration?

Will the temptation to spend the weekly wages afforded by the glare of the public-house be any longer allowed to tempt the homecoming workmen?

Will the Bible continue, rigidly banished from the public elementary schools?

Will they pursue any policy with fixity of purpose, or is the saying a true one that between a woman's "Yes" and her "No" you may insert the point of a needle?

Lastly, when the married man can count on the votes of his wife and adult children in addition to his own, will the political influence of the single loafer, here to-day but gone to-morrow, without any permanent stake in the country, be of the value that it is now?

I have now given you a review of the rise of the Labour party in New Zealand, of the manner in which it has attained to power in Parliament, and of the legislative and administrative acts of a Government dominated by the votes of the working classes. I have shown reasons which have given power and influence to that party in New Zealand, while in New South Wales it has failed to secure a hold upon the majority in Parliament.

The result has been a rapid development of State Socialism, a Socialism which has been inaugurated, not, as in bureaucratic Governments on the European continent, for the purposes of administration, but by the people themselves to satisfy their own wants.

## **THE STATE AND THE MAN.**

The State in New Zealand watches over the child at its birth, enforces education and protects it in adolescence from labour which would overtax its strength, assists to and in some cases supplies work for the labourer, or provides land for his cultivation, cooperates with charity in providing for the deserving and aged poor, enables the thrifty to secure provision for their families at death, and after death undertakes the administration of their property.

## **PROTECTION AND LABOUR.**

The Labour party is withal strongly imbued with the spirit of protection. Not only does the workman consent that taxation shall be raised through every article which he buys from abroad, in order to exclude competition by less highly paid labour elsewhere, but he checks at every point the introduction of workmen from home or foreign lands, and seeks to give further protection to his labour within the Colony itself by excluding from employment all who are not members of his trade union.

It has been said that the policy of protection has brought down the fabric of Australian finance. But if that be so, how can we account for the fact that New Zealand, which is as firm a supporter of protection as any Australian Colony, has ceased from borrowing and shows each year increasing Budget surpluses?

That New Zealand should be not only the pioneer Colony in these experiments in State Socialism, but that her financial position should at the same time be in a sound condition, is the most interesting feature in the whole question. Were her condition that of the Colonies on the continent of Australia it would be easy to attribute it to unsound political economy; but New Zealand has passed through a financial crisis not less acute than that which brought ruin and dismay to depositors and shareholders in Australian commercial institutions.

What is known as the Public Works policy inaugurated by Sir Julius Vogel involved the borrowing of huge sums of money to be expended on works of public utility, which it was believed would attract a large influx of immigration and considerable sums of capital for the settlement and development of the country. Had Sir Julius been a dictator or able to expend that money with a single eye to remunerative investment, whether in the shape of traffic returns or in revenue from an increasing number of taxpayers, all would have been well; but he had to consult the wishes of every locality whether the work desired there was likely to be remunerative or not, lest he should lose the support of its representative and his majority in Parliament.

The consequence was that not only did the "New Bridge-over-Gum-Tree-Creek" policy become the leading plank of a candidate's platform, but coalitions were entered into by members to vote for works in one locality on condition that the representatives of that locality supported expenditure in the constituencies of their allies.

The expenditure from the borrowed money produced an inflation of values. Banks made advances on

absurdly high valuations; workmen flocked into New Zealand to share the employment; but as soon as that employment ceased they left the Colony to seek work elsewhere, giving rise to an alarm that New Zealand was witnessing a general exodus of her population. Some financial institutions gave way under the strain, others by reorganisation placed their affairs on a sounder basis, and the Colony settled down to a steady development of its agricultural and pastoral resources.

## **THE LESSON TO BE LEARNT FROM NEW ZEALAND.**

It remains for us to consider how far the experience of New Zealand may be taken advantage of by those who desire to see an extension of State control over the individual in England.

In Australasia the learned professions are bound by no close corporation. Subject to a standard of efficiency, the professional ranks are open to all. Hence there are no interests to be conciliated in considering measures to facilitate the transfer of land or the endowment of education. Institutions such as State insurance and State trusteeships conflict but little with rival interests.

But without protection an eight-hours day would not be possible or possible only on condition that Australasia should confine her industry to agriculture, abandoning all attempt to manufacture for the wants of her people. Protection enables her to devote her exclusive attention to her own markets, and to eliminate all consideration for those neutral markets which are the bread of life to English trade.

The result has been a rapid development of State Socialism, a Socialism which has been inaugurated, not, as in bureaucratic Governments on the European continent, for the purposes of administration, but by the people themselves to satisfy their own wants,

## **THE STATE AND THE MAN.**

The State in New Zealand watches over the child at its birth, enforces education and protects it in adolescence from labour which would overtax its strength, assists to and in some cases supplies work for the labourer, or provides land for his cultivation, cooperates with charity in providing for the deserving and aged poor, enables the thrifty to secure provision for their families at death, and after death undertakes the administration of their property.

## **PROTECTION AND LABOUR.**

The Labour party is withal strongly imbued with the spirit of protection. Not only does the workman consent that taxation shall be raised through every article which he buys from abroad, in order to exclude competition by less highly paid labour elsewhere, but he checks at every point the introduction of workmen from home or foreign lands, and seeks to give further protection to his labour within the Colony itself by excluding from employment all who are not members of his trade union.

It has been said that the policy of protection has brought down the fabric of Australian finance. But if that be so, how can we account for the fact that New Zealand, which is as firm a supporter of protection as any Australian Colony, has ceased from borrowing and shows each year increasing Budget surpluses?

That New Zealand should be not only the pioneer Colony in these experiments in State Socialism, but that her financial position should at the same time be in a sound condition, is the most interesting feature in the whole question. Were her condition that of the Colonies on the continent of Australia it would be easy to attribute it to unsound political economy; but New Zealand has passed through a financial crisis not less acute than that which brought ruin and dismay to depositors and shareholders in Australian commercial institutions.

What is known as the Public Works policy inaugurated by Sir Julius Vogel involved the borrowing of huge sums of money to be expended on works of public utility, which it was believed would attract a large influx of immigration and considerable sums of capital for the settlement and development of the country. Had Sir Julius been a dictator or able to expend that money with a single eye to remunerative investment, whether in the shape of traffic returns or in revenue from an increasing number of taxpayers, all would have been well; but he had to consult the wishes of every locality whether the work desired there was likely to be remunerative or not, lest he should lose the support of its representative and his majority in Parliament.

The consequence was that not only did the "New Bridge-over-Gum-Tree-Creek" policy become the leading plank of a candidate's platform, but coalitions were entered into by members to vote for works in one locality on condition that the representatives of that locality supported expenditure in the constituencies of their allies.

The expenditure from the borrowed money produced an inflation of values. Banks made advances on absurdly high valuations; workmen flocked into New Zealand to share the employment; but as soon as that employment ceased they left the Colony to seek work elsewhere, giving rise to an alarm that New Zealand was witnessing a general exodus of her population. Some financial institutions gave way under the strain, others by

reorganisation placed their affairs on a sounder basis, and the Colony settled down to a steady development of its agricultural and pastoral resources.

## **THE LESSON TO BE LEARNT FROM NEW ZEALAND.**

It remains for us to consider how far the experience of New Zealand may be taken advantage of by those who desire to see an extension of State control over the individual in England.

In Australasia the learned professions are bound by no close corporation. Subject to a standard of efficiency, the professional ranks are open to all. Hence there are no interests to be conciliated in considering measures to facilitate the transfer of land or the endowment of education. Institutions such as State insurance and State trusteeships conflict but little with rival interests.

But without protection an eight-hours day would not be possible or possible only on condition that Australasia should confine her industry to agriculture, abandoning all attempt to manufacture for the wants of her people. Protection enables her to devote her exclusive attention to her own markets, and to eliminate all consideration for those neutral markets which are the bread of life to English trade.

This is not the place to enter into the question whether it is better for the workman to enjoy high wages and dear imports, or low wages and cheap imports; but it is certain that the Australian would not sanction a general protective tariff were it not that within his borders he produces enough food to supply his own wants.

The sentiment which has a strong hold on the minds of English-men accustomed to boast of their liberty as compared with the political tyranny of European Governments, that this country should not refuse an asylum to the wretched and the persecuted of other nations, finds no favour across the seas. The patriotism of the Australian is very near akin to selfishness. The Russian Jew may be an object of pity at a distance of 12,000 miles, but as a tailor at a low remuneration for a week of 72 hours in Melbourne he is an object of jealous hatred.

The pictures of torture inflicted by the Chinese mandarins raise a thrill of horror, but to take goods from a Chinese shop and insolently to refuse payment or to sling a Chinaman out of his own house is a sport regarded with less aversion by the Colonial larrikin than was bull-baiting or cock-fighting by our ancestors. Even the British workman from home is warned in every possible way not to invade the territory of his Australian brother.

## **FREE TRADE OR SOCIALISM.**

The English labourer must therefore seriously consider how far he is prepared to embark upon a policy of protection, both for labour and for the produce of labour, if he wishes to start State Socialism on equal terms with his Colonial brother; while the consumers of all classes will have to reflect whether they are prepared that everything shall be raised in price in order that the wages of the producer may attain to the standard which he expects.

The State in our Colonies has an enormous advantage over the Mother Country in that it is the fortunate possessor of large areas of fertile but unreclaimed soil. Though the work be hard and uncongenial, a complete answer to the able unemployed is "Go out and subdue the wilderness." Unfortunately all the unemployed are not able, and it is in the interest of these that I look with great hope on the co-operative system of public works. That system is no more in accordance with the doctrine of those Socialists who maintain that the strong man should earn no more than the weak than it is with those Trades Unionists who maintain that no man should earn anything unless he conforms to the rules of a close guild. That is not Socialism but selfishness. The principle of New Zealand State co-operation is that the strong acting with the strong shall earn a full wage, and that the weak shall earn enough to maintain subsistence, but both shall be given work only where that work would have to be done under any circumstances. As Carlyle says, "there must be a chivalry of work as there was a chivalry of fighting war."

The bitter lesson of the public works policy has brought home to New Zealanders of all classes that truth which we find it so difficult to impress in England—that public works undertaken to employ labour or to catch votes, unless they are necessary and are likely to be remunerative, must ultimately ruin the undertakers.

It is too early to judge whether these experiments are producing a better and a nobler type of men and women. We must judge of them by their general tendency, not by the accidental success of any one or more.

## **TWO RESULTS OF LABOUR GOVERNMENT.**

But we may observe two interesting results arising out of the triumph of the Labour party. First, that Labour leaders once entrusted with power and called upon to govern become imbued with the responsibilities of their position. Where previous experiments have resulted in failure they can stoutly resist the demands of the

workers—such as the establishment of State charity in the guise of work on unprofitable undertakings, or proposals to start State banks with a paper currency. Secondly, that members of a revising Chamber, drawn from the ranks of whatever party, will resist measures when they believe them to be not the deliberate will of the people, but merely brought forward to purchase political support.

The example of New Zealand shows us that the mere performance by the State of undertakings hitherto performed only by individuals or associations of individuals need cause neither private wrong nor public loss, so long as sound commercial principles are observed and full compensation given for injury.

Schaeffle tells us that the Alpha and Omega of Socialism is to substitute united collective capital for private competing capital. Until, therefore, State Socialism becomes universal, no part of the world can adopt it except on condition of shutting out the competition of the rest of the world. The whole Labour question lies in the best manner of adjusting the relations between the price of labour and the price of commodities. In England free trade has brought the price of commodities to the lowest values of the world. In New Zealand protection has raised the price of labour to the highest standard in the world. If England wishes now to adopt State Socialism, the battle between the producer and the consumer must be fought over again.

It appears to me that we must frankly look this difficulty in the face, and consider whether we shall barter our cheap food and cheap raw material for a high rate of wages.

## ENGLAND'S DANGER.

For myself I earnestly hope that our system of party government may not lead us into a career likely to endanger our commercial supremacy; that in striving for political support we shall not play upon the impracticable dreams of the ignorant by promising them some greater boon than has been promised by others. No party wishes to stand still in the path of legislation; and though both parties in a State may claim the desire to progress, one will be the party of slow, the other of precipitate progress. I believe precipitancy to be foreign to the steady persistence of the English character, and that the former party would lose its *raison d'être* were it to be constantly striving to "go one better" than the party of progress.

It seems to me that in the effort to promote the well-being of the people we should not adopt new departures in policy merely in imitation of countries existing under conditions different from our own, but that we should carefully watch those experiments and adopt them only where we are satisfied, not only that they have proved successful, but that they will not prejudicially affect our commercial position and the economic advantages which we at present possess.

## DISCUSSION.

Mr. J. F. HOGAN, M.P.: In perusing Lord Onslow's very interesting and informing Paper I marked two or three passages in relation to which I thought I might possibly be able to add a few supplementary observations based on my own personal knowledge and experience of the Labour movement in the Colony of Victoria. During the years that I was connected with the *Melbourne Argus* I was brought a good deal into contact with the organised labour associations of that city, where, as you are probably aware, the trades are more highly and extensively organised than in any other city on the face of the earth. The Melbourne Trades Hall is a large and imposing pile of buildings situated in the heart of the metropolis, and erected on land that was a free gift for the purpose from the Government of the Colony. The associated trades to the number of nearly a hundred have each their prescribed night of meeting in this commodious structure, and on every Friday evening there is a meeting of the Trades Hall Council or governing body of the whole institution, a sort of Labour Parliament composed of elected delegates from each and all of the associated trades. I have been present at a good many meetings of this Labour Parliament, and I have been particularly struck by the short-sighted policy, the unenlightened selfishness, of the vast majority of these working-men delegates in doing all they possibly could to prevent and discourage immigration from the Mother Country or any other country. Lord Onslow says that the New Zealand working man "checks at every point the introduction of workmen from home." I can say the same of the Victorian working man from personal knowledge and observation. In point of fact the statement is true of the working classes in all our Australasian Colonies, and the pressure they have been able to bring to bear on the various Legislatures has been so irresistible that now there is practically no recognised system of immigration between the Mother Country and the Australasian Colonies. This I hold to be, and have long considered, a most regrettable, unprogressive, and almost suicidal state of things. It is the exact reversal of the sagacious, enlightened, and states-I manlike policy that has built up the United States into one of the [greatest, most intelligent, and most prosperous English-speaking communities on the face of the globe. If Australia is to be opened up and profitably developed as America has been, it can only be done by imitating the wise example of the Americans and welcoming, not barring out, the plenteous supply of good, colonising material that can

find no scope or outlet for its energies in the overerowed motherland. As a distinguished Imperial statesman of half-a century ago, Charles Buller, very pertinently inquired in the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons, "When I ask you to colonise, what do I ask you to do but to carry the superfluity of one part of our country to repair the deficiency of the other, to cultivate the desert by applying to it the means that lie idle here, to convey the plough to the field, the workman to his work, the hungry to his food?" By obstinately persisting in an anti-immigration policy, and by terrorising the Australian Legislatures into the adoption of that policy, the Colonial working men have for years been pursuing, not only an unpatriotic, but also a most unwise line of conduct, even when viewed from the standpoint of their own material interests. They set their heel upon immigration because they fancied that any considerable influx of possible competitors from the Mother Country would interfere with the fictitiously high standard of wages that prevailed in Melbourne and the other principal Colonial centres before the late financial catastrophe. Now that wages have come down to their normal and legitimate level, the working men of Australia are beginning to realise that it would have been better after all if they had promoted and encouraged the development of their continent on the successful lines adopted by the Americans. They see that their dog-in-the-manger policy—neither opening up the country themselves nor allowing others to do it—has recoiled on its authors, and brought grievous and wholly unsuspected results in its train. It is notorious that one of the principal causes of the late lamentable financial crisis was the comparative paucity of population, commercial enterprise far outstripping the growth of the people, with the result that there were banks enough for a population of forty millions, with only four millions to keep them going. I do hope and believe that the Australian Colonies will learn at least one great lesson from then recent financial misfortunes, and revert to their old sound and successful policy of helping and encouraging immigration to their shores. Instead of cutting down the schemes and weakening the staffs of their Agents-General in London—surely a penny-wise-and-pound-foolish policy—let them rather strengthen the hands of their English ambassadors in this direction. My hon. friend, Sir Saul Samuel, who has so long and so ably represented the parent Australian Colony in London, has in former years done splendid Imperial service in this respect, and I feel confident he only awaits the authorisation of his Government to resume and continue the good work. The other Agents-General, I have no doubt, are animated by the same sentiments. Indeed, I cannot conceive a more useful and congenial office than an Agent-General could discharge than that of organising and despatching periodical batches of healthy, hopeful, sturdy, industrious, and desirable recruits to the Colony he represents. The future of the Labour movement, both in the Colonies and the Mother Country, is unquestionably a deeply interesting subject of speculation. Few of us will be disposed to deny that the claims and requirements of labour have not hitherto received that measure of attention and satisfaction from the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments which they have a right to expect, and most of us would be very happy to assist in the adoption of remedial legislation on the broad lines indicated by the more thoughtful and sagacious leaders of the Labour party. But it is devoutly to be wished that the legitimate aims and objects of the Labour party will be pursued in the future by less wild, reckless, and undisciplined methods of action than have occasionally been conspicuous in recent years. The Parliamentary suffrage is now so general both at home and in the Colonies that the working classes, as they are conventionally called, can, by uniting their forces and organising their collective strength, practically secure any and every legitimate reform they may desire in the regular and ordinary course of constitutional procedure. Lord Onslow has referred to the recent adoption of female suffrage in New Zealand as "the most interesting experiment yet attempted in any community under the Crown." Personally I do not believe that female suffrage is destined to become a permanent institution in New Zealand. Five thousand faddists diligently and unceasingly promoting their fad will triumph eventually, but only temporarily, against fifty thousand opponents who do not trouble themselves in the matter. With the opposition it is a case of everybody's business being nobody's, and so the persistent and aggressive little army of faddists conquer for the moment. But the result of the experiment, I have not the slightest doubt, will be the early repeal of the Female Suffrage Act in New Zealand. The vast majority of Colonial ladies know and recognise that they will derive no added charms from coming down into the rough-and-tumble, noisy, and dusty arena of party politics. We have, I think, to thank Lord Onslow for a very interesting and suggestive Paper, and to express the hope that other representatives of Her Majesty may follow his example and give us the benefit of their impressions and experiences when they return from the Colonies.

Mr. MATTHEW MACFIE: We owe it to the wisdom of the Council of this Institute, and to the courage and skill of the reader of the Paper, that we have deviated to-night from the course which has generally been prescribed for us on previous occasions, and that not altogether to the disadvantage of ourselves or of the Colonies that have been referred to. We have had most valuable Papers in the past bearing on the history, resources, and prospects, the flora and fauna, and the geography of these Colonies, and by way of variation we have listened to interesting discourses on Imperial Federation and to accounts of personal adventure in different parts of Her Majesty's dominions. But it seems to me that to-night we have made an interesting departure, and one that, I think, with benefit perhaps to all concerned might have been made at an earlier period. We have

touched a vital point with regard to the future progress of the Australian Colonies. With reference to the general question of State Socialism and labour government, I am bound to say that Lord Onslow has so skilfully navigated his ship between Scylla and Charybdis, between absolute condemnation of the system and unqualified praise, that it would be extremely difficult for any body but an expert reading between the lines to know precisely the private views of his Lordship on the question. In this respect I admire his prudence, because so far, at all events, the meeting has succeeded in preserving its equanimity, and I have not the least doubt we shall all be able to look forward to the happy prospect of retiring peacefully from this room without feeling any disturbance of the electrical conditions of the atmosphere. At the same time the reader of history cannot for one moment be surprised at anything that is occurring in these Colonies in the State Socialistic direction. In point of fact, one of the greatest absurdities is for an individual to look to any particular form of government or administration as a universal and an infallible panacea for the ills, social and political, of those who are governed. It is simply preposterous to suppose in the first instance that we can transfer bodily the governing apparatus of the old country to any of the Colonies, and make the garment which was worn by the parent suit the child, and the principle applies *vice versa*. In point of fact, as Mackintosh says, "Constitutions are not made, but grow. They are not constructed by the plumb-line or the foot-rule; they are more in the nature of an organism which adapts itself to the requirements and specific circumstances of the country governed, and I see nothing surprising in new countries, particularly those coming from the Anglo-Saxon stock, adopting those particular methods expounded to-night. What is all history, from the time of Greece downwards, but a record of the swinging of the pendulum from one extreme to another? We have in the time of Pericles a successful and almost brilliant republic, and the republic dies under the influence of Philip of Macedon, and in Roman history you have analogous incidents of oligarchical domination in one period and democratic domination in another. It is simply a law of nature on the principle taught to us in our school days; the action and reaction in natural philosophy are equal and contrary. We must not forget that now, in our day, we have no cause to complain that we have not freedom at home. We must remember, however, that at the founding of America, and in the early part of the development of the Australian Colonies, England was not so pleasant to live in as it is now. Liberty of speech and of opinion which we enjoy were by no means so universal, and it was not to be expected that emigrants could go in those days, at all events, with that happy confidence in the *régime* they had left behind, or that they would imitate it to the letter in the land of their adoption. The consequence is that, like children who are beginning to feel their feet, they tumble, and to a man of culture going out there, and a man not ignorant altogether of political history, it is one of the most trying circumstances of life to witness the insufferable management which goes on in the Parliament and general administration of those Colonies. In point of fact, by way of parody of the Darwinian maxim, I have heard government in some of the Australian Colonies represented as "government by the unfittest." The backbone of the Colonial population is thoroughly sound, but it seems as though individuals that come forward to represent constituencies in some of the Parliaments of Australasia need only have a certain amount of fatal fluency—no matter if their intelligence and judgment be in an inverse ratio—to be received with open arms, although in many instances they have shown that, whether they be in the Government or only in Parliament, gross incapacity in dealing with the problems that come before them. It is most advantageous, I think, that they should know our opinion on this question. Take, for example, the finances, the fiscal arrangements, or the administration of railways. All I contend for is that you have there a magnificent heritage for the descendants of those who leave this country and make that land their home, and all that one desires in making these painful remarks is that the people who govern should be worthy of the glorious country they govern. It is foolish on the part of the abettors of the present Parliamentary and Governmental inefficiency in Australasia, when taken to task by the Press on this side of the world for their blunders, to put down as a detractor of the Colonies every man who writes honest criticisms of their financial and fiscal administration. Competent critics for the most part write with a feeling of genuine patriotism and a desire that the great resources of the Colonies should be prosperously developed and the children of the "grave mother" here become worthy of her.

Mr. WILLIAM KNOX: The noble Lord has given us a most interesting account of the progress of State Socialism in New Zealand. As we do not possess so much knowledge of these matters in Victoria I would not presume to take up your time, except that I wish to express regret that the last speaker should hold such a very low opinion of our Parliamentary institutions in the Colonies. I object that such strong statements should be made—statements not supported by past history or present conditions. I contend that in the Colonies they have truly endeavoured, with the newer knowledge they possess, to do their best for the good of the people, and, although they may have made mistakes, they have built up in Greater Britain most important institutions which have taught you here many valuable lessons. Of course the measures adopted in New Zealand are to a large extent in an experimental stage, and in reciting them the noble Lord has very adroitly steered his course, and deferred judgment until matters are much more developed.

The Right Hon. the Earl of JERSEY, G.C.M.G.: It had not been my intention to take any part in this

discussion about Socialism, but I feel I cannot sit silent after what has fallen from the last speaker but one. Having just returned from Australia, and having been associated very closely with a Parliament and a Government in that country, I must enter my most emphatic protest against many of the expressions which fell from him. No doubt, Parliaments and Governments in Australia have made mistakes, as some people sometimes think they do elsewhere, but what we have to look at is not any particular mistake, but at the general result, and it is impossible in my opinion for anyone who has been out there for any time not to feel convinced that, in spite of what may be considered some errors, the result—the whole result—of government in the different Colonies of Australia has been for the good of the people there. Reference has been made to the fact that there have been financial difficulties; but there are few countries which could face their financial difficulties with the same amount of courage, and with the same hope of future prosperity, as Victoria and New South Wales are showing at the present time; and we may feel quite sure that the efforts which are being made to restore confidence and prosperity will not be in any way counteracted either by Parliament or by the Government. I would also say that the public men, at any rate of New South Wales, with whom I am most particularly acquainted—the public men of all parties—whether they belong to the Free Trade, or the Protectionist, or the Labour party—and I have had many opportunities of mixing with most of them—have never shown themselves unworthy of the position in which they were placed. Of course people holding different views will find themselves clashing with each other, but I think I may say with truth, with absolute truth, that Parliament in New South Wales is trying to do its best, and that the members are not actuated by unworthy motives. As to the subject we are met I particularly to discuss, I cannot say very much about it. Socialism has not advanced so far in New South Wales as it appears to have advanced in New Zealand. If, therefore, I were to take any decided line on this subject I cannot be accused of pitting one Colony against another; but with reference to the Labour party I should like to observe that that party gained undoubtedly a great victory at the polls in 1891. They divided not upon social questions but upon a question upon which they did not intend to divide when elected. They were elected in the hope they would be able to sink fiscal issues, which are very difficult to sink. Though they have not, perhaps, as a party, carried any measure in Parliament, yet they have influenced Parliament to a certain extent. They have generally been defeated upon those points where perhaps—I may now say—they were not exactly right. I think they were really not true friends of labour when they seemed to think that the preservation of law was not essential to labour. But they have exercised a good influence upon retrenchment and matters of a kindred nature, and I have no doubt whatever that Parliament has been strengthened by their admission within its walls. It was unfortunate for Labour Members that they did not succeed in finding a leader who could direct them in a more consistent manner perhaps, but I expect they will learn by experience, and that the electors will learn also, and only elect those men to represent them who have shown themselves the fittest amongst the Labour Members. There is one point on which the reader of the Paper was a little bit hard—I mean the baiting of Chinamen by Colonial larrikins. Now if there is one point on which the Government and Parliament are determined to act sternly, it is the repression of larrikinism, and we can only look on such acts as those mentioned in the Paper as mere excrescences. You will find in the cities of Australia as much good order and respect for the property of other people as in any part of the British Empire. I will only add my meed of thanks to Lord Onslow for his Paper. It is certainly very instructive, bringing before us very clearly and ably what has been done in New Zealand. I hope New Zealand will continue to flourish, and I hope also that the other Colonies will flourish though not under exactly the same system.

Mr. WESTBY B. PERCEVAL: I was told on entering the room to-night that, in consequence of my official position as Agent General of the Colony, I should be expected to say a few words, It seems to me this is rather a reason why I should be silent, because, as you know, an Agent-General has to steer clear of all party politics, whether Colonial or Imperial—not a very easy thing to do when discussing such a subject. But, perhaps, even for such a political invertebrate as I am compelled to be, it will not be out of place if I endeavour to emphasise one or two facts—I will not attempt to draw any deductions. First of all, I think Lord Onslow has not made it sufficiently clear that what he calls State Socialism of New Zealand has been a gradual development from quite an early period of the Colony's history. It cannot be claimed that any one party or section of the community has produced the State Socialism we now have in the Colony, The State ownership of railways, the Government Insurance Department, the Public Trust Office, and many other matters Lord Onslow mentioned were earned out long before the Labour party had an existence as a party. Even the last product of the present Government—women's franchise—can hardly be said to be the result of the efforts of the Labour party. The great champion of women's franchise was one of the largest landowners in the Colony, and he regards it, I believe, as a Conservative measure, while the Liberal party regard it as one which will tend to increase the power of the Radical party. Another fact we certainly ought not to forget is that the State Socialism of New Zealand has not lead to extravagant expenditure. We notice that during the last few years, while the Labour party has been in the ascendent, the demand for expenditure of borrowed money has decreased, and that the

people have insisted upon economical administration. That, I think, is a matter of interest to those who say that the drift of Socialism and even of democratic government is in the direction of extravagant expenditure. Again, such State Socialism as we have certainly has not destroyed the self-reliance of the people of the Colony, for I am certain there is no more industrious and self-reliant people in the world than the people of New Zealand. You see there less than 200,000 adults exporting surplus products to the value of about ten millions sterling annually. That, again, is worthy of the attention of those who maintain that the spoon-feeding process of State Socialism is sure to sap the energy and destroy the independence of the people. The great efforts of the Labour party in the Colony have been in the direction of insisting upon the land of the Colony being set apart for the people of the Colony, and they have supported legislation with the object of enabling all those who desired to acquire land on easy terms to do so. The result of this policy has undoubtedly led to an enormous increase in land settlement, and as a consequence to the growth of the agricultural and pastoral productions of the Colony, and has contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of our financial equilibrium and to the existence of a succession of surpluses at a time when the adjacent Colonies had to declare deficits. There is one other fact I wish to point out. Whatever success the Labour party in New Zealand have attained, they have achieved it by working with one of the existing parties of the State. They did not form a "cave," as in New South Wales, and the result has been they have got a modicum of their programme. Politics always are, to some extent, in the nature of a compromise, and the Labour party have thus managed to get a portion of their policy adopted by one of the political parties in New Zealand. I will only add an expression of my thanks to Lord Onslow for his carefully prepared and suggestive Paper, and express my very high appreciation of the pleasant manner in which he rendered it.

Mr. G. D. MEUDELL (Victoria): It is with some diffidence I venture to ask the privilege of addressing to you a few words, for I happen to have to follow two of the best and most popular Governors that Great Britain has of late sent to the Australian Colonies—Lord Onslow and Lord Jersey. I am tempted to say something on the other side of the Labour question, as stated so eloquently by Lord Onslow, because we in Victoria have had a quite different experience of the Labour party and of State Socialism. We attribute—I believe not without some reason—much of our present trouble to the domination and constantly growing power of the Labour party—a party represented by the Trades Hall, to which Mr. Hogan has alluded, a party represented by, practically, four men, who direct a body of some 10,000 Trade Unionists—intelligent Trade Unionists, no doubt—and get them to vote and act as one man, forming a sort of *imperium in imperio*. It was to defeat that party that at the last election three or four of us helped to found what we chose to call the Young Victoria Patriotic League. We went about among the younger business men—men who hitherto had never organised—and pointed out how their business had suffered, how enterprise had been stifled and the progress of the country stopped by the domination of the Labour party, "who were led by asses." In saying that I am merely quoting Mr. H. H. Champion, who went out and spoke words of wisdom to the Labour party, telling them they were magnificently strong, but they should beware of their leaders. We founded a society of about 5,000 of the younger business men—the younger generation of Australians of whom you know nothing in this country, men who look upon their heritage as the grandest ever bequeathed to any body of men. We said: "It is time we put a stop to the extension of State Socialism, and to the strikes engineered by a few agitators." We fought them. They nominated thirty-two men in Victoria, of whom they returned ten, only four of whom were real working men. Now their power is broken—I do not say for ever. We have organised to say there shall be no inside dominant party. We want one party, one class, and that class Australians. Reference has been made to the question of emigration, and Lord Onslow has told you of the number of unemployed artisans. Do we want unemployed London artisans? I say no, What we want is farmers. Send us farmers, peasants, shepherds, men who till and cultivate the soil; but do not imagine for one moment we want any more unfortunate artisans to go on the Labour Bureau and be sent on the land—to do what? To grow wheat they do not know how to grow, and have never seen in their lives. It is all very well to talk glibly about the opposition to emigration. It is selfishness, and "enlightened selfishness," It is part of the policy which inscribes on Australian banners "Ours for us." It would be better for the workers of Great Britain, too, if they were not so free in their hospitality to the whole world. What is wanted is some method of drawing closer the bonds between the Mother Country and the Colonies, and to do that, among other ways of encouraging trade, I believe in internal free trade within the Empire, and protection against the outside world. I believe myself that the self-reliance of our people, their honesty of purpose, and their energy will speedily lift them out of the financial difficulty. I am one of those who believe that Australia is not going to sink beneath the sea. She is going to pay every penny she owes. We were forced by our politicians to borrow millions and squander them. That policy has come to an end. We are all living within our means, and a few years of such economy will tell another tale. It is our first lesson in adversity and will do us good. You need not fear so far as our financial condition is concerned. I believe sincerely and earnestly that British capitalists need not have one hour's cause for regret that they ever lent so many millions to Victoria, and that so much of their capital is invested in Australasia.

The Earl of ROSEBERY, K.G.: I do not think there is anybody else who wishes to address us this evening, and therefore it becomes my pleasant duty to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Onslow for the eloquent and interesting Paper which he has read to us. I think you have much ground to congratulate yourselves this evening. In the first place, the crowd at the meeting denotes a healthy state of things both as regards the Colonial Institute itself and that public sentiment which it desires to promote. I am perfectly certain that twenty years ago it would not have been possible to fill a third of this room with an audience anxious to discuss the questions that interest the Colonies at the Antipodes, and I believe that that improved state of things is due to two considerations—in the first place, a healthier sentiment bred in ourselves, partly by imagination, partly by pride, and partly by history. But it is also due to the much greater facilities of travel which we enjoy, and which have enabled so many of us to visit the Colonies and take back the most healthy impressions from those regions. One of the best means of travelling to them is to travel as a Governor. We have two of the most successful of these travellers here to-night in Lord Onslow and Lord Jersey; but we can all summon readily to our minds the names of many of those who if they had remained in the Mother Country would have been engaged in sterile discussion, or the pursuits of the stump, and who, by the blessed appointment of the Secretary of State, have been enabled to spread blessings around them in the Colonies and bring back blessings to the Mother Country. Why, at the time that Lord Salisbury went to the Colonies it was considered a marvellous episode in his life, and it is now being dug out of the recesses of his past as if he had been a Sir Walter Raleigh or a Sir Francis Drake. But in these days, if you meet a friend at a street corner, he is often just on the way to catch the boat for the Cape or for Sydney, and he regards it as no more and not so much as our grandfathers regarded a voyage to Edinburgh. All that accounts for our room being full to-night, and I think we should have been able to fill the room twice over if all had known the nature of the Paper to which it has been our pleasure to listen. It was actually a pleasure to listen to it, because the elocution was so graceful and so sweet that I have rarely heard it equalled. It was also a pleasure to hear it, because it passes in rapid survey some of the most momentous questions that affect ourselves, and gives us some idea how they may be partially, if not wholly, solved by our sons and our cousins in the southern regions of the world. I do not think that we object in any way to see experiments tried by our Colonies. There was a story told I think of the old Lord Holland which I remember, who, when he was asked as to some proposed measure in the first quarter of the present century—some measure which was new to his mind—used to say, "*That is a new departure: fiat experimentum in corpore vili. Let us try it upon Scotland.*" And we observe with satisfaction the extraordinary vitality with which my native country has survived the experiments perpetrated upon it by Lord Holland and kindred statesmen, and we observe these experiments in the Colonies without the slightest tremors as to the result. We shall see a good deal of experimental legislation in this country before we are many of us very old. We have in a body to which I have the honour to belong, and which holds its sittings not far from this hall, seen a good deal of experimental municipal legislation already, and although it is always easy to expose these experiments to much criticism and to more ridicule, I think the critics and the wits ought to remember that, even when these experiments do not at first sight appeal to the more refined philosophy of mature politicians, they have at any rate this recommendation, that they are carried on by deputies in the spirit and at the instigation of those by whom they are elected, and that, strange as it may seem to those who criticise from a loftier standpoint, the vast majority of the people will for the moment prefer being even a little misgoverned by themselves to being much better governed by other people. I do not propose to touch on any one of the topics that my noble friend alluded to. He danced amid burning ploughshares with an agility which I envy, but which I cannot imitate. He was followed by some still more uncompromising spirits; and if I may add one other cause for congratulation to those that I have already laid before you, it is the fearless frankness with which your discussions are conducted. There are some of your speakers who spoke, for instance, of female suffrage with an audacity which I cannot follow, and which will probably procure them some interesting if violent communications from the more irritable sex whom they have endeavoured to depreciate. Then there was, I think, Mr. Macfie, who spoke his mind of the Colonies with refreshing frankness. Then, again, though I should not speak of them in that spirit, if all the members of the Young Victoria Patriotic League speak with the same candour as the last speaker, who gave us so interesting a discourse, there must be pretty warm times in the Colony of Victoria. He told us that he belonged to a generation of whom we know nothing. Well, I can only say that it is a generation of which I should be happy to know more. However that may be, there was at least one practical point on which I would say a word, because as to that there can be no discussion whatever. It is really an Imperial crime, if I may say so, that the news which is telegraphed from the centre of the Empire to its remotest limits is not more accurately chosen or disseminated. I do not particularise any particular part, but I do say this—that untold mischief has been done in the outlying regions of the Empire by news being conveyed from the centre which conveys a totally wrong impression of what has been done. There is another word which may be said as to foreign and Chinese immigration. I think my noble friend said that the opposition to that was selfishness, and another speaker said it was selfishness, but it was enlightened selfishness. When I hear of classes being moved by

selfishness I sometimes ask what are the classes that are moved by altruism, by a purely generous regard for the interests of others? I may give an analogy that may suggest something of what is passing through my mind, more especially connected with the Department with which I am connected. I constantly see Great Britain abused in the Press of the Continent—indeed, I very seldom see her praised—and the point upon which they always particularly dwell is this—the selfishness, the extraordinary selfishness, of Great Britain. While other nations are pursuing, I doubt not—I do not for a moment dispute it—high and lofty ideals, Great Britain is only intent on her own; and I remember a very humorous American paper taking this off with admirable vivacity. It said: "Great Britain is at her old game, pursuing her own selfish aims, while all the other nations of the world are pursuing the aims of others without the slightest regard to the consequences." I bear the reproaches to my country's selfishness with great equanimity, because I strongly suspect that if other nations were to undergo a course of self-examination they would find they were pursuing their interests also, and that if they were governed by a statesman who guided them in a different direction he would deserve to be hanged with short shrift. Therefore, when I hear that the working classes are pursuing a selfish course in a particular matter, I am apt to ask myself whether there is not some justification for that course, and whether we could expect them to pursue any other. If the labouring classes predominate in a particular State, and can only see in the influx of immigration the lowering of their own wages and of their own comforts, you cannot greatly blame them if they oppose that immigration. It may be wrong from a politico-economical point of view, but they cannot perhaps see so far as the eternal causes which guide and govern humanity. They see their own homes more comfortable by keeping competition out, and therefore they are determined to do so. I am not vindicating the course, I am only pointing out the common sense of it; but to those who criticise it I will only say, Be careful when you censure the working man in the Colonies for doing this that you may not have hereafter, and not so long hence, to pass a similar censure on your own, because I take it if there is one certainty in the world it is this, that with the growth of immigration and with the continual closing of the confines of States to the destitute immigrants of other countries, there is no country in the world that will not be compelled to consider its position, and possibly reconsider its position, with regard to pauper emigration, unless it wishes permanently to degrade the status and the condition of its own working classes. Ladies and gentlemen, I will detain you no further. If I were to embark on all the points raised in this Paper I should require much more knowledge than I possess and much more time than I have at my disposal. In one sentence I will ask you to give a cordial vote of thanks to Lord Onslow for his Paper, and I will express the hope we may often again in this hall listen to Papers so instructive and valuable.

The Earl of ONSLOW, G.C.M.G.: A far deeper debt of gratitude than any which can be owing to me is due to the distinguished statesman who has presided over this meeting. I wish to be allowed to express my personal gratitude to him that he should have come here this evening, which I consider no small honour. Whatever Lord Rosebery says is always invested with a charm and a freshness that are delightful to his audience, and it is no exaggeration further to say that there is no part of Her Majesty's wide dominions which does not lie under a debt of gratitude to him. The great heart whence pulsates the commerce of this Empire and the most distant possessions of the Queen have alike the sympathy and the interest of Lord Rosebery. No householder reading his paper this morning but will have thought it was the act of a wise man to defer the purchase of coal until the development of proximate events. I am sure I shall not detract from the importance of the Office with which, during the late Government, I had the honour to be connected—the Colonial Office—if I say that the statesman who presides over the Foreign Department is of far greater importance and interest to the Colonies even than the Department which bears their name. I rejoice to think that in Lord Rosebery we have a statesman who has never belittled the Empire. It is perhaps my misfortune that I sit on the opposite side to him in the House of Lords, but I often feel that if I were asked what are the differences of opinion which cause that chasm between us I should have some difficulty in finding answer. In any case we feel that his presence this evening has contributed very largely to the gathering, and not a little to the interest of our discussion, and I am sure there is not one in this room who will not cordially unite in a vote of thanks to him.

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. S. SEBRIGHT GREEN, and unanimously adopted.

## Special General Meeting.

A SPECIAL General Meeting was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hotel Métropole, on Tuesday, November 28, 1893.

The Right Hon. HUGH C. E. CHILDERS, a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

Amongst those present were the following:—

- SIR AUGUSTUS J. ADDERLEY
- K.C.M.G.

- MRS. ADLER
- SIR JOHN AKERMAN
- K.C.M.G.
- LADY AKERMAN
- MESSRS. DONALD ANDREW
- W. ANDREWS
- C. W. APPLEYARD
- CAPT. AND MRS. W. ASHBY
- MESSRS. J. ASTLEFORD
- A. ATKINSON
- C. E. ATKINSON
- L. L. ATKINSON
- MR. P. J. AND MISS BAILEY
- MR. AND MRS. A. REID BAIRD
- MESSRS. A. J. BARCLAY
- W. BARCLAY
- W. BARRATT
- MISS BARRETT
- SIR V. AND LADY KENNETT BARRINGTON
- MISS BARTLETT
- MR. E. BEAN
- MISS BEATTIE
- MESSRS. H. H. BEAUCHAMP
- F. FAITHFULL BEGG
- MR. AND MRS. THOS. BELL
- CAPT. J. H. H. BERKELEY
- MRS. BERNARD
- MR. AND MRS. C. BETHELL
- MR. E. A. BICKMORE
- DR. W. G. BLACK
- MESSRS. E. BOIS
- A. E. BOLTON
- H. R. FOX BOURNE
- E. BOWLEY
- H. D. BOYLE
- MR. AND MRS. F. R. BRADFORD
- MESSRS. B. BRADLEY
- C. D. BRAINS
- C. E. BRIGHT
- C.M.G.
- MRS. BRISCOMB
- DR. J. H. BROOKS
- DR. A. M. BROWN
- MR. S. B. BROWNING
- SIR HENRY BULWER
- G.C.M.G.
- MESSRS. A. BURNIE
- M. BURTT
- R. CAPPER
- G. CAWSTON
- E. J. CHALLINOR
- MR. AND MRS. A. CHAPLIN
- MESSRS. A. N. CHAPLIN
- H. CHAPLIN
- E. CHAPMAN
- HON. MRS. HUGH CHILDERS
- MESSRS. J. CHISHOLM
- J. H. CHISHOLM

- MR. AND MRS. J. F. AND MISS CHURCHILL
- MR. A A. CLARK
- LT.-GEN. SIR ANDREW CLARKE
- G.C.M.G.
- C.B.
- MESSRS. C. CLARE
- J. CLARK
- J. COATES
- MISS COCKBURN
- MR. AND MRS. W. N. COLAM
- MRS. AND MISS COLE
- MESSRS. G. E. COLEBROOK
- W. R. E. COLES
- THE VEN. ARCHDEACON COLLEY
- MESSRS. A. P. COLQUHOUN
- G. COLQUHOUN
- W. K. COLQUHOUN
- WM. COLQUHOUN
- MRS. AND MISS COLQUHOUN
- MR. R. E. COOPER
- MAJOR COTTON
- MESSRS. W. F. COURTHOPE
- W. S. CUFF
- MAJOR E. DAUBENEY
- MESSRS. L. F. DAVIES
- W. H. DAVIES
- W. H. DAVIS
- P. C. DON
- W. DONNE
- W. DRAPER
- E. G. DULCKEN. J. D. DUNCAN
- F. M. DUTTON
- STANLEY EDWARDS
- SIR G. H. D. ELPHINSTONE
- BART.
- MESSRS. J. R. ENDEAN
- C. WASHINGTON EVES
- C.M.G.
- MR. W. M. FARMER
- MR. AND MRS. J. H. FAWCETT
- MR. AND MRS. DONALD FERGUSON
- MESSRS. J. M. FISHER
- A. W. FITCH
- C. W. L. FLUX
- C. J. FOLLETT
- C.B.
- G. FORBES
- MR. AND MRS. FORBES
- MESSRS. W. FOWLIE
- A. C. GALE
- A. G. GARRETT
- J. GIBBERD
- H. R. GILLING
- G. GLANFIELD
- LT.-COL. AND MRS. H. C. GLEADOW
- MESSRS. G. R. GODSON
- C. G. GORDON
- J. W. GORDON

- W. GORDON. W. GOW
- W. D. GRAY
- MR. AND MRS. J. H. GREATHEAD
- MR. W. S. S. GREEN
- MISS GREY
- MESSRS. A. HAGGARD
- E. HAGGARD
- JAS. HAMILTON
- MR. AND MRS. T. J. HANLEY
- MESSRS. R
- C. HARE
- F. BRINSLEY HARPER
- J. HARRISON
- MR. AND MRS. L. F. HARROLD
- MR. HARVEY
- MR. J. K. AND MISS HAWTHORN
- MR. B. W. E. HAWTHORN
- MISS F. HAWTHORN
- SIR J. SHAW HAY
- K.C.M.G.
- MISS HAY
- CAPT. AND MRS. G. N. HECTOR
- MR. W. HENTY
- SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT
- G.C.B.
- MESSRS. W. HOLMES
- HOMAN
- MRS. HORN
- MESSRS. S. HUGHES
- E. B. HURLEY
- W. H. HUTCHENS
- DR. C. INGLIS
- DR. E. M. JAMES
- MRS. AND MISS JENKINS
- MAJOR FRANK JOHNSON
- MESSRS. J. D. JONES
- R. H. JONES
- W. AJONES
- R. J. KELLY
- J. KEMP-WELCH
- E. M. KENNAWAY
- G. KENNAWAY
- T. C. KITTO
- J. W. KNAGGS
- W. KNIGHT
- F. P. DE LABILLIERE
- SURG. MAJOR J. J. LAMPREY
- MR. C. LAW
- MR. AND MRS. W. FORBES LAURIE
- MESSRS. MARTIN LEAKE
- J. G. LEASKE
- P. LEMBERG
- H. M. LENNOX
- OWEN LEWIS
- MRS. LEWIS
- MR. AND MRS. A. K. LOYD
- MESSRS. J. L. LUDDINGTON
- G. LUMGAIR

- L. LUNNIS
- CAPTAIN F. H. LYELL
- SIR HALLIDAY MACARTNEY
- K.C.M.G.
- MESSRS. M. MACFIE
- F. MACGOWRAX
- DR. T. A. MACHATTIE
- BEAR-ADMIRAL AND MRS. J. P. MACLEAR
- MR. G. J. MCCAUL
- MRS. AND MISS E. BROOK MCENTEE MR. J.A. B. MACKENZIE
- MISS MANN
- MR. W. MARDEN
- MR. H AND MISS MARTIN
- MR. AND MRS. J. MARTIN
- MR. W. MATTERSON
- MR. AND MRS. E. A. MAUND
- MESSRS. W. MELHUIH
- A DE MERCADO
- W. R. MEWRURN
- MR. AND MRS. W. H. MIDDLETON
- MR. MILLER
- REV. J. GRANT MILLS
- M.A.
- MESSRS. J. S. MITCHELL
- J. MOLYNEUX
- H. W. MOORE
- DR. YORK T. G. MOORE
- MESSRS. A. MORTEN
- J.R. MOSSE
- F. A. C. MUCK
- CAPTAIN NORTHCOTT
- MAJOR F. NOTT
- MR. H. AND MISS OSBURN
- MESSRS. PALACIOS
- T. PARK
- MISS C. S. PARSONS
- LIEUT.-COL. J. PATON
- MR. AND MRS. H. M. PAUL
- MRS. J. PEEL
- MESSRS. E. C. PENNEY
- F. PETER
- A. M. PHILIPS
- J. F. PIGGOTT
- MISS PINSON
- MR. T. G. PLEYDELL
- MISS PLIMSOLL
- MR. AND MRS. J. B. POOLE
- MESSRS. P. M. POOLE
- R. PORTER
- E. E. RAND
- MR. AND MRS. H. J. W. RAPHAEL
- MR. AND MRS. FRANK REES
- MESSRS. HUGH REES
- H. G. REGNART
- J. R. REID
- MISS REID
- MESSRS. G. B. RENNIE
- H. REYNOLDS

- MISS REYNOLDS
- MESSRS. G. C. ROBINSON
- F. J. ROSE
- A. ROSS
- MISS ROSS
- MESSRS. D. J. ROUSSEAU
- W. R. C. ROTHERY
- A. SAALFELD
- ST. QUINTIN
- MR. AND MRS. E. G. SALMON
- MESSRS. E. SAUNDERS
- W. F. SAVAGE
- H. SCHNEIDER
- MISS SCOONER
- MESSRS. W. SCOTT
- W. H. SCOTT
- E. SELOUS
- J. L. SHAND
- MR. J. AND MISS SHAND
- MISS S. SHAND
- MISS SHARROCK
- MESSRS. C. SHIELD
- L. V. L. SIMMONDS
- MISS E. SLADE
- MESSRS. H. SLADE
- H. G. SLADE
- C. SMITH
- E. T. SMITH
- SMITH
- REV. W. SOAMES
- MR. F. F. SOUTHWELL
- MR. AND MRS. A. SPANIER
- MR. H SPENCER
- MISS STARLING
- MR. W. E. STEVENSON
- MRS. STOVIN
- MESSRS. C. STREETEN
- H. STREETEN
- H. E. STRICKLAND
- H. VILLIERS STUART
- J. STUART
- MISS. M. SWABEY
- MESSRS. R. SWAN
- J. Q. SWAYNE
- REV. F. H. SURRIDGE
- MR. AND MRS. G. W. SYMS
- MISS TAFLIN
- MR. J. W. E. TAYLOR
- MRS. TAYLOR
- MISS TAYLOR
- MR. AND MRS. W. P. TAYLOR
- MR. AND MRS. C. THOMAS
- MR. J. THOMAS
- REV. J. HEAD THOMSON
- MESSRS. J. THORNTON
- H. TOWN
- H. R. TROUP
- MR. AND MRS. GORDON TURNER

- MR. P. TURNER
- MR. AND MRS. B. TURPIN
- MR. K. B. J. VICKERS
- MR. AND MRS. C. R. WALKER
- MESSRS. G. WALTON
- F. WATKINS
- R. G. WEBSTER
- M. P.
- W. WEDDEL
- W. S. WETHERELL
- C. WHYMPER. MR. AND MRS. WHYTOCK
- MISS WILLCOX
- MR. W. R. WILLS
- MR. AND MRS. W. T. WILSON
- MR. W. WOODWARD. MRS. WOOLLETT
- MESSRS. G. H. C. WRIGHT
- H. J. WRIGHT
- F. S. YELF
- MISS YELF
- SIR FREDERICK YOUNG
- K.C.M.G. COLONEL AND MRS. J. S. YOUNG MR. J. S. O'HALLORAN (SECRETARY).

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 11 Fellows had been elected, viz. 7 Resident and 4 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows:—

- *George Adams*
- *Dr. Adam Bealey*
- *Edwin Bowley*
- *George Cawston*
- *John W. Cordon*
- *Herman Irwell*
- *Harold Nelson.*

Non-Resident Fellows:—

- *J F. Connolly (British Guiana)*
- *Alfred Geary (Natal)*
- *William Orr (New South Wales)*
- *B. W. Vause (Natal).*

It was also announced that donations to the Library of books, maps &c. had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: It is hardly necessary to remind this meeting that Mr. Colquhoun is a very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, and that during the last twenty years he has contributed greatly by travel and in other ways to the interests of our Empire. He is one of the very first authorities on Burma, on our relations with China, and on the future of the French settlements—Tonquin, for instance—and he has visited with much success and to our great advantage a great part of Southern Asia. It is therefore as a traveller and a keen observer of men that he comes before you to-night, and I am quite sure that what he is now going to lay before you will be of interest to you and of value to our Empire.

Mr. ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN then read his paper on

## **Matabeleland.**

### **DESCRIPTION OF THE MASHONALAND AND MATABELELAND PLATEAU.**

The elevated plateau known as Mashonaland, recently opened up to colonisation by the British South Africa Company, has an area of about 150,000 square miles situate between the Limpopo and Sabi on the south, the Zambesi on the north, and the Portuguese territories on the east, and has a general elevation of from 4,000 to 4,500 feet above sea-level. The western section of this highland is inhabited by the Matabele, the rest

by the tribes known under the general title of Mashona and Makalaka. West of Matabeleland, again, is the country stretching from the Limpopo to the Zambesi, ruled over by Khama, the Chief of the Bamangwato.

The greater portion of this table-land has a climate similar to that of the Transvaal high veldt—cool, clear, and invigorating—and is well watered by a network of running streams, the sources from which these spring being in the highest portions of the downs enabling irrigation to be effectively carried out. From September till March the heat is tempered by the south-eastern breeze from the Indian Ocean, which aids in producing a temperate climate due mainly to the elevation. The temperature ranges from 34° to 93°. The winter months are healthy and bracing, being coldest (and tryingly so) in June and July (midwinter in South Africa). The highest portions of the country are open, but there are bits of forest even-where—a great contrast to the timberless tracts of the Transvaal Orange Free State, and Cape Colony. The rainfall is plentiful; the country, as already stated, well watered, and, for South Africa, well timbered.

In the neighbouring country, Matabeleland, Englishmen have lived for the past twenty years, enjoying the best of health, the climate very closely resembling that of Mashonaland. Both missionaries and traders have reared families there, and it is now clearly established that European women and children can thrive in the whole of the higher portions of the table-land in South-Eastern Africa south of the Zambesi. From the middle to the end of the rainy season, lasting from November till March, fever is prevalent in the lower parts of the country, and exposure to cold or wet during that period is to be avoided. It must be borne in mind that, during the early stages of the colonisation of any new territory in South Africa, the provision of the most ordinary elements of comfort is not possible, while exposure is inevitable; but with improvement in those conditions, gradually taking place, will come improved health. Speaking generally, I believe the health of settlers will be as good in our new colony as in nearly every other part of South Africa.

The greater portion of this high plateau will produce the fruits and vegetables of Northern Europe. It has been proved that wheat, oats, barley, and vegetables such as potatoes, onions, cauliflowers, cabbages, carrots, &c., can be grown successfully. The commission appointed by the Afrikaner Bund to report on the agricultural prospects of Mashonaland expressed a high opinion of the value of the country situated between Forts Charter and Salisbury, and in the latter neighbourhood they found the land most suitable for agriculture. The region between Salisbury and Manika possesses large areas of valuable grazing-ground. Of the country lying between Fort Charter and Victoria, along the Pioneer road, they entertained a very poor opinion. It certainly is a most uninviting and inhospitable tract of country, and has doubtless largely influenced the adverse opinions expressed in some quarters by visitors who have seen nothing of Mashonaland except from the main road. People who have merely been to Salisbury, or thence to Manika along the highway, can have little conception of the vast extent of the high table-land and its agricultural capabilities. Large sections of Mashonaland, away from these main roads, embrace fine tracts of country.

A feature of Mashonaland deserving special attention is that when the long summer grass is burnt off—usually in June to August—there springs up a short, sweet herbage, on which cattle and horses thrive. During the months of September and October therefore, when the Transvaal and Bechuanaland are a scorched and arid waste and the cattle poor and miserable, the Mashonaland and Matabeleland valleys are everywhere green, the streams in full force, and the cattle in good condition. No one who has not been in the interior of South Africa, and at the end of the dry season, can realise the importance of this fact.

## THE MODERN HISTORY OF MASHONALAND.

The modern history of Mashonaland and Matabeleland dates from the reign of Umziligazi—the father of Lo Bengula, the present King of the Matabele—who, pressed by the Boers moving north, about the year 1840 overran Mashonaland and Matabeleland, conquering all the tribes in the highlands and ultimately settling and establishing the Matabele power in that section of the plateau now known as Matabeleland. Umziligazi attempted to carry out an extensive expedition north of the Zambesi, but unsuccessfully. On his return to Matabeleland he found that his eldest son, Kurilman, had been installed as king, the tribe believing Umziligazi dead. Kuruman was exiled and, it is believed, assassinated. In 1868 Umziligazi died and the heir, Lo Bengula, was invited but refused to reign; in 1870, however, he yielded to entreaty and was crowned king.

A graphic description of the recent history of Mashonaland is given by Mr. Selous ("Travel and Adventure in South-Easi Africa"), which accounts for the native tribes having abandoned some of their arts and industries and sunk into the spiritless people they are at this day. According to Mr. Selous:

*These raids almost completely depopulated large tracts of country, and put an end to the gold-mining industry, which, there is no doubt, was still being carried on in the early part of this century. It also put a stop to the wall-building, as the Mashonas found out that the walls with which they had been accustomed to encircle their towns, and which were probably very often an effective means of defence against other tribes of their own race, were of little avail against the braver and better-organised Zulus. Thus the high plateau of Mashonaland,*

which at no very distant date must have supported a large native population, once more became an almost uninhabited wilderness, as the remnants of the aboriginal tribes who escaped destruction at the hands of the Zulu invaders retreated into the broken country which encircles the plateau to the south and east. Had it not been for the constant destruction of the native races that has been going on in Mashonaland during the last seventy or eighty years, there would be no room for European immigration to-day.

## HOTTENTOTS AND BUSHMEN.

Besides the two primitive races of South Africa found occupying the territories adjoining the Cape of Good Hope—the Hottentot and Bushmen—were the dark skinned negroids of the Bantu stock, speaking, according to Noble, "a euphonious, polysyllabic, prefix pronominal language; living under hereditary chiefs; pastoral and agricultural in their pursuits; dwellers in villages, and workers in metals. They are now known as the tribal groups, classed as Kafirs, Zulus, Makalakas, Bechuanas, and Damaras, all having ancient traditions of invasions, wars, and forays during their migrations southward and eastward from their long-forgotten home in the north and east."

The Hottentots were a nomadic people, comparatively rich, with abundant flocks and herds. The Bushmen were of a more diminutive stature, of spare, emaciated figure, dwelling in small communities in the recesses of the mountains or in the desert, living entirely by hunting and trapping. With their bow and arrow—this latter steeped in poison—they were the dread of the Hottentot. These two races are said by competent authorities to have been the original inhabitants of a great portion of the African continent, and to have sprung from one source.

The curious drawings of the Bushmen have attracted much attention, and are found at many points between the Cape and the Zambesi. They consist of representations of a mythological character connected with their customs and superstitions, animals and the human figure, coloured in clay and ochre. In Bechuana-land and Mashonaland I have seen examples of these drawings.

The term "Kafir," signifying "infidel," was applied by the Mohammedan Arabs to *all the dark races of Africa*, and adopted by the first Europeans coming into contact with the tribes on the Eastern border of the Cape Colony.

The Kafirs, to quote Noble ("Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa"), are physically superior to the Hottentot race. They are generally fine, able-bodied men, reserved and self-possessed in manner, but courteous and polite, and sensible of kindness and consideration. Their form of government was a well-organised although simple one, They had a regular gradation of authority from the head of the family, who was responsible for its conduct, or the head of the kraal or village, who was responsible for the collective families therein, up to the chief, who, with his councillors, adjudicated in all matters relating to the affairs of individuals or of the tribe. They had a system of law which took cognisance of crimes and offences, enforced civil rights and obligations, provided for the validity of polygamic marriages, and secured succession to property according to well-defined rules. Superstition entered into all the affairs of their life, and formed part of their laws, customs, and religion. They believed in benevolent and evil spirits producing prosperity or adversity in health or sickness, and witchcraft was recognised as one of the evil arts practised with the view of causing death or injury to property. The alleged offender, charged with being *umkahti* (wizard or witch), was stripped of his possessions, and, after being subjected to various kinds of torture, was frequently put to death. The procedure supplied a convenient method of getting rid of any obnoxious persons, or one whose property was coveted.

## NATIVE RACES.

The various tribes now known as Mashonas, living principally in the hills to the north-east, east, and south-east of the high open plateau—the remnant that has escaped the process of gradual extinction at the hands of the Matabele—do not call themselves Mashonas, and no one, not even Mr. Selous, is able to suggest how this name arose. It is useful, however, as a generic term designating the various aboriginal tribes speaking dialects of one language. Each community has its own tribal name—such as Bambiri, Mabotcha, Barotse, &c. The tattoo marks differ in each clan. According to Mr. Selous the distinguishing mark of the Barotse living on the Upper Sabi is a broad open nick filed out between the two front teeth of the upper jaw, the tribal mark of the Barotse now existing on the Upper Zambesi. In Mr. Selous' opinion it is not at all impossible, or indeed improbable, that the Zambesi Barotse were originally an offshoot from the powerful Barotse nation that once occupied a large tract of country to the west of the Sabi River in Southern Mashonaland, until in the latter days of Umziligazi they were broken up by a Matabele *impi*, and only a small number left, who settled in the valleys concealed among the hills east of the Sabi. They seem always to have been a mild and gentle people, and a long

course of savage oppression at the hands of the Matabele left them with all the spirit crushed out of them, such as we found them when we entered Mashonaland in 1890.

Concerning the native races now found scattered over a large extent of Mashonaland and the ruined and ancient gold workings, Mr. Selous is of opinion that they are descended from a commercial people who some 3,000 years ago penetrated from Southern Arabia to Mashonaland, bringing but few women with them. They were thus driven to intermarry among the aboriginal tribes, and in course of time became completely fused with them, and nationally lost.

For information regarding the important subject of the ruins of Mashonaland, the investigation of which will aid in throwing light on the past history of the country and its ancient gold-mining, I would refer the reader to the interesting works of Mr. Theodore Bent and Dr. Schlichter.

## **THE MATABELE ORGANISATION.**

The Matabele nation, which is more a military organisation than a tribe, though Zulu in origin, language, customs, and methods of warfare, has greatly degenerated from the original Zulu stock by the incorporation of the inferior tribes they have raided and conquered from time to time. They live under a military despotism presided over by the King, who is absolute master of everything. There are no industries, the tribesmen living mainly by the assegai and the cattle captured on raids. On these expeditions or forays the men and old women are massacred, the children and young women being carried away, and marked, as Matabele, by a hole made with an assegai in the lobe of the ear. The lads grow up Matabele, and in time become soldiers, the girls being taken as wives by their captors. The result has been a race originally Zulu, intermixed with Bechuanas, Mashonas, Makalakas, &c., held together only by a military bondage and organisation. Thus degenerated, they are living largely upon the prestige and power of their progenitors, the famous Umziligazi (Lo Bengula's father) and his warrior-followers. The number of fighting men is estimated at fifteen to twenty thousand. The whole fabric may be easily shaken or broken.

Recent events have fully confirmed this view.

## **THE KING OF THE MATABELE.**

The King is not only master of everything and everyone throughout his territories, but a terror to all his neighbours. Like other absolute monarchs, his power is maintained by the military, and only with their approval, and he has to be very cautious, as stated elsewhere, how he deals with them. Present and past history, both in the East and West, furnish numerous parallels to the case of the Matabele King, such as many of the Amirs of Afghanistan and the Roman Emperors. There are many analogies between the rulers of Afghanistan and Lo Bengula, though it must be acknowledged that the African potentate is an utterly uncivilised edition of the Afghan monarch. The Amir has to control and conciliate his various chiefs at the head of fighting clans, for whose energies there is at present no other outlet than war. Lo Bengula, as elsewhere shown, has to repress the war cravings of his "matjaka." The Amir has to reckon with the fanatical Mullah or Ghazi; Lo Bengula with his wizards and medicine-men. The turn which events have taken is unfortunate for Lo Bengula, who was beginning to appreciate the advantages of a settled life; but the "matjaka" have got the upper hand and forced upon him a war which has proved disastrous for him. Men in his position have not infrequently to pay heavy penalties for their exalted rank.

## **KING LO BENGULA.**

Lo Bengula—literally "The Defender" and the bearer of many grandiloquent titles, such as "The Great Elephant" "The Eater of Men," "The Stabber of the Sun,"—is sixty years of age, suffers from gout, and is enormously fat and unwieldy in person, which tends greatly to diminish his otherwise kingly appearance. He is close upon six feet, weighs nearly twenty stone, and rarely takes physical exercise, although he has in his earlier days been active and powerful. He is a man of extraordinary character and ability, with great power of work. The descriptions of Lo Bengula's personal appearance range between that of a most truculent and bloodthirsty savage, with a "deadly cruel" look in the eyes, and a pleasant, mild-mannered old gentleman, with a gentle, winning, childlike smile. It is probably wise to adopt neither of these extreme portraits. There seems no doubt that at times he has a singularly sweet smile, softening the usual character of his face, and with him, as with despotic monarchs similarly gifted, these occasions not infrequently bode somebody no particular good. His natural disposition is said by those who know him well to be not cruel; but the exercise of unrestrained despotic power, surrounded by intrigues, has led to indifference to life, whenever it seemed to him a matter of policy or, as not unseldom, self-preservation. Relations and friends at the Matabele court alike have been removed when found to be "inconvenient." There is no doubt as to his great intelligence; he goes to the bottom of a question,

never being diverted from it; his memory is great; he hears reports from all quarters, decides difficult questions of law, judges criminals, and settles details of his enormous cattle-business. A favourite seat is the waggon-box; at other times a veritable Bath-chair, given to him by some English admirer. In his cattle kraal, with his body wrapped in a coloured blanket, and feet swathed in dirty flannel-bandages, in the midst of dirt and discomfort, and surrounded by skulls of slaughtered bullocks and mangy pariah dogs, the King was frequently to be seen.

The fact that Lo Bengula succeeded in restraining the war-party so long speaks volumes as to his force of character, tact and diplomacy. As illustrating his capacity for business I may here mention that when I was serving in Mashonaland he sent an agent, Mr. Dawson, an English trader at Buluwayo, to investigate some of the goldfields, and to secure for his Majesty certain interests therein—an arrangement which was concluded with satisfaction to himself and to the Company, on whose behalf I acted in the transaction. This fact is worthy of note, as an evidence of the King's belief in the gold-wealth of the country and of the British South Africa Company's *bona fides*.

## THE APPROACH TO ROYALTY.

The manner in which the Matabele approach the King is very peculiar, and emblematical of the absolute power over the lives of the subjects exercised by the chief. The King's titles are shouted out when any visitor passes the gate of the Royal kraal. When about twenty yards from the throne the subject sinks his left shoulder, bends his knee, and crouches lower and lower until, at a point some half-dozen yards from the Royal presence, he squats down and re-commences to sing with vigour and earnestness the praises of "The Stabber of the Sun." It may be imagined that the suppliant infuses considerable feeling into this chant, as very much, indeed not impossibly even life itself, might depend upon its effect upon his Majesty.

## WITCHCRAFT.

Witchcraft forms a very important factor in the Matabele economy and, as elsewhere indicated, has exercised a powerful influence over Lo Bengula. He is much addicted to the sacred duties of "medicine" or "mystery" of various kinds, which he practised in the more private of his kraals—the goat or "buck" kraal—daubed with rude paint. Witchcraft is made a convenient lever for getting rid of people who may be in the way, and Lo Bengula has on various occasions availed himself of this hideous superstition. Evidence is not required to justify, or permitted to disprove, any accusation, Lo Bengula's own sister Nini, who for years was a most influential personage in Matabeleland, and whose prestige was largely maintained by her use of the powerful weapon of bringing charges of witchcraft against persons whom she disliked, was herself suddenly dispatched on a similar accusation. As with nomadic pastoral races generally, "rain-making" forms an important function of the King as Chief Magician, and in this respect Lo Bengula is credited by his people with being a proficient. His reputed skill in rain-making gives him an additional hold upon the loyalty of his people, whose very existence depends to a large extent upon the provision of suitable pasturage for their cattle.

## MATABELE QUEENS.

A few words may be devoted to the Matabele queens, of whom there are over eighty, a number that is being yearly added to, notwithstanding Lo Bengula's advanced age.

The chief queen, Loskay, is typical of the others. Her massive form, on the occasion of a "War Dance" in 1890, was partly clothed in a coloured cotton sheet, while from her waist hung a black goatskin kilt. The head was encircled with a coil of pink beads, the neck with tin, brass, and iron chains, probably taken in some of the many raids on the Mashonas, who, unlike the Matabele, have some skill in working in these metals; on her ankles and arms were more beads. When in State dress during the "War Dance" the queens present a picture of bright and effective colouring.

On the occasion of the "Queens' Dance," the black fur kilt was replaced by a heavy, beautifully worked, and parti-coloured bead apron; massive coils of beads encircled arms, legs, throat, and head; folds of gaudy cotton clothed the loins, while a bright orange handkerchief covered the shoulders, and dozens of blue jays' feathers were fixed singly into the hair. Each queen carries on the top of the head a small circular button of plaited grass, coloured bright red, and kept in place by weaving the hair into it. The dance was led by the chief queen, followed in single file by about twenty others, hopping slowly, with a highly grotesque step, resembling so many brilliant butterflies fluttering and sparkling in the sunlight. Thus they danced for hours, waving long wands, in front of the Matabele army, drawn up in an immense half-moon (the old Zulu formation). These royal ladies are the beer-makers, and, during the "War Dance" especially, enormous quantities of the beverage are consumed. Their sedentary lives, and the large amount of beer consumed by them, account for their corpulence.

## MATABELE RAIDS.

The ruthless character of Matabele raids upon the Mashonas—by means of which alone the military organisation of the Matabele could be maintained—is vividly impressed upon anyone who has travelled over any extent of Mashonaland. In passing through large areas of that country I have again and again seen the evident traces of what must once have been a well-populated, perhaps densely-inhabited, and cultivated country. Bishop Knight-Bruce, the missionary Bishop of Mashonaland, Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of Bechuanaland, and Mr. Selous are witnesses of established character as regards power of observation and reliability.

The former, who in 1888 travelled in Matabeleland, wrote that:—

*Every spring his [the Matabele chiefs] regiments of fighting men (impis they are called) were marched in to kill and sack, bringing back with them girls, boys, and cattle. The Matabele had all to gain and nothing to lose by the process—it provided their food without the drawback of labour; it 'blooded' the young regiments; it gave future recruits to the army. The poor Mashona were incapable of offering any resistance, and their disintegration into separate tribes, with no paramount chief, left them helpless before the disciplined power of the Matabele, with their thousands of fighting men in organised regiments.*

Again—

*These impis do not know, till they have gone some distance, whom they are to attack. A man who had returned from a late raid described how they had surrounded the helpless people, dragged them one by one out of the crowd, and given them one fatal stab with the assegai, till the dead bodies lay in heaps. Sometimes the poor victims were tied up in dry grass and then set on fire. The wives of the late Matabele chief say of him with pride, "He was a king; he knew how to kill."*

After passing the border into Mashonaland, "for more than a week 'no man, woman, or child was met'—not a Mashona was to be seen; the former population had been killed off or driven away."

In another passage it is related that

*the track of the impi was constantly crossed, and presently the town was passed that had just been destroyed. The chief and all the men had been killed, as well as the older women who could not walk; the boys, the younger women, and the cattle, had been taken back to Matabeleland.*

Sir Sidney Shippard, in a despatch on the condition of Matabele-land while on a mission to Lo Bengula in 1888, wrote:—

*No less than thirteen impis of Matabele have been sent on forays this year, and the desolation among the Mashona and Banyai villages, south of the Zambesi, and among the tribes for some distance on the north of that river, has, I am assured, been appalling. Bishop Knight-Bruce, of Bloemfontein, whom I have been so fortunate as to meet here on his way down, and who has been four days' journey north of the Zambesi, and as far as Umzila's boundary on the east, gives a terrible picture of the results of a Matabele raid. He describes the ruins of a Mashonaland village destroyed this year, the burnt huts, and the little patches of garden ground fenced in and carefully cultivated by the industrious Mashona, none of whom have lived to reap the fruits of their labour. Every man, woman, and infant in these villages had been killed by the spear or "stabbing assegai" of the Matabele matjaka, except the old women, who are used as carriers as long as they are wanted, and then tied to trees, round which dry grass is heaped up and then set on fire, such holocausts of old Mashona women being regarded as a capital joke by the Matabele matjaka. Of the children and girls who are driven here as slaves, those who survive the journey are afterwards fairly well treated. Lo Bengula allows the slave boys nothing but beef to eat, however great their craving for farinaceous food; the result being that all the weaker boys soon die of dysentery, while the survivors become very strong, and consequently fit to be incorporated, in duo time, into a regiment of matjaka of the requisite ferocity. I see great numbers of these slave-boys here.*

## BULUWAYO.

Buluwayo, the capital of Matabeleland, situated about 120 miles north of Tati, stands upon a ridge on the northern bank of the Bulu-wayo river, in a commanding position, overlooking the entire surrounding country. The enclosure of the British South Africa Company is distant about three-quarters of a mile from the Royal kraal. We find a few European residents at Buluwayo residing in huts surrounded by fences of the thorny mimosa bush. The Company's house used to be greatly frequented by the Matabele—queens, princes, and princesses, the regent, the rain and dance doctors, ladies young and old, elderly indunas and the young soldiers—all anxious for some gift from the white men.

Buluwayo ("The one that is slain," or "The place of killing") is merely a collection of kraals. In the centre is the King's waggon; round it his wives' circular huts, built of sun-dried bricks and roofed with reeds. Inside the kraal is a smaller division called the "buck-kraal," into which his flocks of goat and sheep were driven at night,

during the day being sacred to his Majesty and the scene of his incantations. Round the central group of huts is an open space about four hundred yards wide, outside which are the quarters of the warriors—about four thousand in number—and their families. The stockade, several miles in length, encloses all.

## **GOLD IN MATABELELAND.**

In sketching the progress made in Mashonaland since the occupation in 1890 I have given some account of the amount of gold-reef traced and the development accomplished in that territory. A few words may be said here on the subject of gold in Matabeleland, considered by all those who have travelled or lived in that country to be of great extent. The best known of the gold districts is the Tati gold-field, where mining has been carried on for some time, the reefs being rich and extensive. Insecurity and want of necessary capital have been the chief agents in delaying the development of this field, which is certain to become one of great importance; the difficulty of procuring labour, supplies, and bringing the requisite machinery to site, and the unhealthiness have also contributed to prevent much progress being made.

Mr. Frank Mandy, who lived close on twenty years in Matabeleland, believes the country through its greatest extent to be one vast and rich gold-field. In 1889 he wrote:—

*It is not until climbing out of the Limpopo basin, and surmounting the ridge, that you enter Matabeleland proper. Here outstretched before one is what will prove the largest and richest gold-field that the world has ever seen; extending from this great granite backbone in the south to within about sixty miles of the Zambesi in the north, and from the Sabi in the east to the Nata River in the west. The huge auriferous area ever improves and grows richer to the north, north-east, and east. The Matabele have never allowed any search for gold in the land actually inhabited by them; but the signs which greet the traveller's notice—the immense waves of promising quartz which seam the country, cutting through the soft soapy slate in a north-easterly direction; the numberless old workings to be found in every direction, and the inability of some of the reefs to hide their gold from the prying though cautious gaze of the observant white man—all tend to prove the wonderful mineral wealth here locked up.*

And again he says:—

*Right through the Royal town of Buluwayo runs an immense reef earning visible gold. Close alongside Umvotcha (the country residence of Lo Bengula) is another great reef, also unable to hide the gold imprisoned within its bosom. Two miles to the north-east of the old capita is yet another grand quartz reef with "visible." All these reefs have been traced for some miles. But to the north of Gangane lie what I believe will eventually prove to be the alluvial gold-fields of the world. The neighbourhood of the Amazoe River and its tributary streams is a veritable El Dorado. I have seen ignorant natives, with the rudest appliances and practically no knowledge of gold-working, wash large quantities of gold from the surface soil. Over an area of several hundred square miles gold is to be found in every stream.*

## **PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF MATABELELAND.**

The boundaries of Matabeleland lying between the Zambesi and Limpopo will be seen from any of the maps which have been recently published. The watershed, stretching from Mount Umtigesa in Northern Mashonaland to the Bakarikari Lake in Bechuanaland, is some five thousand feet above sea-level, covered with gold-bearing reefs, fast-running streams, and very healthy. The chief strata are granitic, with occasional sandstone and shale. The northern slopes of the table-land fall through a very broken, poor and inhospitable country to the Zambesi. Towards the east the plateau slopes are abrupt and precipitous, forming a network of rugged hills, where the native tribes (Mashonas and Makalakas) are found, with their villages and hamlets hidden away as far as possible from sight, so as to avoid the Matabele, at whose hands they have suffered so much. The rains are very severe along this broken edge of the plateau, due to the rain-laden clouds from the Indian Ocean being arrested by this buttress and thus precipitated.

## **BRITISH BECHUANALAND AND THE BECHUANA PROTECTORATE.**

Bechuanaland, the central part of South Africa situate north of Capo Colony and west of the South African Republic to the 20th meridian of east longitude, is best known in England from the work of Robert Moffat, the missionary, and the Warren Expedition of 1884. The Bechuanas are a mild, tractable, peaceable people bearing a variety of tribal names.

Moffat worked for nearly fifty years among the Bechuanas in the most devoted way, reducing their language to writing, translating the Bible into their tongue, and teaching them in various ways how to utilise the agricultural resources of the country. Dr. Livingstone, the pioneer of those explorations which have done so much to open Africa and connect the English name with this great work, laboured among them, Khama, the

most enlightened of African chiefs, of whom some further account is given elsewhere, was trained by missionaries, of whom it must be mentioned that Mr. Hepburn for twenty-five years has been his guide, philosopher, and friend.

In 1871 the Bloemhoff arbitration and the Keate award, repudiated by the South African Republic, contained the first germs of the various troubles which for so long disturbed the country. Some native chiefs who had been included in the Republic were excluded, and a status given to certain chiefs outside the Republic whose claims were disputed by others. After the retrocession in October 1881 a new boundary was laid down; but this did not satisfy the Republic and its native allies. The result was that, on the close of the Transvaal War in 1881, hostilities broke out between the rival parties; and the territory being regarded as independent, many whites joined the contending chiefs as freebooters, and attempted to set up minor republics in these territories.

## **BRITISH PROTECTORATE.**

In 1884 it was agreed between Britain and the South African Republic that this state of anarchy should be crushed. The boundary agreed on placed the native chiefs claimed by the Republic and their freebooter assistants within its boundaries. The British Government at the same time formed a protectorate over the whole of Bechuanaland lying outside of this revised boundary; thus retaining for the Cape Colony the trade route to the interior and the sole channel for South African colonial expansion. Towards this end the Rev. John Mackenzie, as Deputy Commissioner, concluded treaties with the native chiefs. The free-booters still continued to occupy the country and make attacks upon one of the chiefs under our protection, which was protested against by Mr. Rhodes, who had succeeded Mr. Mackenzie.

It was decided to clear the territory of the freebooters and establish peace and order, and this was effectually accomplished by the expedition under the command of Sir Charles Warren, R.E., who held the territory till its fate was decided.

In 1885 the report of the British mission to Lo Bengula to discuss the question stated: "Lo Bengula acknowledged that he had no title to the country except that of Umziligazi's conquest; and by saying 'formerly Kkama had no country' he tacitly admits that now Khama has."

In that year the Imperial Government proclaimed British sovereignty as far north as the Molopo River, the territory being named British Bechuanaland; and shortly after a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the country to the 22nd parallel of south latitude, and extending our sphere of influence to the Zambesi. In 1891 the western boundary was extended to the 20th meridian of east longitude, coterminous with the German protectorate.

The chief of the Bamangwato tribe, our ally Khama, is a Christian, and the most enlightened and civilised of South Africa rulers. He has been a steadfast friend of the British and deserves well at our hands. His character is a fine one—firm, just, and earnest in the desire to raise his people. The Christianity of Khama is eminently practical; he acts as he preaches. He holds most decided views on the use of intoxicants, and no wine or liquor of any description is allowed to be sold anywhere throughout his territory; even the brewing of the comparatively harmless Kafir beer is without exception heavily punished. Khama feels so strongly on this question that he once expressed the opinion that he "feared the Matabele less than brandy." He wrote in a remarkable despatch in 1888, "Lo Bengula never gives me a sleepless night, but to fight against drink is to fight against demons, not against men. I dread the white man's drink more than all the assegais of the Matabele, which kill men's bodies and is quickly over; but drink puts devils into men, and destroys both bodies and souls for ever. Its wounds never heal." A proof of Khama's humanity is that when, some four years ago, the seat of government was moved from Shoshong to Palapye, to secure better water and a more advantageous site, all the old and infirm were carefully removed from the old capital—a most un-African method of dealing with the aged, who, regarded as an incumbrance, are left to shift for themselves. Seated under some shady tree in his "sigadhlo" (an enclosure where court is held), Khama is always accessible to his poorest subject, and is prompt and wise in his decisions. He can muster over 7,000 fighting men, of whom about 1,000 are armed with rifles, and he has some 200 mounted men, not uniformed in any way, of whom he is very proud. Khama's men cannot be counted upon as very reliable fighting material, for the Bamangwato are not a warlike race; but among them will be found useful auxiliaries, especially for scouting purposes. They did excellent work on the Pioneer Expedition under the guidance of Selous, when we entered Mashonaland in 1890.

## **THE "DISPUTED TERRITORY."**

Reference is frequently made to what is known as the "disputed territory," a tract lying between the Shashi and Macloutsie rivers, which was claimed by Khama and Lo Bengula. In March 1888 Khama issued a notice on the subject as follows:—

*I, Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato tribe, at Shoshong, do hereby give notice that the tract of country between the Shashi and Macloutsie rivers is debateable land and the subject of negotiation between Lo Bengula, Chief of the Matabele, and myself, and that I protest against the action of all persons prospecting or commencing mining operations in that district, and will not hold myself responsible for any loss which may result from premature outlay, which it may be necessary eventually to disallow.*

## **THE BECHUANA TRIBE.**

The Bechuana tribe was always rich in cattle, native sheep, and goats; gardens and cornfields surround their villages; beyond these again are the cattle-posts placed at convenient points to command good pasturage and water. On the borders of the Kalihari desert are hunting stations, where their vassals, the Bakalihari and Bushmen, paid tribute in skins, feathers, and other products of the chase. Traders gradually extended northwards, until they reached the Zambesi, and the route *viâ* Bechuanaland became the highway to the North.

The Bechuanas are not a warlike race. They never had any military organization like the Zulus; at the most there were insignificant tribal differences, and occasionally revolutions among themselves. Though no match for the Matabele, they are useful allies, and on the occasion of the Pioneer Expedition of 1890, as recently in the campaign against the Matabele, did good service.

## **VALUE OF BECHUANALAND.**

The railway from the south has its present terminus at Vryburg, and is being extended to Mafeking, eventually to be carried on, doubtless, to Buluwayo by one line, and to Salisbury by another.

The revenue of the country has risen from £11,757 in 1886-87, to upwards of £52,000 in 1891-92. The expenditure is over £150,000, mainly due to the maintenance of the Bechuanaland border police, a force of close on five hundred men, costing about £100,000, for which a grant-in-aid by the British Government and a contribution from the British South Africa Company are made for the protectorate expenses.

The value of Bechuanaland has been the subject of much controversy from time to time. Its principal use and a most important one is that of affording access to the north. It is a fairly valuable cattle-raising country; sheep raising, however, has not as yet proved very successful. Various grain crops, such as maize and millet, and even wheat, have done well, considering the soil is merely scratched, never manured, and is without any irrigation. It is hoped, however, that the experiments in well-sinking and water-boring, under professional supervision, now being prosecuted by the Government will prove a success.

Within the last two years there has been a considerable influx of farmers from the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic.

The western portion of Bechuanaland partakes somewhat of a desert character, with a fair proportion, however, of hard ground, consisting chiefly of limestone covered with the small karoo bush on which cattle, sheep, and goats thrive well. The difficulties of transport over the sandy wastes and stony tracts of this vested region are great; but it is believed they could be overcome by the use of camels, which have proved a success in the similar country of the adjoining German Protectorate.

## **MANIKALAND.**

It has been stated elsewhere that an agreement entered into between England and Portugal in August 1890, demarcating the eastern limits of the British South Africa Company's territory, was never ratified but formed the basis of a *modus vivendi*. The abortive treaty, however, was not actually accepted for this purpose until November 1890, and in this interval events had been moving with great rapidity, unanticipated by the Portuguese, whose jealousy and resentment had risen to a high pitch. Between August and November the Pioneer Expedition had succeeded in reaching its objective in Mashonaland and establishing itself there (Mount Hampden was sighted on September 12, 1890), and the Manika treaty had been concluded by myself on behalf of the British South Africa Company, two events of considerable importance, which aroused the energies of the Portuguese, under the leadership of Colonel Paiva d'Andrada.

## **MISSION TO MANIKA.**

As mentioned elsewhere, the first step taken by me after arriving on the Mashonaland plateau was, accompanied by a small party, to make a rapid journey to Manika, by special invitation of the Chief Umtasa, to conclude a treaty of protection with him, and obtain for the British South Africa Company concessions for the mineral and other rights in his territory. I was also desirous of obtaining some reliable information, and, if possible, ocular evidence of that ever-vanishing and hitherto unknown quantity—the will-o'-the-wisp of

so-called Portuguese "occupation." On our way through Mashonaland, not a trace or vestige of the existence of the Portuguese at any time, much less of a present occupation of this country, to which they laid claim with much well-simulated indignation just a year before, could be detected, or at any rate was visible to the naked eye. The ruins we saw at Zimbabwe, for instance, and other places, could never by the wildest stretch of imagination be ascribed to Portuguese handiwork, or admitted for one moment as fulfilling their invariable contention of "ancient ruins and traditions," upon which they laid so much stress, and based their chimerical rights in this part of the world. Until we reached Manika there was nothing of general interest to record. We passed through some of the most charming scenery imaginable, crossing numerous streams of clear, swiftly-flowing water over rocky beds, winding their way amongst perfect wooded mountain scenery, of which one could find its exact counterpart in favoured portions of either Scotland or Wales.

On September 13 we halted close to the objective point of the mission, the kraal of the Manika chief, Umtasa (or Mutasa), or Mafamba-Busuko ("One who walks by night"), as he prefers to style himself, or again, Sifamba, as he is generally spoken of by the local natives. The kraal itself (at an altitude of 4,300 above sea-level) is situated at the head of what is really a pass, completely concealed from below in mountain fastnesses, and lying under a sheer massive granite ridge of rock another 500 or 600 feet high—a position, at all events in Kafir warfare, absolutely impregnable.

## **KING UMTASA.**

Negotiations were at once opened and an interview arranged for the day after our arrival, an appointment that was punctually kept. It must be confessed that the appearance and presence of the hereditary and reigning monarch of the ancient kingdom of Manika were not quite all one would desire to see in a great ruler. No doubt the utmost resources of his wardrobe had been taxed and brought into requisition for this interview. About midday he appeared attired in a naval cocked hat, a tunic (evidently of Portuguese origin, but of ancient date, and forming perhaps some of the "ancient remains" to which the attention of the world had been so pathetically drawn), a leopard skin slung over his back, the whole toilette being completed by a pair of trousers that had evidently passed through many hands, or rather covered many legs, before assisting to complete the court uniform of the "roitelst Mutassa," as the Portuguese termed him. He was preceded by his court jester, who danced around him, uttering strange cries and ejaculations, and singing his praises (in which Umtasa cordially joined) as "the lion or leopard who walks by night, and before whose name the Portuguese and Matabele tremble." The retinue was completed by a few girls carrying "calabashes" of Kafir beer and by a crowd of indunas (or counsellors) and other loyal subjects. The king was evidently anxious to satisfy himself thoroughly of the genuineness of my mission and the value and strength of the promises held out to him.

## **TREATY WITH UMTASA.**

It was not until the following day, the 14th of September, when in the Royal kraal a full *indaba* (or council) of indunas was held that after lengthy discussion a treaty was signed between myself acting on behalf of the British South Africa Company, and the King of Manika. Before signing the document, it was most carefully explained to Umtasa that if he had at any time granted any treaty or concession to anyone else, the negotiations would be at once closed. And it was only after his repeated assurance that such was not the case, that no treaty of any kind had ever been executed by him, and no concession ever granted to the Portuguese, that the Company's treaty with him was duly signed and formally witnessed by two of his own indunas and some members of my party.

We learnt that some Portuguese connected with the Mozambique Company were established at Massi Kessi, at the foot of the slope of the plateau, and it was stated that the Company claimed a large tract of territory west of Massi Kessi by virtue of a concession from the Portuguese Government.

Umtasa, as I say, was repeatedly asked whether at any time he had ever ceded his country, either to the Portuguese Government or to the directors of the Mozambique Company, and lie as repeatedly denied ever having done so, as also did his chief counsellors. When questioned as to the terms he was on with the Baron de Rezende, the local representative of the Mozambique Company at Massi Kessi he said, "I allow him to live there. He sometimes gives me presents, but I have not given him my country, nor have I ever concluded any treaty with him." Later on he said repeatedly that the Portuguese held an assegai at his heart, and when pressed for an explanation of this statement affirmed that he was terrorised and compelled to do what the Baron required of him by the threat that if he gave any trouble Gouveia would be called in to invade his territory with a large armed force. There is no doubt that the fear of this Portuguese free-lance, ever looming in the distance, was instrumental in great measure in inducing Umtasa to conclude the treaty he did. It is true that he was evidently very greatly impressed by the fact of a British expedition coming through the Matabele country from

the far south, and some of its members so soon finding their way into his own dominions. The whiteness of our skins, as opposed to the dark yellow or black of the Portuguese half-castes, and our travelling with horses and pack animals, and without porters and palanquins *à la Portugaise*, were also a source of great astonishment to him. But the fact he seized upon and grasped at once was undoubtedly the offer of protection by the British South Africa Company both for himself and his people. At the chief's urgent request one policeman and a native interpreter were left with him as representatives of the Company, pending the establishment later on of a regular police post to safeguard the Company's interests in the Manika country, and to protect Umtasa against any attack that might be made upon him.

The treaty entered into between Umtasa and the British South Africa Company is most comprehensive. It provides that no one can possess lands in Manika except with the consent of the Company in writing; it concedes to the Company complete mineral rights; it gives permission for the construction and establishment of public works and conveniences of all kinds, such as roads, railways, tramways, banks, &c. On the Company's side the king is assured of British protection both for himself and his people, and the payment of an annual subsidy, either in money or in trading goods, at the option of the king. In concluding this treaty the British South Africa Company became possessed of a most valuable addition to Mashonaland.

Independently of Manika bringing the Company nearer to the seaboard (to which it is of such vital importance to have access), and leading up to steps which brought about the treaty of the 11th of June, 1891, by which the navigation of the Zambesi and Shiré was declared free to all nations, and railway communication obtained via the Pungwé, the Company secured a territory of undoubted great mineral wealth. From time immemorial "the gold-fields of Manika" have been marked on all maps. Our party passed through three valleys (watered by the Revue, the Umfuli, and Zambesi Rivers), and we saw hillsides literally honeycombed with old alluvial workings for gold. When these extensive and very numerous workings were made it is impossible to say, but certainly centuries ago. The general opinion is that these shafts and pits, in places fully seventy and eighty feet deep (in many of which trees of good size have grown), were worked by gangs of slave labour under skilled supervision. Large quantities of gold must undoubtedly have been taken out of the country.

The "ancient kingdom of Manika," as it is called, was evidently at one time more extensive than at present. In recent years, however, the area covered by the Manika kingdom proper seems to have undergone some shrinking process, especially on the east. Certain of Umtasa's vassals have fallen away—instigated and encouraged by the Portuguese, doubtless—from their lawful ruler. Umtasa himself, as I have said, maintained that he had been "pressed by the assegai of the Portuguese," and no doubt this has been the case with many others less able to take care of themselves.

## **GOUVEIA.**

The chief instrument of the Portuguese in carrying out their professions of "occupation" in these territories was the man named Gouveia (who met his death in 1892, when fighting a powerful neighbouring chief named Makombi, in what was known among the Portuguese as the "guerra de Makombi"), of whom a good deal was heard in connection with the Manika affair. Amongst the weak and unwarlike tribes of South-Eastern Africa this Goanese adventurer, Gouveia, otherwise known as Manuel Antonio de Soura, was regarded with feelings of mingled terror and detestation. And it is a matter of reproach to a nation which makes loud boast of its enlightenment and civilisation that the terror inspired by such an agent should be the sole machinery which they possess to govern and control (and practically shut off from all the ameliorating influences of trade and commerce) many small tribes of unwarlike natives powerless to resist. Gouveia, the worthy "capitão-mór" of the Gorongoza province, had done considerable service for his employers. He had been, as I say, the repulsive instrument employed by them in all their "little wars," and, as occasion arose, had been told off and commissioned to punish or (to use the expressive native term) "eat up" recalcitrant native chiefs that did not at once appreciate the blessings of being brought under Portuguese influence by jumping at the offer of their flag. This is the usual mode of establishing a footing with the simple-minded native chiefs;—the first, and frequently the only, step in Portuguese "occupation." Gouveia was a man of considerable strength of character, had a large force of armed blacks under his command, and not being too particular about his methods of warfare, he had inspired great dread among the various chiefs.

One of the so-called "Zambesi Princes," he had, by means of an annual subsidy, the arms liberally supplied, and the support generally accorded him by the Portuguese, gradually gathered around him at his capital a body of probably as great scoundrels as that part of the world could produce. He had also, like "Colonel Ignacio de Xavier" (near Tete) and other Zambesi Princes, a very-large number of slaves, and others whose servitude is hardly distinguishable from slavery.

## **THE PORTUGUESE IN S.E. AFRICA.**

This man and the force at his disposal constituted the whole quasi-military force of Portugal in interior South-East Africa. On the coast, it is true—at Ibo, Angoche, Chiloane, and Delagoa Bay there were small garrisons of so-called "troops" and police—at three of these places commanded by Goanese; but they were so sickly, so ill-drilled, in a word such wretched material, that it is no exaggeration to say that all these garrisons together could not furnish fifty men for service in the interior. At Mozambique there were some 250 men, and at Quilimane 50, the greater part quite unfit for active service through climatic disease. Delagoa Bay requires every "man" of its available force for local protection and police duties. One fact will illustrate the strength of the Portuguese on the coast. When Quilimane was threatened in 1884 by the natives, the authorities and garrison took flight in boats, leaving the British and foreign merchants under Mr. F. Moir, of the African Lakes Company, to meet and repel the enemy, which they gallantly did near Mopea, quite unassisted by the Portuguese. At Inhambane, north of Delagoa Bay, bodies of so-called "Zulus" are enlisted by the Portuguese. Though not really Zulus, and indifferent fighting material, they are sufficiently good for acting against the interior native tribes, wretchedly armed and, generally speaking, spiritless peaceable agriculturists. These Zulus were employed by Serpa Pinto on his famous (or infamous) expeditions against the Makololo and on the Shire, the principal object of their employment being to keep together the main body of his expedition, a slave force drawn from the slave *prazos* in the neighbourhood of the Quilimane River.

## THE PORTUGUESE AT MASSI KESSI.

Gouveia, then, was the main support of the Portuguese in the interior, and Umtasa had very good reason, by means of diplomacy, or otherwise, to avoid coming into collision with the Portuguese or bringing about one of those visits of persuasion with which Gouveia, on behalf of the Portuguese, had of late years favoured more than one independent chief—notably Makombe, at whose hands he afterwards met his death. Umtasa had also seen another neighbouring independent chief, Motoko—whose territory is close to what is marked as the Kaiser Wilhelm gold-fields on most maps—attacked by Gouveia; and although Motoko, who is said to have an unconquerable aversion to the Portuguese, had so well held his own that the "Guerra de Motoko" and its native equivalent are household words, Umtasa doubtless thought discretion the better part of valour. He therefore affected not to take any notice of the so-called Portuguese "occupation" at Massi Kessi, and had, to use his own expression, been "sitting watching." In addition to the Baron at Massi Kessi, there had been recently several engineers employed in making reconnaissances for the much-talked-of Portuguese railway to Manika, sanctioned by royal decree in hot haste when matters were somewhat strained at Lisbon. With these exceptions, however, and one or two half-breeds living at a place on the Pungwé River close to the coast, there were no Portuguese, either pure blood or cross-breed, south of the Zambesi, in the interior of "Portuguese" South-East Africa.

Upon the conclusion of the Manika Treaty, Mr. Selous and two others of my mission rode on to Massi Kessi, where, it was said, some Portuguese were established. Mr. Selous and his friends on their way to that place met a party of East Coast blacks with two Portuguese officials (one a captain in the Portuguese army, the other a civil engineer), recently arrived from the coast, and bearing a letter to me—I having remained behind in the neighbourhood of Umtasa's kraal—protesting against the presence of the representatives of the British South Africa Company in Manika, as well as in Mashonaland generally. On hearing that Mr. Selous, who had informed them where I could be found, wished to go on to Massi Kessi, they intimated their willingness to fall in with that arrangement, and Mr. Selous went on and visited the Baron de Bezende. The latter may have under normal circumstances a small retinue of black "soldiers;" but these, it was understood, had been told off summarily to swell the *cortège énorme, avec un drapeau déployé* (as the party was afterwards described), despatched late the evening before with the letter of protest to myself. Every nerve had no doubt been strained to render the *cortège* of as imposing an appearance as possible, with the object of duly impressing me with the solid and substantial, not to say military, nature of Portuguese occupation. Beyond, however, this one isolated representative of the Mozambique Company, Mr. Selous failed to trace the existence of one single other resident Portuguese, either official, colonist, trader, or miner. There were certainly some two or three engineers in the neighbourhood, temporarily engaged in surveying, and there were the two recently arrived officials from the coast already mentioned.

The contrast between this and the occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company struck us very forcibly soon after. At Fort Salisbury—to say nothing of what had been done at the various stations below—within one month of the arrival of the expedition, three hundred prospectors were scouring the country in all directions in search of gold, forts had been built, huts were springing up in every direction; postal communication, too, was punctually kept up from below, and the work of administration was being soundly and firmly established.

The Baron de Rezende was spoken of in high terms by the English prospectors who enjoyed the privilege

of his acquaintance. Towards Mr. Selous and party his demeanour was that of frigid official courtesy. He protested against our presence both in Manika and Mashonaland. He pointed out that all these territories belonged to his Majesty the King of Portugal from time immemorial; that the *roitelet* of Manika was a vassal of theirs; that their authority was based upon ancient rights, and rights secured from Gungunhama, King of the Gaza country, who recently had been induced to move with his people to the neighbourhood of Delagoa Bay, so as to enable the Portuguese to have a freer hand in Gaza-land and Manika, as well as to keep in touch with this powerful Kafir prince. It must be admitted that Baron de Rezende, though evidently suffering from intense irritation, played his part courteously and well. He performed with dignity and tact the exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, task of bolstering up and defending claims and pretensions to vast regions which, in legal phraseology, have no foundation either in substance or in fact.

## THE PORTUGUESE IN MANIKA.

Meanwhile, towards the end of October, in consequence of reports from native sources that Colonel Paiva d'Andrada, accompanied by Gouveia with a largo force of armed natives, was approaching the Manika country from the east, I determined to take decisive measures. I despatched small parties of police under Lieutenants Graham and the Hon. Eustace Fiennes, and later Major P. W. Forbes, to Umtasa's. To Major Forbes, in whom I had great confidence, I gave explicit instructions, which he carried out to my entire satisfaction. I judged that officer, who, for one so young, had considerable experience of the conditions of soldiering in South Africa, to be a man of clear judgment, vigorous mind, and determined character, of which he has since given abundant proof. Upon his arrival at Umtasa's kraal on November 5th, Major Forbes learnt that Colonel Paiva d'Andrada, accompanied by Gouveia, had recently arrived at Massi Kessi with from 250 to 300 so-called "bearers," the majority armed with rifles, sword bayonets, and reserves of ammunition. The avowed object of this armed force was to mete out punishment to Umtasa for signing the obnoxious treaty of September 14th. Major Forbes at once sent a letter to Colonel Paiva d'Andrada at Massi Kessi, protesting against his entering the Manika country with a large armed force, and warning him against taking any steps which might wear the appearance of an attempt to upset the treaty, as any such action on his part would inevitably lead to serious and grave complications. Major Forbes requested Colonel Paiva d'Andrada to withdraw his force both from Manika and from the territory of any Chief with whom treaties had been concluded by the British South Africa Company. This letter Colonel d'Andrada declined to answer.

Three days later, without any warning, Gouveia appeared at and occupied the Chief Umtasa's kraal with some seventy of his armed followers. Major Forbes, on hearing that Gouveia had established himself at the King's kraal, at once sent him a letter protesting against his presence there, and warning him that any attempt to coerce the Chief into granting interviews would be in defiance of his orders, which were to prevent any outside interference with the Chief Umtasa; and these orders he was prepared, if necessary, to carry out by force. To this letter Gouveia verbally replied that he should go where he liked, and that no Englishman should stop him. The daily expected reinforcements of the Company's police had not arrived, and with only a handful of men at his disposal, Major Forbes deemed it inadvisable to attempt to eject Gouveia from Umtasa's stronghold, situated, as we have seen, in a mountain fastness difficult of access. Meanwhile Colonel d'Andrada and the Baron de Rezende, with a large number of followers, all well armed, went inside Umtasa's stockaded kraal. In spite of Major Forbes's protests, news reached him on the 14th that both Colonel d'Andrada and Baron de Rezende had, with over 200 armed native followers, joined Gouveia at Umtasa's kraal, the last named having persisted in remaining there with the avowed object of intimidating the Chief into a repudiation of the treaty. Major Forbes at once decided to put an end, by a *coup de main*, to the persistent action of the Portuguese in coercing and menacing the Company's friendly ally. With an escort of twelve men, he proceeded direct to the King's kraal, and meeting the Baron de Rezende at the threshold, informed him that he was to consider himself a prisoner. Penetrating behind the thick palisade of rough poles among the numerous huts of the now thoroughly alarmed and excited natives (who rushed to their arms, and ran about wildly in all directions), the representatives of the Company's police proceeded in their search and within a short time arrested Colonel d'Andrada and Gouveia (the former being highly indignant and protesting volubly), persuading them that resistance was useless, and that they must proceed under escort to his camp. Meanwhile the second party, a few hundred yards off, were busy carrying out the task assigned to them of disarming the armed "bearers" of the Portuguese. The scene was an animated one. Upon the appearance of this party, and in the absence of their leader Gouveia, complete demoralization ensued among his followers. Thus was effected quietly but firmly, without the firing of a shot or the loss of a single life, a very effective *coup de main*, destined to have important consequences, not only as regards Manika, but the position of the British South Africa Company generally. The plan of campaign of this "peaceful mission" of the Portuguese was to have been as follows: Umtasa, after having been brought to a proper frame of mind by the persuasive presence of Gouveia in his kraal for some

days, was, on the arrival of Colonel d'Andrada and Baron de Rezende, in full *indaba*, to have made the astounding statement that twenty years ago in return for Gouveia's "saving his life" (in other words, in return for services rendered him by Gouveia in the shape of helping him in some war with a neighbouring chief), he had sent an "elephant's tusk full of earth" to Gouveia, with the words, "Take my country—but come and save me."

Colonel Paiva d'Andrada protested that he was there on a peaceable mission as director of the Mozambique Company, accompanied by his friend Gouveia, an employé of the Company, and the Baron de Rezende, the local agent; they were there to discuss certain questions in connection with the mining interests of the Company with Umtasa. Similar protests Colonel d'Andrada repeated later, resulting in an action taken against the British South Africa Company, still undecided. These assurances, however, were hardly reconcilable with the facts that the bearers carried not only arms, but side-arms; that orders had actually been given to barricade the enclosure gateways, and not only offer resistance to the approach of any English to the Chief's kraal, but to drive by force the small body of the Company's police out of Manika altogether—"peaceable" designs happily frustrated by the sudden and vigorous action taken by Major Forbes. That officer decided to despatch Colonel d'Andrada and Gouveia to Fort Salisbury, for to have released them upon parole in the Manika country would have been a fatal mistake. Such action would have been attributed by the natives to weakness, and might have led to a dangerous rising among Gouveia's people in the Gorongoza province; whilst the arrest and deportation of the much-dreaded Gouveia by a handful of the British South Africa Company's police could not but raise British prestige not only in Manika, but throughout the whole of South-Eastern Africa. The next day Colonel d'Andrada and Gouveia were accordingly despatched as prisoners on parole to Fort Salisbury. It was decided that Baron de Rezende (also placed on parole) should be allowed to return to Massi Kessi. Meanwhile Major Forbes occupied Massi Kessi quietly and without any show of resistance. He had taken with him Baron de Rezende, and also Mons de Llamby, an engineer of the Company of Mozambique. On their arrival at Massi Kessi (which is nothing but a trading station and stockaded compound, built by the Mozambique Company), both these gentlemen were released, and Massi Kessi was temporarily occupied by a small detachment of the British South Africa Company's forces. Upon the arrival at Fort Salisbury of Colonel Paiva d'Andrada and Gouveia, a prolonged interview with myself resulted in their being sent down country for the instructions of Mr. Rhodes and the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch. From first to last the prisoners were treated with scrupulous courtesy, and every consideration was shown them by the Company's officials that was possible under somewhat embarrassing circumstances.

Writing after the event I am still of opinion, as I was then, that the steps taken by me were expedient. It must be remembered that our position in the country was by no means an assured one—exposed to the suspicion and animosity of the Matabele on the west, the jealousy and envy of the Boers on the south, and the bitter resentment of the Portuguese on the east and north-east. The arrest and deportation of these Portuguese officers removed a possible cause of danger to the existence of the new colony.

The incident caused great excitement in Portugal and much bitter feeling against England. It is not necessary to refer, except in the briefest terms, to the occurrences of that time. Bands of student volunteers were raised in Lisbon, and amid a whirlwind of patriotic demonstrations sent off to Beira, at the mouth of the Pungwé, with the apparent intention of marching on Manika and ejecting the British. Nothing, however, came of all these preparations for war beyond an attack on the British South Africa Company's border police post at Umtali, in Manika, made on May 11, 1891, when the Portuguese force was repulsed by Captain Heyman and a small number of our police.

The difficulties between England and Portugal were, after much further negotiation, happily ended by the ratification of a new agreement dated June 11, 1891, under which Portugal fared certainly worse than under the treaty repudiated by the Cortes. The boundary was drawn further east than in the previous treaty. The frontier, starting from the Zambesi near Zumbo, runs in a general south-east direction to a point where the Mazoe River is cut by the thirty-third degree of east longitude; it then runs in a generally south direction to the junction of the Limpopo and Sabi, whence it strikes south-west to the north-east corner of the South African Republic, on the Limpopo. The frontier follows the edge of the plateau; but the Portuguese sphere was not allowed to come further west than 32° 30' E. of Greenwich, nor the British sphere east of 88° E. A slight deflection was made westwards to include Massi Kessi in the Portuguese sphere, Umtasa's town being left in the British sphere.

## **CLAIMS OF PORTUGAL TO GAZALAND.**

The claims of Portugal to Gazaland may be very briefly referred to. Gazaland is a vast native territory situate on the South-East African littoral, bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean for some six hundred miles, on the north by the Zambesi for about three hundred miles, on the west by Mashonaland, and on the south by Tongaland, Swaziland, and to the Transvaal.

Early in this century Gazaland—indeed South Africa south of the Zambesi—as far south as the Kei River district in what is now the Cape Colony, was populated by a large number of clans or tribes of aborigines of the great Bantu race, and all speaking one or other of the dialects of that tongue. One of these tribes claimed dominant power, and, by the commanding powers of its leader Chaka, and the warlike attributes of the tribe itself, this Zulu tribe grew by conquest till it had consolidated in one large empire all the other hitherto independent clans and tribes within a radius of several hundred miles. Chaka's power was thus extended all over the present Colony of Natal, a portion of the Cape Colony, the district of Delagoa Bay, and the eastern portion of the Orange Free State and Transvaal. In 1820 two of Chaka's fighting captains fell into disgrace. One of these, Umziligazi, as noticed elsewhere, ravaged his way to Matabeleland, and the other, Soshangane, broke to the north and settled in Gazaland, where he was accepted as paramount chief. When Soshangane died he was succeeded by Umzila, who on his death left a well-consolidated kingdom to his chief son, Umdungazwe (called also Gungunyane and Gungunhama), the present paramount chief. Not long after Umzila's death, Umdungazwe sent an embassy to the Governor of Natal with the intimation that Umzila was dead, and that he, Umdungazwe, reigned in his stead, but the mission received no encouragement.

The Portuguese were tolerated on the coast by the natives, and their influence gradually extended inland. The possession of the only ports in use on the Gaza littoral allowed the Portuguese to control the ingress to the country from the sea.

The Portuguese are understood to base their claims to Gazaland upon its discovery by the Portuguese, the contention that the Gaza king is their vassal, and the assumed existence of a treaty alleged to have been made between Gungunhama and themselves. This proved to be a document signed at Lisbon, from which the signature of Gungunhama is absent. It is not necessary to discuss the validity or otherwise of the other contentions, as, although Gungunhama sent two envoys to England in the summer of 1891 to offer his allegiance to Her Majesty, Lord Salisbury declined to take him under British protection, except as to that portion of his territory which, according to the Anglo-Portuguese agreement, lies within the British sphere.

What Portugal will do with Gazaland remains to be seen. It is much to be feared it will be in the future what it has been in the past—nothing. Portugal has certainly not the capital to carry out the work of colonisation and development, and seemingly she no longer possesses the great initiative energy she once undoubtedly possessed in this direction.

## THE WAR.

The responsibility for the war rests neither with the British South Africa Company nor with Lo Bengula. The blame lies with the "war-party" in Matabeleland—in other words, the "matjaka," the young unmarried soldiery—who have been at all times impatient of control by their indunas, or chiefs, and even by the King himself. There has been from the first on the part of the High Commissioner (Sir Henry Loch), Mr. Rhodes, and Dr. Jameson, prudence, patience, and skill in the conduct of our relations with the Matabele, with the view of averting collision so long as it could be avoided or postponed. Lo Bengula has throughout been subject to circumstances which occasionally overmaster the very ablest and most powerful of rulers—the will of the people; in Matabeleland that of the military hierarchy, of which the most dangerous section, again, is the "matjaka." I well recollect when the Pioneer Expedition started on its journey to effect the occupation of Mashonaland, it was a matter of grave doubt whether Lo Bengula would be able to control the "war-party," and the situation at various times during the progress of the Expedition was undoubtedly critical he had no desire to fight; not that he was particularly friendly to the Expedition, but he understood the strength of the white man and the inevitable result of collision. He had a most difficult part to play to retain his seat on his throne and his head on his shoulders; and, in order to accomplish this, he was obliged to manage the matjaka with great tact and adroitness. Any symptom of either yielding or wavering might at any second have cost him his life. At last, three years after the occupation of Mashonaland, the "matjaka" got the upper hand, and forced what was practically a declaration of war.

## THE MATABELE ORGANISATION.

The Matabele are divided into three classes, which prevents the unification of the people into a powerful nation or tribe as follows:—

- Abezansi.—Original tribe who came from Zululand with Umziligazi or their descendants.
- Abemhla.—Original Bechuanas, taken captive on the entry into Matabeleland.
- Maholi.—Captives from neighbouring tribes (Mashonas, Makalakas, Barotse, &c.) taken on raids.

The Abezansi, and even the Abemhla, are supposed not to marry out of their own class; the Maholi are slaves, but practically become Matabele, though held naturally in far less account than the other two, especially

the first.

The country is divided into four great sections, forming territorial divisions, under four chief Indunas, named:

(1) Amabuto, (2) Amgapa (Egapa), (3) Amhlope, (4) Amakanda,

In every division are a certain number of kraals, each of which has one or more indunas, according to their size. A kraal bearing the name of a regiment forms its head-quarters, the war-shields and assegais being kept in a hut in the centre. Kraals are placed near water and wood, and when the timber has been cleared for miles around, or the water and pasturage become insufficient, the kraal is burnt and another established in a fresh place. Thus they are moved every ten years or so, Buluwayo being some eighteen miles north of the position the capital once occupied.

The army, according to the most reliable estimates, may be taken at 15,000, in about twenty regiments of something like 750 each. New regiments are formed when there are sufficient men of a class able to wield the assegai, permission being then granted to build a kraal with the regimental title.

The soldiers are supposed to marry by regiments, and only when they have arrived at a certain age, or have distinguished themselves in the field, when they are allowed to wear the head-ring, Zulu-fashion (formed by working the hair with a certain gum and grease into an oval ring), while the "moutcha," or long fringe-apron, worn by the girls, is replaced by the dressed-hide petticoat of the matron. But in recent times the head-ring has been worn by young men who have qualified neither by age nor service in the field beyond, perhaps, some poor victims on a Mashona raid—some old man, woman, or child—who has fallen to their assegai.

Their war-formation is similar to the Zulus: they deploy into a crescent, and try to outflank the enemy with the two horns, about eight to ten deep at the centre and four deep at the two extremities. As anticipated the Matabele have employed, almost exclusively the assegai and stabbing spear, their national weapons; the thousand breech-loaders, of which a good deal had been heard having seemingly hardly been brought into use.

## **FUTURE PACIFIC POLICY.**

The Matabele are not all warriors. They possess much of the raw material of a peaceful and hard-working people; and a certain proportion has already tasted the sweets of justice and regular payment of wages in the Transvaal and even in Mashonaland. But it present the flower of the nation is locked up in the military-system prevailing in the country. Once this caste is broken up, the more peaceable and industrious elements will detach themselves and settle down. I have already expressed this opinion through the medium of the press, and, although a contrary view in quarters deserving of attention has been advanced, I would strongly reiterate it here.

There is also a feeling abroad which finds expression in a certain section of the press that the main object of the military operations now being carried out is to drive away the whole Matabele nation to the north of the Zambesi. Such a policy is impossible of execution in my opinion, and even if it were feasible, the establishment of a standing menace north of the Zambesi would prove most highly-disadvantageous to the Company's territory south of that river as well as to that controlled by the British Commissioner in Nyassaland. It must be borne in mind that a military campaign in the very difficult, remote, and not healthy region north of the Zambesi would prove a very different task to that of coping with the Matabele where they now are, namely, in a healthy open table-land, with several practicable roads into the country. Merely to remove, or rather hide away, the present difficulty by such a policy would be most unwise, from purely military reasons. There is, however, another consideration, an economic one of the highest importance.

The future prosperity of the country depends entirely upon two things—efficient transport and sufficient labour. White mining labour alone, it must be remembered, is out of the question. Even at Johannesburg and Kimberley the mines would have to close to-morrow if native labour were not available. Fortunately Mr. Rhodes' past record in dealing with difficult situations warrants the belief that he will successfully overcome the present one.

## **THE RAINY SEASON.**

A most important feature in the present situation is the time of the commencement of the rainy season, which varies considerably. As a general rule this period extends from November to April, and during this time field-operations for Europeans will be rendered impossible, while the Matabele would merely be hampered. The rains would render the movement of our necessary transport and supplies almost impossible—though the pioneers in Mashonaland are mostly men inured to hardship, and not to be daunted by any ordinary obstacles or difficulties—and sickness would be great. The Matabele would be able to move about, though I must correct the erroneous impression that they could operate as well in the rainy as in the dry season, for such is not the case. As a matter of fact, the Matabele impis have hitherto avoided military operations in the rains. But in a

matter of a life-and-death struggle they could, and undoubtedly would, fight in the rainy season. It is obvious that, armed merely with the assegai and stabbing-spear, and subsisting on herds of driven cattle, they can afford to disregard the rains in a manner which their European antagonists cannot.

## **THE COMPANY'S PERSONNEL ON THE SPOT.**

It has been my lot, both as a Government official and as special war-correspondent, to witness European military operations against native races in various parts of the world, and I am, therefore, in a position to bear testimony to the magnificent fighting qualities and spirit animating both officers and men of the Company's forces and the Imperial Bechuanaland Border Police. In the person of Mr. Selous, as scout or intelligence officer, the Company's forces possess "eyes and ears" of the very greatest value, and indispensable to those officers—Jameson, Forbes, Willoughby, Goold-Adams—in whose hands, under the direction of Mr. Rhodes, is vested the conduct of the campaign, ably seconded by such men as Major Alan Wilson, Commandant Raaf, Lieutenant Biscoe, and other officers. Dr. Jameson, the present Administrator of Mashonaland, is admirably fitted, by reason of his singular knowledge and grasp of the Matabele character and policy, to deal with the present critical position of affairs. Major Forbes, I felt sure, from his decision of character, general capacity, and previous experience in Zululand and elsewhere in South Africa, as well as the three years he has passed in Mashonaland, would be of the greatest service in carrying out the campaign. Major Sir John Willoughby has travelled in the neighbouring territories, in addition to possessing an intimate knowledge of Mashonaland. Major Goold-Adams has served many years with the Bechuanaland Police, knows the southern Matabele frontier well, and, having accompanied Sir Sidney Shippard to Buluwayo in 1888, is one of the few military men who have visited Lo Bengula's capital.

The events of the past few weeks are doubtless still fresh in your minds. As you are aware, in a series of engagements conducted with singular success, signal defeat has been inflicted upon the Matabele army, Buluwayo has been occupied by the forces of the British South Africa Company, and Lo Bengula is a fugitive. As the tsetse-fly in the low country to the north presents a serious obstacle to the passage of cattle, and as the Barotse are said to be prepared to offer a stout resistance along the line of the Zambesi, we may deem it probable that the overtures for surrender, now being made to the King, will before long be accepted, and that with his surrender the greater section of the people will submit and settle down.

## **THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.**

The expansion and partition of South Africa cannot be described here at length, but it may be noted that it was only when some of the European Powers, developing colonial aspirations, began to partition Africa that Britain took steps to secure a portion of the regions rapidly being appropriated.

The first move was in 1885 the extension of sovereignty over British Bechuanaland and the country northward to the Zambesi, ensuing upon the expedition of Sir Charles Warren.

The Boers in 1885 planned an expedition for taking possession of Mashonaland, and the Portuguese showed signs of renewed activity in 1887 when a protest was made by Lord Salisbury against an official Portuguese map claiming a portion of Matabeleland.

Germans, Boers, Portuguese being thus ready to lay hands on Matabeleland, it became evident that no time was to be lost if Britain was to secure the Zambesi as the northern limit of her South African extension.

## **THE CONCESSION FROM LO BENGULA.**

In 1888 a treaty of amity and peace was concluded with Lo Bengula, which bound the King to refrain from entering into any correspondence or treaty with foreign Powers without the sanction of the High Commissioner for South Africa. Various syndicates were despatched to Matabeleland for the purpose of obtaining permission for the exploitation, mining and working of minerals in his territory, and a concession was granted to Mr. C. D. Budd, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, and Mr. F. R. Thompson, in consideration of the monthly payment of one hundred sovereigns to himself, His heirs and successors, the delivery of one thousand Martini breech-loading rifles and ammunition, and the placing of a gunboat, with guns suitable for defensive purposes, on the Zambesi river. This concession was, later on, enlarged by the acquisition of rights as to the disposal of vacant lands with due regard to existing native tenures.

## **THE FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.**

In 1889 the various interests were concentrated in one company, and Mr. Rhodes and his associates holding the concession granted by Lo Bengula, took steps for the founding of the British South Africa Company, under

Royal Charter, for the purpose of working the mineral and other concessions, of extending railways and telegraphs in the direction of the Zambesi, of encouraging emigration and colonisation, and of promoting trade and commerce. The Imperial Government granted the charter on October 29, 1889, according to the British South Africa Company powers of government in the country lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, to the west and north of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese dominions. The Charter further provided for a deed of settlement defining the objects of the Company, and containing regulations for the conduct of its affairs, which was completed on February 3, 1891. The names of those to whom it was granted were the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit, Mr. Albert Grey, and Mr. Cawston. The capital; of the company was a million sterling.

## **MR. RHODES.**

Mr. Rhodes, who has been so prominent during the past few year in connection with schemes for the expansion of British South Africa, is destined to play a leading part in the future. So much has been written regarding him that it is unnecessary to give more than the briefest outline of his career. Finding himself at the age of sixteen in South Africa, where he had gone in search of health, he at first took to farming, and then was in the early rush to Kimberley, where he afterwards made a large fortune. He came to England, and took his degree at Oxford. On his return to South Africa he was, as Deputy-Commissioner in Bechuanaland, largely, instrumental in securing and organising that territory for England. For many years a member of the Cape Parliament, he became Treasurer-General (equivalent to our Chancellor of the Exchequer) at twenty-eight years of age. Gordon met Mr. Rhodes at the Cape, and asked him to join in the Mission to Khartoum, which circumstances made it impossible to accept. After obtaining the Charter for the British South Africa Company, and organising the Pioneer Expedition for the occupation of Mashonaland, he became Premier of the Cape Colony in 1890.

## **STEPS TAKEN TOWARDS THE OCCUPATION OF MASHONALAND.**

The first action taken was to arrange the extension northwards of the Colonial Railway, which then terminated at Kimberley. Agreements were made with the High Commissioner and the Cape Government, under which the line was continued from Kimberley to Vryburg, and is to be prolonged by the Company to Mafeking. The line was opened to Vryburg on December 3, 1890.

A grant of 6,000 square miles of land in British Bechuanaland, with all mineral rights, in aid of the construction of the line to Vryburg, was made to the Company. The Cape Government took 4,000 square miles of this, and the balance 2,000 square miles, with a farther Government grant of 6,000 square miles, was made available towards the cost of the Mafeking section, which is now in hand.

Simultaneously with the railway, the telegraph system was intended northwards from Mafeking, under the superintendence of Sir James Sivewright, and progressed rapidly. By the end of 1891, the wire had been laid beyond Fort Victoria (630 miles from Mafeking), and on February 16, 1892, it was completed as far as Salisbury, covering a total distance of 819 miles.

Native labour was largely used in this work. On the first portions the men belonging to the tribes of the chiefs Montsoia, Batwen, and Ikaning were successively employed, and later on Khama sanctioned the employment of his subjects.

The telegraph is now being carried northwards towards the Zambesi, to form connection later with Nyassaland, joining all the lakes, and eventually linking on the Cape to Cairo, an important project planned by Mr. Rhodes.

In 1889 the Portuguese again became active, and Colonel Paiva d'Andrade, an able officer, took steps (too late, however) to establish some semblance of effective occupation. Negotiations with Lo Bengula, early in 1890, resulted in his permission being given for the development of the eastern position of his territory, known as Mashonaland, and, towards that end, for the entry of an expedition by a route skirting the eastern edge of the plateau, known as Matabeleland, avoiding all contact with the kraals, and so far as possible, the danger of exciting the suspicions and hostility of the Matabele, more especially the military or war party, who were much opposed to the idea of the expedition.

## **THE PIONEER EXPEDITION OF 1890.**

A scheme for the occupation of Mashonaland was elaborated by Mr. Rhodes early in 1890, whereby a Pioneer Expedition of 200 armed and mounted Europeans, composed of English and South African volunteers, was organised by Major Frank Johnson for the purpose of opening a road into Mashonaland and reaching the objective point, Mount Hampden, and there establishing an administrative centre. This force, commanded by

Major Johnson, was strengthened by a body of 500 mounted police, especially raised for the purpose, admirably equipped with arms, mounted and machine-guns, electric light and other appliances; the whole most efficiently commanded by Colonel Pennefather, of the Inniskilling Dragoons.

The expedition had very serious difficulties to contend with it the time—on the west the impis of Lo Bengula; on the south the Boers; on the east and north-east the Portuguese. The position of affairs on several occasions was undoubtedly critical, and it was with difficulty Lo Bengula prevented his matjakas from attacking the expedition.

It is not necessary here to relate at any length the story of this expedition, which attracted much attention at the time, but a few of the main features may be recounted.

The expedition started from the Macloutsie River on the 25th of June, 1890, and in ten weeks' time reached its objective. A march of 450 miles, and a road cut through bush and forest, with difficult rivers to traverse, was accomplished. Four forts were established *en route*, and drifts across rivers and corduroy bridges made, without any collision having occurred with the Matabele, without a shot being fired, or a life lost. On the 12th of September, 1890, the expedition reached its destination—the present town of Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland.

Here I ask to be permitted to speak in terms of eulogy of this enterprise, so peaceably and successfully executed, which justly evoked the admiration of the English race, which I do with the less hesitation as I was in no way responsible for the conduct of the undertaking, having merely accompanied it with instruction to report on the expedition, and entrusted with a commission to assume the duties of Administrator on arrival at Mount Hampden.

Before reaching that point, and soon after arriving on the plateau, I made a detour eastward for the purpose of visiting the Manika country, and, while there, negotiated the treaty, of which an account has been given. I then undertook the office of Administrator.

The successful occupation of Mashonaland and progress made by the pioneers was viewed with great resentment by Portugal. An agreement was concluded in August, 1890 (while the Pioneer Expedition was on its way to Mashonaland) between England and Portugal, by which the eastern limits of the Company's territory were determined, and the course of the Sabi River, from north to south, taken as a boundary. The treaty was never ratified; it was, however, taken as the basis of a *modus vivendi*, pending further negotiation. Afterwards occurred the trouble with the Portuguese in Manika, which at one time threatened to take a very serious turn, of which the history has already been given.

## THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF MASHONALAND.

The machinery for the administration of the country was soon organized, on a somewhat rough but simple and effective basis. In terms of their contract the pioneers were disbanded, and immediately dispersed in every direction seeking for gold. Most unfortunately the rains, which commenced in December 1890, were exceptionally severe and protracted; the rivers in our rear between the base and the plateau were in flood and impracticable for several months, thus causing an interruption in the communications. The expeditionary force had taken with it but limited supplies of food, clothing, and mining instruments, it being intended to push in more later on, which, however, was found to be impossible under the circumstances. We had to do our best with native meal, which was not plentiful, and for which we had not sufficient barter-stuff to pay, and the game which was shot. The prospectors in the low valleys, with an insufficiency of suitable clothing, food, and medicines, and poor tent accommodation, contracted malarial fever, from which recovery under the conditions was difficult. The result was much privation and hardship, and many deaths from sickness. As soon as possible after the rains began to abate communications were re-opened, and large quantities of supplies sent into the country, and gradually all the conditions of life in Mashonaland improved. A mission despatched by me to Tete, to procure food supplies, succeeded in bringing in a considerable amount, and proved very useful.

The overcoming of such initial difficulties as were encountered in the first days of Mashonaland was largely due to the co-operation of Major P. W. Forbes, commanding in Mashonaland during the absence of Colonel Pennefather on duty, and the other officers, and to the pluck and endurance of the men, whether police or pioneers.

The difficulties met with in organising the administration of a territory of the extent now occupied were considerable, especially with the greater number of the settlers dispersed in every direction in an eager search for gold.

Among the first steps taken by me were the formation of a headquarters at Salisbury, the establishment of postal communication, the laying out of townships, the creation of mining districts with Mining Commissioners, the dealing with applications for mining rights and licences, the adjustment of disputes among the settlers, the establishment of hospitals, the preparation and introduction of mining and other laws and

regulations, the initiation of a survey, the opening out of roads to the various mining centres, the despatch of missions to native chiefs, the diplomatic action with the Portuguese. It must also be borne in mind that the settlers were naturally very impatient for rapid progress, such as under the then existing conditions of the country was not possible.

Having suffered considerably from the climate in the rainy season of 1890-91 I was invalided home, and resigned my position as Administrator in the autumn of 1891, being succeeded by Dr. L. S. Jameson, the present Administrator.

In 1891 the military police force was disbanded, Colonel Pennefather and the majority of the officers returning to their regiments. Only a few men were retained to act as civil police, quartered at the various magisterial centres. To replace the military police a volunteer force was formed, the present strength of which is about five hundred, under Major Forbes as commanding officer. In addition to the volunteers, every able-bodied man is liable to serve in defence of the country, so that for this purpose a force of about one thousand five hundred men is held to be available.

## **LAND SETTLEMENT.**

A few words may be said on the subject of the land settlement.

Under the Rudd Concession the grantees obtained the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals within Lo Bengula's dominions, and authority to exclude from his dominions all persons seeking lands, metals, minerals, or mining rights, and an undertaking by Lo Bengula, to render them such needful assistance as they might require for the exclusion of such persons, and to grant no concession of land or mining rights from that date without the grantees' consent and concurrence. The Company was advised that under the clauses of their concession they might grant occupation rights over vacant lands, which would be good as against any other white claimant, though they did not enable them to effect a permanent land settlement, as it was clear that under this concession the land could not be completely dealt with without the joint consent of Lo Bengula and the grantees. In these circumstances, when it was ascertained that Lo Bengula had parted with his rights in the land to the representative of a group which had long taken a part in Matabeleland affairs, the Company acquired the rights so granted, which, along with the previous ones of the Company under the Rudd Concession and the ratification of these grants by the British Government, invest the Company with full power to deal with the land throughout Lo Bengula's dominions, subject of course to a full recognition of and respect for native tenures.

Precautions have been taken by the Administrator to stamp out the diseases known as lung-sickness and foot-and-mouth disease, which have appeared in Mashonaland, probably brought into the country by colonial and other oxen, and stringent measures have been taken in Bechuanaland to prevent the spread of the disease. No effective remedy has been found for horse-sickness, which is similar to that known in the Cape Colony and Transvaal, but with the advance of civilization it will doubtless gradually disappear here, as it has done elsewhere. It is the low country adjoining the high veldt that is so much subject to this awkward disease, so expensive and annoying to travellers.

## **NORTHERN ZAMBESIA.**

This is not the place to refer to Northern Zambesia, except in the very briefest terms. Apart from the treaty made with the chief of the Barotse, and with the majority of the lesser chiefs between the Barotse and Nyassaland, the African Lakes Company and the missionaries, who had been besieged by Arabs and subjected to annoyance at the hands of the Portuguese, have had their property confirmed, and are continuing the development of Nyassaland. Mr. H. H. Johnston, who early in 1891 was appointed Imperial Commissioner for Nyassaland, also acts as Administrator of the Company's sphere of operations north of the Zambesi, the expense of administration, involving an expenditure of 10,000*l.* per annum, being defrayed by the Company. Mr. Johnston has raised and equipped an Indian police force, established regular postal service, and has taken steps aiming at the development of the resources of the territories under his administration, of which an endeavour to breakup the power of the slave-traders in that region is the most important, as it is the most difficult.

## **FIELD OF THE B.S.A. COMPANY'S OPERATIONS.**

The Company's operations include the whole of the British sphere north of the Zambesi, except Nyassaland, placed under the control of an Imperial Commissioner. In 1889 three missions were despatched by the British South Africa Company; one under Mr. Lochner to the King of the Barotse, whose territory extends from the Portuguese province of Angola, over about 225,000 square miles: another under the African traveller,

Mr. Joseph Thomson, whose health unfortunately was greatly impaired by this expedition, to the Chiefs north of the Zambesi between the Barotse and Nyassaland; the third under Dr. Jameson, now Administrator of Mashonaland, to Gungunyane, the King of Gazaland. Friendly relations were established, and several valuable concessions, securing trading and mineral rights, as well as considerable tracts of territory, were obtained. It is intended to open up communication with Barotseland from Nyassa in the first instance, and later from Mashonaland.

The total extent of the British South Africa Company's territory, south and north of the Zambesi, is estimated at about 750,000 square miles, *an area exceeding that of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy combined*. A considerable part of this region consists of plateau lands lying at an elevation of from 4,000 to 4,500 feet. On these highlands south of the Zambesi the climate is healthy and well suited to Europeans, and the country generally is well adapted for agricultural purposes.

## **PROGRESS IN MASHONALAND SINCE 1890.**

Although three years have elapsed since the occupation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company, the very severe and protracted rains in 1890-91 prevented much being accomplished until the summer of 1891, when the general conditions of life were greatly improved, and food, clothing, shelter, and medicines were poured into the country. Since then, public buildings for the Administration have been erected; the Standard Bank (the leading South African banking institution) has established a branch; hotels and stores are plentiful; telegraphic communication *viâ* the Southern route is working well to all parts of the globe; and the line to connect Salisbury with Nyassa is being pushed forward. A good mail and passenger service to the East coast, with comfortable fast coaches, has been established between Umtali (in Manika) and Salisbury, thence connecting with the present termination of the Beira railway near Chimoyo. Townships have been laid out at I Salisbury, Victoria, and Umtali (in Manika), the first sale of "stands" (building sites) at these towns in July, 1892, realising £10,000. Administrative districts, presided over by magistrates, have been formed in Tuli, Victoria, Umtali, Salisbury, and Hartley. Mining commissioners and medical officers are stationed in all mining districts, and justices of the peace and "field-cornets" in the sub-districts. Missionaries of various denominations have established themselves throughout the country, including the Church of England, Roman Catholic Church, Wesleyans, Dutch Reformed Church, and the Salvation Army. Good hospitals have been established at Salisbury, Umtali, Tuli, and Victoria, and are in efficient working order.

Regarding the gold industry, on which the future of the country so largely depends, especially in its early stage, the extent of gold-bearing formation, upon which systematic active development is being carried on, is upwards of 27,000 square miles, the six gold-fields being as follows:—

- Victoria District, area of 70 miles long by 20 broad.
- Manika District, area of 50 miles long by 14 broad.
- Hartley Hill District, area of 40 miles long by 30 broad.
- Mazoe District, area of 40 miles long by 30 broad.
- Lo Magondi District, area of 30 miles long by 25 broad.
- Salisbury District, undetermined.

Mashonaland is a country with gold-reefs in all directions. Over 25,000 mining claims have been registered, and on over 4,000 of these the reefs have been partially tested by shafts and cross-cuts. It is stated on official authority that reefs have been tested at depths of between 200 and 300 feet below the surface, proving their permanence, and that, as a rule, the reefs at the lower depths maintain the yield obtained on the surface, and in some cases give even higher results. In other cases, where it was at one time feared that the "ancient workings" had exhausted the gold, it is proved that the richness of the reefs continues far below the depths which had been obtained by the previous workings.

Here it may be mentioned that, though expert opinion was unfavourable in the early stages of occupation, similar adverse opinion was expressed regarding the Randt (on which Johannesburg now stands), and this just before its development into an enormously valuable gold-field, now the third in any country of the world, and destined to take the first place, producing as follows:—

In addition to gold, other minerals have been discovered, and several claims marked out on reefs showing silver, copper, blende, tin, antimony, arsenic, and lead, while deposits of nitrate of potassium and coal have also been found.

It is believed that the gold-belt starting from Umtali, in Manika, passes through Victoria, and will in all probability connect with the gold-belt stretching eastward from the Tati Gold Fields in the south-western portion of Matabeleland, on which considerable development has taken place.

The Salisbury District was discovered in the early part of the present year. The reefs begin within fifteen miles of Salisbury, The present Administrator of Mashonaland, Dr. Jameson, has reported that five parallel

lines of reef are exposed, some of them very rich indeed, and that they evidently form a portion of the Mazoe belt in a direct line eastward, and still further east join the Enterprise series of reefs, and from there continue another seventy miles to the north-east up to the Pote Gold Fields—another recent discovery.

Other more recent discoveries are at Mount Darwin, about eighty miles north of Mazoe; at points a hundred and twenty miles north of Umtali (Manika), and eighty miles south of the same place; on the Tokwe River, about thirty miles west of Victoria; and in the commonage at Umtali (described by the Administrator as being phenomenally rich).

While the gold-formations at the places just mentioned are all very extensive, show visible freely, and give very rich pannings, they cannot be said to be in any sense developed at present.

Owing to the enormous cost of transport, prior to the opening of the Beira Railway in October last, very few machines, and these small and imperfect, are at present in the country, and it must be borne in mind that the quartz from which a large portion of the gold has been obtained was crushed by "dollies" worked by hand. Returns show, however, that the average yield of gold per ton is high. The total output reported to April 12, 1893, was 2,312 ozs., and many thousand tons of rich ore were at grass awaiting crushing. Taking an individual district, a report from the Mining Commissioner shows that at Victoria, up to the end of October, 1892, 535 tons, 10 cwts. of quartz, taken from all reefs, good and bad together, yielded 190 ozs. 18 dwts. 14 grs. of gold, while, he adds, considerable allowance should be made for gold absorbed during the setting of the plates. This gives an average yield per ton for the district of 18.3 dwts., or about 73s. Experience has, however, it is stated, shown that, even under the present disadvantageous conditions, mining operations can be carried on in Mashonaland at a cost not exceeding 20s. per ton, leaving the very handsome profit of 53s. on every ton crushed in the Victoria district.

In a telegram received from the Administrator on his return from a tour of inspection of the various districts in May last, he states that new finds were daily occurring, and the crushings were everywhere successful; that the reefs were improving with depth, and that most satisfactory development was proceeding in every direction.

The importance of railway communication is fully recognised, and the overland railway from the south (a project, be it here noted, first proposed in 1886 by Henry M. Stanley), the main line of which will run through Matabeleland, and the Beira Railway from the east coast, are both being pushed forward. The southern line is now being extended from Vryburg to Mafeking, while the eastern road, whose terminus is now near Chimoyo, will be carried forward another section after the rains.

The Beira Railway (just opened), seventy-five miles in length, so necessary towards the development of the country, especially the gold industry, will also aid greatly in enabling the present difficulty with the Matabele to be satisfactorily settled. The section covers the greater portion of the "fly-belt," which is such a serious obstacle to transport. The importance of good supplementary communication to the east, 380 miles in length, in place of 1,690 miles to the south, is self-evident. But the disadvantages of the eastern route must not be lost sight of. This railway has to traverse the low country comprised in the Mozambique Company's territory lying between Beira and the healthy uplands of Mashonaland. Rapid communication through this low region of fever and tsetse fly is therefore necessary to the healthy highlands at Manika. The southern railway route, on the other hand, will run throughout over high, healthy country—an enormous advantage.

Beira at present consists of a few temporary buildings, at the mouth of the Pungwé River, some distance above the confluence of the Busi, and north-east of Mussique Point. It has an anchorage, protected from the violence of the breakers by a sandbank, with a depth of thirty to forty feet, and is buoyed so as to enable the entrance of large vessels to be made with safety.

## CONCLUSION.

I have endeavoured to lay before my readers a plain narrative of facts, avoiding the deeper questions of high policy and finance, which can scarcely be advantageously discussed at the present moment, because the whole situation is changing from day to day. It is usually expected of a writer (and here I must express my thanks to my publisher, Mr. Andrew W. Tuer, of the Leadenhall Press, for permission to use to-night matter from my book; "Matabeleland and Our Position in South Africa" on the eve of publication) that he shall claim for the subject he has chosen supreme importance over all others. Yet with a vast and growing empire like ours it would be hard to lay the finger on any one imperial interest and say "This is the point of paramount importance." South Africa, however, looms very large on our imperial horizon. It is in the throes of a crisis which will affect the lives and fortunes of millions of men yet unborn, and which before it is solved promises to strain our imperial system to its foundations. Hence to us and our generation no subject is fraught with such deep practical issues. And on their mere territorial merits these vast regions, so long neglected as a field for colonization, are now on the way to being recognised as a land of such marvellous and varied resources as give assurance of a brilliant future to those who may be fortunate enough to cultivate the soil, and exploit its hidden

treasures.

It has generally a healthy climate, where cloudless skies, continuous sunshine, and dry air can be enjoyed. The western half and the south, away from the coast, have a scanty rainfall. The natural vegetable products are poor; but its mineral wealth of all kinds is enormous, the deposits being varied and seemingly inexhaustible.

The diamond industry, which has produced from 1867 to 1891 close on £57,000,000, gave the first impetus to the gold industry in South Africa, which, in turn, will give a stimulus to enterprise in all directions.

Already the third, it promises shortly to become the most productive gold region in the world (the output has risen from 34,000 ozs. in 1887 to 794,000 ozs. in 1890, and 1,056,000 ozs. for nine months of 1893). And the potency of gold as an agency for effecting the development of a new country is magical, bringing with it the two essentials—capital and population. South Africa will repeat the past of Australia, whose advance was stimulated in such a wonderful degree by gold.

Its resources in coal, iron, copper, asbestos, salt, fire-clay, are in valuable and, indeed, absolutely indispensable to the gold industry.

The commerce of South Africa is already £35,000,000 per annum in imports and exports, and is destined to grow with bounds.

In the northern half of South Africa, especially that region known as Matabeleland, the rainfall is regular and sufficient, the altitude sufficient to ensure health, and the soil well adapted in great part for agriculture. It is a country where the white man may hope to see his children grow up strong and healthy.

While the high table-land is suitable for the white man, the low-lying region to the east and in the Zambesi basin can be developed by Indian coolie labour, well suited for plantation work. The two processes of colonization will be carried forward simultaneously.

Matabeleland, the last high land south of the Zambesi suitable for European colonisation, is invaluable as a field for the expansion of South Africa and Britain.

Gold, which has Anglicised the Transvaal, will open an area much wanted for the still strong trekking disposition of the Boer.

The internal progress made in Mashonaland, considering all the difficulties which had to be encountered, has been good, and the result of the present campaign will be to bring peace and security to our new colony, the first things necessary towards progress. A result which is surely owing in great measure to that handful of pioneers who are successfully accomplishing this latest stage of our Colonial expansion. The gold-wealth is there, and it only requires security and good communications to enable the country to make rapid progress.

I have faith in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and believe the colony founded in 1890, with settled government replacing a cruel and despotic barbarism, is destined to be the home of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen.

This is no vulgar annexation to gratify territorial greed. The extension of our Empire is a national and a social necessity; and, wherever, without violating conventions or existing rights, we can prepare the way for our kindred to live and spread under conditions which promise prosperity, it is the most urgent of all duties to seize such opportunities as they arise.

The Providence which has guided our destiny so far has by the mere force of circumstances rendered our imperial duties imperious duties, for we are not as other nations are. Not only are our own islands too small for our people, but the course of our commerce and industry has been such that we are increasingly dependent for their maintenance on a trade against which incessant war is waged as if we were the Ishmael of civilised nations. As we cannot grow our own food, we must either send our people to distant countries in search of it or find ever new customers for our manufactures. We in fact resort to both alternatives, but are still not able to keep pace with the natural growth of our people and the requirements of advancing civilisation. There is no object which a British statesman can set before himself comparable to the central necessity of providing for the development of our own race. If that be a selfish national policy, may our statesmen be saturated with such selfishness. And no nobler contribution to the ways and means of such a development has ever come across the national path than this opening up of South Africa, which is to crown a century of imperial achievement.

*[The Paper was illustrated by a number of lime-light views representing the scenery of the country and various portraits of leading men, for which the lecturer expressed his indebtedness to the kindness of the Rev. Frank H. Surridge and the Proprietors of the "Graphic."]*

The Discussion of this Paper will appear in the Next Issue of this Journal.

## Notices of New Books Relating to the Colonies and India.

(By JAMES R. BOOSÉ, Librarian R.C.I.)

## Australasia.

*Historical Records of New South Wales*. Vol. I. Part 1. Cook. 1762-1780. 8vo. Pp. xlii-526 and plates. Sydney. 1893.

The papers contained in this volume of the Historical Records of New South Wales deal with the visit of Captain Cook to those shores during the years 1769-70, and incidentally with his career both before and after that period. According to the preface, it was originally intended that the foundation of the Colony by Governor Phillip should form the starting-point of the history of New South Wales, the work of Captain Cook being regarded as belonging to the history of discovery rather than to that of colonisation; but it having been decided to publish the records of the Colony concurrently with the history, in separate volumes, the work of the famous navigator has been included, and so lends additional value to the period when the knowledge of Australia began to assume a definite and accurate form. The collection opens with an extract from a log in the handwriting of Cook which has been preserved in the British Museum in which the voyage along the eastern coast of New Holland is recorded. As a historic document this log is of great value, as it affords, in the opinion of the editor, a ready means of disposing finally, not only of a number of fallacies which have hitherto been accepted, but also of a number of questions which have given rise to a great deal of controversy of a speculative nature. A mass of general, as well as official correspondence, containing the Admiralty despatches, &c., helps to produce an interesting as well as a useful record of the services of the great navigator whose name is so closely connected with the progress of discovery and settlement in Australia. Strict chronological order in the arrangement of the records has been adhered to except in the case of the logs, which are grouped together at the commencement of the book. The illustrations are reproductions of portraits and views of the period, while the fac-similes of entries in the log books of the 'Endeavour' have been traced from the originals in the British Museum and reproduced by photo-lithography. The work has been ably edited by Mr. F. M. Bladen, of the Government Printing Office, Sydney, whilst too much praise cannot be bestowed upon Mr. James Bon-wick, himself an old colonist, who has laboured indefatigably in collecting the information necessary for the production of the work.

Calvert, Albert F. (F.R.G.S. &c.)—*The Discovery of Australia*. 4to. Pp. vi-91. London: George Philip & Son. 1893, (Price 10s. (6d.))

According to the Author's preface, this work is merely a collection of historical facts regarding the voyages undertaken by the representatives of the various European nations for the discovery of the Great South Land. Mr. Calvert does not profess to sum up the results of those voyages by advocating any theory as to priority of claim, but simply traces the course of discovery from the earliest records of the voyages of De Gonneville, Parmentier, De Quiros, Tasman, Dampier, and other celebrated navigators, terminating with the voyage of Captain Cook, which occupies considerable space, owing to its importance in connection with the present geographical configuration of Australia. Although there is nothing in the work throwing further light upon the already much-debated question of priority of discovery, a reference to the maps which are embodied clearly shows, as has already been proved by the late Mr. R. H. Major, that in the sixteenth century there are indications of Australia having been already discovered, but with no written documents to confirm them, while in the following century there is documentary evidence that its coasts were touched upon or explored by a number of Dutch navigators, but the documents immediately describing these voyages have not been found. Hence the investigation is one of the most interesting in all its stages, but beset with doubts and difficulties arising from many causes. The Author mentions one voyage which has not hitherto figured amongst the documentary evidence regarding early Australian exploration, viz. that of Van Cal-Verte, a Dutchman who is stated to have voyaged during 1504-5 from Java Minor to Java Major, reaching the extreme corner of North-Vest Australia. This voyage the Author states is described in a manuscript pamphlet containing a rough outline map which was in the possession of his family in 1853, but has since been lost. Without documentary evidence this voyage cannot be considered as affecting the early discovery of Australia. The collection of twenty-four maps, reproduced from various sources, will be found of considerable use for purposes of reference, whilst the work itself embodies an epitome of all that has been written upon the subject by various Authors, and so rendered easily accessible for purposes of research.

Williams, Right Rev. William (D.C.L.)—*A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*. 8vo. Pp. xv-825. Auckland: Upton & Co. London: Williams & Norgate. 1892.

The latest edition of this Dictionary of the New Zealand Language appears in a considerably enlarged form, with numerous additions and corrections. The first edition appeared fifty years ago, and although considerably less than half the size of its present and fourth edition, proved of considerable use to those who were brought into frequent communication with the Maori people. Since that period the work has been rendered more

complete by the inclusion of many good illustrative examples, taken from Sir George Grey's valuable work on the "Mythology and Traditions of the New Zealanders," as well as from Maori letters or other writings and from the lips of Maori speakers on the spot. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in rendering the work thoroughly complete, owing to the fact that many words though well known in one district, may be absolutely unknown in another. It is, nevertheless, an example of most diligent research, and is the most complete and comprehensive work upon the subject.

*Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia.* Vol. XVI. Parts 1 and 2. 8vo. Adelaide. 1892-93.

The two parts comprising Volume 16 of this Society's Transactions are of more than usual interest, their contents consisting of the scientific results of the Elder Exploring Expedition, which excited so much attention at the time of its departure, but the results of which were not as satisfactory as was anticipated. The first part contains reports on Vegetable Exudations, Lepidoptera, Coleoptera, and Land and Fresh-Water Mollusca, whilst the second is devoted to a large number of papers dealing with Geology, Meteorology, Lichens, Fungi, &c. These, together with the General Report of the Expedition issued separately, form a valuable addition to the history of Australian exploration.

## BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

Macdonell, J. A. (Q.C.)—*Sketches illustrating the Early Settlement and History of Glengarry in Canada.* 8vo. Pp. 337. Montreal: Wn. Foster, Brown & Co. 1893.

In much that has of recent years been written on the interesting subject of the United Empire Loyalist Settlement, the war of 1812-14, and the rebellion of 1837-8, there is but little, if any, mention made of the part which the Highlanders of Glengarry took in the American Revolutionary War of 1776-83, and the early settlement of the country at the close of the war, its defence in 1812-14, and the suppression of the rebellion. In taking up the subject, the Author, after an interval of many years, submits I a clear and interesting statement gathered from early records, which I shows that the county of Glengarry contained at least as many Loyalist settlers who had fought for the Crown during the first war as any other of the earlier settled counties, and contributed more fighting men for the preservation of the country, its connection with the mother-land, and the maintenance of Canadian institutions than any other part of the Province. He points out how the county of Glengarry was originally settled by those who left Scotland for America under circumstances which redound to their credit as loyal and faithful subjects of the British Crown, and after-wards took part in the wars referred to, subsequently taking up their abode in what is now Glengarry. The work is an interesting history of the early settlement of Canada, and contains a record of the services of the descendants of the original settlers, many of whom have occupied, and still occupy, prominent positions in the Dominion of Canada.

Harris, Very Rev. W. R.—*History of the Early Missions in Western Canada.* 12mo. Pp. vii-339. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co. 1893.

This work is an expansion and a development of a sketch prepared some time ago and published in the Jubilee Volume issued on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of the Archbishop of Toronto. It, to a certain extent, is a collection of material scattered throughout the various histories of Canadian missions, &c., interspersed with new matter gleaned from reliable sources. Dean Harris has arranged and put together the material in an able and interesting manner, so producing a work of convenient size, with the chief points of the larger works brought together under one head. The subject opens with an account of the native tribes inhabiting the Dominion of Canada, then the establishment of the Franciscan Order in Canada and the work of its missionaries, whose dictionaries of the Huron language and series of narratives to the present day furnish a source of ethnological, geographic, and historic data for all writers on early Canadian history. Following the Franciscan Fathers, the Jesuits occupy the attention of the Author, who relates the circumstances under which they went to Canada and an account of the work performed by their earl; missionaries in the then almost unknown Huron country. The author then proceeds to give an account of the various individual missionaries who penetrated into the interior of Canada and by their devotion and fearlessness converted many among the savage inhabitants of the country. The work is a welcome addition to the Canadian mission records, and has every appearance of being historically accurate, the source of information being in every case stated.

Aberdeen, Countess of.—*Through Canada with a Kodak.* 12mo. Pp. viii-249. Edinburgh: W. H. White & Co. 1893. (Price 2s.)

In a pleasing manner Lady Aberdeen has brought together in this work a series of articles which she had previously contributed to a magazine giving an account of her travels through the Dominion, and conveying: impressions of the rich and varied attractions of the country, which are generally imperfectly realised by those in this country. After an account of the voyage, the journey commences at Quebec and proceeds, by easy stages, through all the chief towns of the Dominion to British Columbia—a description of which occupies a special position, probably on account of Lord Aberdeen having become a landowner in that province. Throughout the

Dotes Lady Aberdeen confines herself to the simple recollections of a holiday trip, omitting altogether the deeper questions of Canadian life and politics. The majority of the illustrations are printed from photographs taken by Lady Aberdeen's Kodak, and with the pleasantly written sketch would form a guide for either the holiday seeker or intending settler.

Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1892. 8vo. Pp. 659. Ottawa: 1898.

For purposes of reference and for obtaining general information upon the Dominion of Canada as a whole, this Annual presents many important features. For the statistician it is invaluable, and for the ordinary student of Colonial affairs a necessity. The various sections have been brought well up to date, and show at a glance the increasing importance of the trade of the Dominion, as well as the rapidly increasing settlement of the more remote portions of the country. If improvement in the present plan of publication is possible, it might be in embodying a set of statistics drawn up according to the British currency as well as Canadian, by which means reference would be considerably facilitated in the case of the ordinary student of commercial affairs.

Scidmore, Eliza Ruhamah.—*Guide-Book to Alaska and the North-West Coast*. 12mo. Pp. vii-156. London: William Heine-mann. 1898. (Price 6s.)

So little is known of the portion of North America termed Alaska, that this handbook, which is the third of a series issued by Mr. William Heinemann, will be of service to those intending making a tour in that portion of the world. Although so little visited, the country is described as mountainous, with bold scenery, and possessing several good-sized towns with suitable accommodation for tourists. Alaska itself is described as nine times the size of the New England States, and stretches more than one thousand miles from north to south. It contains 580,107 square miles, with a coast line of 18,211 miles, greater than the coast line of all the rest of the United States, in addition to which a large number of islands are included in the territory. South-Eastern Alaska is stated to be the only portion of this vast territory now accessible to tourists and pleasure travellers, and the Alaska Mail and excursion steamer routes include a tour through the Archipelago fringing the north-west coast and sheltering an inside passage over a thousand miles in length. The climate of the north-west coast is stated to be far milder than that of the north-east coast of the continent. In addition to an account of Alaska, the author gives a general description of a portion of British Columbia, which offers much to interest the tourist who awaits the Alaska steamer at Victoria. A large amount of useful information is embodied in the work, including the various routes to this vast territory, as well as the names and tariffs of the hotels, and a mass of information regarding the country generally, as well as the chief objects of interest for the ordinary visitor and the fishing and hunting grounds for the sportsman. The work is illustrated, and contains two maps showing the various routes to be taken, and the position of the country as regards the mainland of the Dominion of Canada.

## Africa.

Selous, Frederick Courteney (C.M.Z.S.)—*Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa*. 8vo. Pp. xviii-503. London: Rowland Ward & Co. Ltd. 1893. (Price 25s.)

Considerable interest attaches to this work in view of recent events in South Africa in which the Author has played so prominent a part. The travels of Mr. Selous have been brought prominently before the public during the past year by means of lectures, and also articles contributed from time to time to the "Field" newspaper, but nevertheless the work in its collective form possesses a freshness which cannot fail to secure for it a wide circulation. Lion stories and hunting adventures naturally predominate, but a considerable amount of general information, with descriptions of the various parts of South Africa visited by the Author and the native inhabitants and other subjects of general interest, are dealt with in a pleasant and entertaining style. The book is divided into twenty six chapters narrating the personal experiences of the Author amongst the South African Boers, and embodying many anecdotes; an account of two expeditions sent against the Batauwani by Lo Bengula; the devastations committed by the Matabele in Mashonaland, and notes upon the Bushmen, &c. Then follows an account of the Author's journeys beyond the Zambesi to the countries of the Mashukulumbwi and Barotse tribes. The remainder of the book, with the exception of two chapters, deals with the past history and present condition of Mashonaland—a subject upon which Mr. Selous is thoroughly qualified to speak, and whose opinions, after so long a residence in South Africa, are of the greatest value to all interested in the country. Regarding the existence of gold, it is stated that the industry, which is at present in its infancy, is likely, with the introduction of mining machinery, to make rapid strides, and so have the effect of starting townships in each of the gold-bearing districts. Each of these mining sections, Mr. Selous states, will support a large farming population, so that as the mining towns grow so will the land be occupied and cultivated, till at no distant date the homesteads of British and South African settlers will be scattered throughout the length and breadth of the breezy downs of Mashonaland. The pioneer expedition to Mashonaland, with the difficulties encountered, is an interesting record of settlement in a new country, and forms one of the most important portions of the book, containing as it does an account of the negotiations of Mr. Selous with Lo Bengula for

the safe passage of the expedition through his territory. Referring to the statement that it was only the extreme friendliness of Lo Bengula and the Matabele people that made the expedition to Mashonaland possible, Mr. Selous differs entirely from such a view, adding: "We cut the road to Mashonaland in defiance of them, and our advance would most certainly have been resisted but for two circumstances. The first was the fact that during the progress of the expedition a well-equipped force of five hundred mounted men of the Bechuanaland Border Police were encamped on the south-western border of Matabeleland; and the second that after the expedition crossed the Tuli, and until it reached the plateau of Mashonaland, Lo Bengula and his people never knew where we were." The settlement of the country is described as well as the troubles and difficulties attendant upon taking over a new country, together with its native population. The Author's knowledge of the topographical features of the country, obtained after many years of travel as a hunter and collector of natural history specimens, proved of incalculable value to the pioneer force, and so enabled it to make the rapid progress which under other circumstances would have been impossible. The work is well illustrated with hunting scenes and phases of native life, the representations of the former being drawn from the Author's own descriptions, whilst an excellent index completes a work which is interesting from beginning to end.

Brown, Robert (M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.).—*The Story of Africa and its Explorers*. Vol. II. 4to. Pp. viii-312. London: Cassell & Co., Ltd. 1893. (Price 7s. 6d.)

The story of African exploration is so interesting a subject that it is not surprising to find so many works appearing from the press dealing with the subject from various points of view, and relating to different parts of the vast continent. In this work the subject is dealt with as a whole, and is continued from the first volume, which appeared a few months back, and embraces chapters on the rivers of Egypt, the great lakes, Victoria Nyanza, the travels of Dr. Livingstone, and the exploration of the Congo. Of these, Livingstone's travels occupy considerable space, and give a very complete record of the great traveller's services to African exploration, whilst the recent settlement of the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland occupies attention, as well as the various expeditions which have recently had the effect of giving to the world a more intimate knowledge of those portions of Africa which for centuries past have remained closed to the civilised world. A considerable amount of information may be gained by the hunter, trader, and scientist from that portion of the book devoted to the fauna and flora of different parts of the country. The work, which has been compiled by Dr. Robert Brown, is profusely illustrated with reproductions from photographs, &c.

Noble, John.—*Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa*. 8vo. Pp. xvi-568. Cape Town: J. C. Juta & Co. 1893.

Owing to the fact that South Africa is daily growing into prominent and awakening wide interest, the issue of a new and revised edition of Mr. Noble's handbook will prove of considerable service to those interested in the progress of the Colonies and States of Southern Africa. It is now seven years since the first edition of the work was published, and during that period remarkable developments have taken place, not only in the Cape Colony, but in South Africa generally. The present issue, therefore, embraces some account of the past and present conditions, not only of the Cape of Good Hope, but also of the other Colonies, States, and territories of South Africa, and it presents to the public a fuller and more perfect knowledge than is commonly possessed of the natural history, products, and resources of that portion of the African continent, and of the political and social changes which have marked the advance of colonisation throughout it. Several special chapters have been contributed by leading authorities, and add considerably to the value of the work, amongst them being an account of the Flora of South Africa, by Mr. Harry Bolus; the Diamond Mines, by T. Reunart; Gold Mining at Witwatersrand, by Mr. F. Spencer; and the Climate and Health Resorts, by Dr. C. Lawrence Herman. The work is, in fact, a complete encyclopaedia of South African information, and contains a large collection of illustrations of the scenery, public buildings, and natives of the country.

Ellis, Colonel A. B.—*A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa*. 8vo. Pp. xi-400. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. 1898. (Price 10s. 6d.)

Colonel Ellis has for some years done good work in drawing attention to the various settlements on the West Coast of Africa, where he has had exceptional opportunities of gaining a mass of information regarding both the country and the people. In his latest work he gives a general account of that portion of the coast known as the Gold Coast, commencing with the voyages made from the Mediterranean along the Western Coast of Africa, both by the Phoenicians and the Egyptians, many hundred years before the Christian era, and carrying his historical review to events of the past few years. Included in that long period the Author discusses many questions of considerable interest, embracing the Portuguese discoveries in West Africa, and the formation of a settlement at Elmina, the early English voyages, the inauguration of Dutch rule, and the hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch, in which the former were eventually expelled. The account of the formation of English settlements and trading stations is of considerable interest in tracing the progress of the British settlements of the present day. The formation of the Royal African Company in 1672, and an account of its rights and territories, may be read with advantage in comparison with the question of settlement by companies

now so prominently before the public. Colonel Ellis embodies all the chief facts regarding the treaties with the natives, and an account of the various expeditions which have proceeded to the interior for both peaceful and hostile purposes. The causes which led up to the Ashanti War of 1873-74, as well as the policy pursued by the Governor of that period, are graphically described, as well as the events of the war itself. Events since that period, including the Abolition of Slavery (which, the author states, was a recognised institution in the Protectorate up to the year 1874), the trade of the Colony, the Boundary Commissions, &c., are treated in chronological order, and complete a work which may be classed as the standard one upon the Gold Coast Colony.

Theal, George McCall.—*History of South Africa from the Foundation of the European Settlement to our own Times* (1834-1854). 8vo. Pp. 629. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1893. (Price 15s.)

Mr. Theal, in issuing the present volume of his important work, carries the history of South Africa up to the year 1854. The matter deals with a period of twenty years, commencing with the sixth Kaffir war of 1834-35, during the administration of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who, in 1837, was recalled on account of his dealings with the Kafirs. The question of the Governor's action which led up to this decision is clearly discussed by Mr. Theal, who states that it was afterwards generally admitted, both in England and South Africa, that he had acted wisely in those dealings. Another event with which the Author deals at length was the abandonment of the Cape Colony during 1836-37 by many thousands of burghers, who were intent upon seeking a new home in the wilderness, where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable misrule. The event is of historical interest, inasmuch as the band of emigrants settled the country which is now the Transvaal, and at that period included the greater part of the present South African Republic, fully half of the Orange Free State, and the whole of Southern Bechuanaland to the Kalakari Desert, except the district occupied by the Batlapin. Following chapters are devoted to an account of the emigrant farmers in Natal; the administrations of Major-General Napier and Sir Peregrine Maitland; the seventh Kafir war; events in the territory north of the Orange River; and the creation of the Orange River sovereignty. The events connected with the Sand River Convention are also contained in this volume, and convey fully the terms of the Convention, as well as the events which led up to it. The volume is one of the most interesting of the series, dealing as it does with questions affecting the whole of South Africa. One important feature is an Appendix containing a list of the works referring to the period embraced in the volume, giving the title, author, date, and place of publication, together with a short notice of the contents of each.

## India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Etc.

Ferguson, John.—*Ceylon in 1893, describing the Progress of the Island since 1803, its present Agricultural and Commercial Enterprises, and its Attractions to Visitors*. 12mo. Pp. xv-491. London: John Haddon and Co. 1893.

The "Handbook of Ceylon," which has now reached its fourth edition, is a succinct and popular account of the Island, contributed by a gentleman who possesses a better knowledge of the Colony than probably any other resident. In its present form it will prove of service to all interested in the Island, whether they are connected with it in either an official, commercial, or general capacity, whilst for those home residents who have relatives there, or for intending settlers, it will prove invaluable. The pleasure-seeker and tourist will by its aid be enabled to decide upon a definite tour, having the advantage of noting that which is worth seeing and so saving considerable time and trouble on arrival in the Colony. The various chapters dealing with a general history of Ceylon, its social progress, native agricultural and manufacturing interests, the planting industry, prospects for capitalists, &c., have all been brought up to date, whilst several have been entirely re-written. The Appendix, which occupies about half the work, is divided into fifteen divisions of almost entirely new matter, including the lectures delivered by the Author before the Royal Colonial Institute and the London Chamber of Commerce during, 1892; a great deal of information respecting the staple planting product, tea, and other industries; much respecting shooting trips and sport; with accounts of the steamer trip round the island, and the journey across through the Eastern and Uva provinces to the new Railway Extension and thence to the "Buried Capital" of the North Central Province. The latest information respecting Buddhism in Ceylon is afforded through a long review of the valuable new book on the subject by the Bishop of Colombo, while the position of Christianity and Missions in the island is fairly indicated. The main results of the Census of 1891 are given, and a Glossary of native terms from a paper compiled under official auspices, which will be very useful for reference. A full Index makes all the main "facts and figures," as well as the general information, readily available. A large number of new engravings have been added, both in the text and the appendices, whilst a map of the island has been included which will be found convenient for reference.

Trimmen, Henry (M.B. Lond., F.R.S.—*A Handbook of the Flon of Ceylon*. Part 1. 8vo. Pp. xvi-327, and plates. London: Dulau & Co. 1893.

The Author of this work holds the position of Director of the Botanic Gardens of Ceylon, and has on various occasions contributed useful information regarding the flora of the island. In an introductory note Mr. Trimen explains that the object of this Handbook is to enable observers in Ceylon to ascertain the name of any plant they may find growing wild, and when this is arrived at to trace its distribution and to investigate its properties and uses. The work refers to Ceylon only, the descriptions having been made wholly from Ceylon specimens, although certain other plants which are not natives of the island, but have been introduced and are met with in a more or less completely wild or naturalised state, are included amongst the species. A collection of twenty-five coloured plates accompanies the work, which has been selected from an extensive series illustrating the Ceylon flora which is preserved in the Library of the Botanic Gardens at Peradeniya. This collection was commenced more than fifty years ago, and has been steadily continued under successive directors. It is now stated to number several thousand drawings, and, it is worthy of note, has been wholly the work of three members of one Sinhalese family employed successively as draftsmen on the Garden Staff. Mr. Trimen has rendered considerable service by embodying with a description of the species a series of notes on their history, distribution and uses.

Tyacke, Mrs. R. H.—*How I shot my Bears; or, Two Years' Tent life in Kullu and Lahoul*. 12mo. Pp. xi-318. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1893. (Price 7s. 6d.)

In this description of a lady's sporting tour in India, it is explained that Kullu was selected as a country little disturbed by sportsmen from India, and where a not too rigorous climate and fair shooting could be combined with some chance of obtaining the necessaries of life. The Authoress and her party had the choice of three routes to this distant portion of India, one being from Simla, another from Pathankote, and a third from; Jullundhur. The second of these having been selected, the first part of the route included the Kangra Valley of tea fame and over the Bahu Pass to Karaon. The destination of the party is described as being famous for its forests, which are under the protection of the Indian Forest Department which enforces strict regulations regarding the preservation of the trees. Kullu, although not thickly stocked with game, nevertheless affords good sport to those who, like the Authoress, prefer freedom to frequenting the better known sporting districts of India. The game to be found in Kullu is stated to be most varied, the bag, for one year, of the party including pheasant, chikor, snipe, duck, barking deer, goral, black bears, red bears, and musk deer. In addition to relating her various hunting experiences, Mrs. Tyacke gives a good account of the scenery of the country, together with a description of the native inhabitants, their customs, manners, &c. The latter portion of the book contains an account of Lahoul, which is under British protection, and lies to the north of Kullu. Much useful information may be gleaned by those interested in sporting adventures from a perusal of the work, as well as many hints regarding the necessary clothing, &c., for a hunting tour in Northern India.

## West Indies.

Ward, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. C. J. (C.M.G.)—*Jamaica at Chicago: an Account descriptive of the Colony of Jamaica, with Historical and other Appendices*. Sm. 4to. Pp. 95, New York: Wm. J. Pell. 1893.

Few, if any, of the handbooks issued in connection with the Chicago Exhibition surpass, as regards print, paper, and illustrations, that of Jamaica. The work has been compiled under the direction of the Hon. Colonel C. J. Ward, C.M.G., who occupied the position of Commissioner, and contains a general description of the Colony, which is the most important of the British West India Islands, not only on account of its greater size, but also by reason of the varied beauty of its scenery, the capabilities of its soil, and the healthiness of its climate. Following an account of the early history of the Island and its various parishes, are chapters relating to sport, the Blue Mountains, climate, trade, varieties of cultivation, and general statistical information regarding Jamaica. The illustrations, which are numerous, are reproductions from photographs of the scenery of the Island and add considerably to the value of the book as a guide for the visitor and tourist.

## General.

Burton, Captain Sir Richard F. (K.C.M.G.)—*Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*. 2 vols. 8vo, Pp. xxviii-436, xii-479. (Price 12s.)

*A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome*. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. xxi 256, viii-805. (Price 12s.)

*Vikram and the Vampire; or, Tales of Hindu Devilry*. 8vo Pp. xxi-243. (Price 6s.) London: Tylston & Edwards. 1893.

This memorial edition of the works of the late Sir Richard F. Burton has been produced mainly owing to the public-spirited action of the publishers, Messrs. Tylston and Edwards, whose intention it is, with the co-operation of Lady Burton, to produce the whole edition at their own expense. The work will appear periodically, and include the chief writings of the eminent scholar and traveller. Three of these have already

been issued, viz. "Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah;" "a Mission to Gelela, King of Dahome," and "Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Devilry." The first is a narrative of absorbing interest, and is considered by many to be one of the best works of Burton. The second is of interest at the present time in view of the recent expedition of the French to Dahomey, and of events which may follow in the near future, whilst it contains an account of the Author's expedition, which was one of the most hazardous he ever engaged in. The third and most recent issue is an old and thoroughly Hindu legend composed in Sanskrit and translated by Sir Richard Burton, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the language. The edition, which will be uniform, will prove one of the most complete as well as correct of Sir Richard Burton's works. The cost of each volume has been placed at as low a price as possible, in order that it may come within reach of all, whilst the printing, binding, and illustrations are all that could be desired. A word of praise is due to Mr. Smithers, who has devoted considerable time and trouble to the work of collating and revising the proof sheets for the press.

Payne, Edward John (M.A.)—*Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America: Select Narratives from the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt*. 12mo. Pp. lvi-272. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1898. (Price 5s.)

The matter comprised in this volume is gathered from the important work of Hakluyt, which, to use Mr. Payne's own words, is "mainly the monument of the great English navigators and maritime adventurers of his own time who overthrew the Spanish colossus that bestrode the ocean, established that naval supremacy on which after-ages reared the fabric of the British Empire and prepared the way for the founders of the great Anglo-American nation." For patriotism and force of character, and in the wealth of dramatic incident embodied in their careers, few more interesting groups can be found in history than the three famous navigators whose voyages are commemorated in this volume. Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake are remembered among us, not only as the three lieutenants of the admiral who repulsed the Spanish Armada, but as those who, by their assaults on the Spanish possessions in America, had done more to provoke the Spanish invasion of England. The exploits of these men cannot fail to claim attention at the present time, and to prove of interest to a large number of those interested in the building up of the British Empire. Not only has Mr. Payne given us a full account of the voyages of Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake, but he has introduced his subject with a sketch of the life and works of Hakluyt, which is a masterly review of the great work entitled "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation," which was published nearly three hundred years ago.

Gibbins, H. de B. (M.A.)—*British Commerce and Colonies from Elizabeth to Victoria*. 12mo. Pp. viii-136. London: Methuen & Co. 1893.

The object of this history of British Commerce since the days of Queen Elizabeth is stated to be to supply the want of a short text-book, which should present the main outlines of and facts about our commercial progress in a simple and concise form, without going into those interesting but elaborate details which more fitly belong to larger works. The work is issued for the use of schools and colleges which now devote some attention to commercial as well as to political history, as well as for business men who take an interest in the development of our national commerce, but who have not time for a lengthened study of the subject. The author divides his subject into seventeen headings, commencing with the Merchant Companies and Commercial Progress, that formed so prominent a feature in the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and embracing such subjects as Colonisation, Commerce, the American Colonies and their separation, Modern Colonial Development, &c. The chapter upon Colonisation has been based chiefly upon the Rev. A. Caldecott's excellent work, "English Colonisation and Empire," whilst Mr. E. J. Payne's "European Colonies" has been largely drawn upon. Under the heading Modern Colonial Development, Mr. Gibbins again makes use of the arguments set forth by Mr. Caldecott, but, in one instance, goes considerably further by stating that our West Indian Colonies are now in a somewhat critical position owing to the decline of the sugar industry. This is far from correct, as in almost all these Colonies, by the aid of new industries, and a slight revival in the sugar industry, there is a decided improvement in trade prospects, as the latest official statistics will prove. Forming an Appendix is a list of our possessions and Colonies, with the date and manner of acquisition, and their commercial products. Although the reference to each is too brief, it nevertheless shows at a glance the various settlements of the British Empire in each quarter of the globe. Here, however, several errors and omissions occur, such as the non-inclusion of gold amongst the exports of British Guiana; Sisal hemp, which has done so much to increase the prosperity of the Bahamas, is not mentioned; *St. Kitts* appears as one of the Leeward Islands instead of *St. Kitt's*; the *Grenadive* Islands appear instead of the *Gretadines*; whilst Barbados (which is spelt Barbadoes) is stated to form one of the Windward Islands federation, whereas it was separated from that group, and became a distinct government, in 1885. Amongst the African Colonies, the Gambia is stated to be now under the governor of Sierra Leone, and Lagos subordinate to the governor of the Gold Coast, whereas the former was created a separate government in 1888, and the latter was in 1886 separated from the Gold Coast and erected into a separate colony. It is useless to further enlarge upon similar errors, which shall be corrected, and the work generally revised before it can be recommended for school use.

*The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record*. October 1893. Vol. VI. No. 12. Woking: Oriental University Institute. (Price 5s.)

Amongst the nineteen articles which form the present issue of this Magazine, several are of more than usual interest. Lord Chelmsford continues his article on the "Defence of India," and replies to various criticisms upon the subject, more especially referring to the remarks of Mr. George Curzon, which have appeared in the press. Mr. A. Michie draws attention to a probable alliance between China and India in view of events now occurring in the East, whilst other articles are contributed by Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. H. Le Maistre and Dr. G. W. Leitner, upon various questions affecting the Indian Empire. Under the African section the Marquis of Lorne contributes a note on the Imperial British East Africa Company and its last proposals, and maintains that East Africa must remain part and parcel of the British Empire. The Hon. J. L. Parsons, who for several years occupied the position of Government Resident of the Northern Territory of South Australia, replies to an article which appeared in the April issue of the Magazine on "Australia for Anglo-Indians," and refutes the sentiments made by the author who styled himself "an Anglo-Indian Colonial." A scheme for the production of British unity is submitted by Mr. A. Silva White, the remaining articles being all more or less of general interest.

Greswell, Rev. William Parr.—*The British Colonies and their Industries*. 12mo. Pp. xiii-132. London: George Philip & Son. 1893.

Mr. Greswell has followed up his useful series of Colonial Histories and Geographies by producing a compact little work on the British Colonies and their industries, which for convenience of reference is divided into two portions: the first containing a number of facts relating to the history, area, physical features; population, and products of each Colony and settlement, and the second, containing a short and descriptive account of more than thirty typical industries which constitute the chief wealth of these Colonies. The work is intended for school purposes and furnishes interesting reading for the pupil. The various industries referred to by the Author include the fisheries of Newfoundland, lumbering in Canada, sponge and sisal industries of the Bahamas, indiarubber and palm-oil industries of West Africa, farming in South Africa and Australia, diamond-mining, tea-planting, &c. The information embodied has been gleaned from various reliable sources and is tolerably correct although in some instances it is somewhat out of date. Under the heading Sheep-shearing in Australia no mention is made of shearing by machinery, which is now in vogue in many parts of Australia, whilst amongst the descriptions of the various Colonies no mention whatever is made of Hong Kong. In the preface, Mr. Greswell embodies a suggestion, which has to some extent already been carried out by the Association for the Promotion of Geographical Teaching in Public Schools, of which Mr. B. B. Dickenson, of Rugby, is Honorary Secretary, regarding a series of lantern slides illustrating the progress and development of Colonial industries, ocean currents, forest and desert tracts, &c., which is worthy the consideration of lecturers to schools and colleges, who would thus be enabled to present typical views and features in detail, revealing the physical, industrial, and other characteristics of a country; and so impressing upon the minds of the pupils certain cardinal distinctions well worth knowing.

## Donations to the Library.

- Government of the Bahamas*—
  - Laws, 1893
- Government of Barbados*—
  - Barbados Blue Book, 1892
- Government of British Columbia*—
  - Statutes, 1893
- Government of British Guiana*—
  - Administration Reports, 1891-92
- Government of British Honduras*—
  - Blue Book, 1892
  - Annual Report on Primary Education, 1892
- Government of Canada*—
  - Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 1893
  - Debates of the Senate, 1891, 1892, 1893
  - Sessional Papers, 1893
  - Journal of the Senate, 1893
  - Census of Canada, 1890-91. Vol. I.
  - Report on Agriculture and Colonisation, 1893

- British Columbia Fishery Commission Report, 1892
- Report of Dividends Remaining Unpaid and Unclaimed Balances in Chartered Banks of the Dominion of Canada, 1892
- Agreement between Canada and France in respect of Customs Tariffs, 1893
- Reports upon Trade and Trade Openings in Great Britain and Other Countries, 1892
- Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Manitoba School Case, 1893
- Canal Statistics, 1892
- Reports of the Chairman of the Board of Steamboat Inspection 1892
- Report of the Superintendent of Insurance, 1892
- Criminal Statistics, 1892
- Government of the Cape of Good Hope—*
- Statistical Register, 1892
- Agricultural and Live-stock Returns, 1892-93
- Map of Cape Colony, 1893
- Government of Ceylon—*
- Handbook of the Flora of Ceylon. By Henry Trimen. Part 1, with Plates 1-25, 1893
- Blue Book, 1892
- Government of Fiji—*
- Blue Book, 1893
- Government of the Gold Coast Colony—*
- Blue Book, 1892
- Report on the Progress and Condition of the Botanical Station at. Aburi, 1893
- Government of Grenada—*
- Grenada Blue Book, 1892
- Government of Hong Kong—*
- Hong Kong Blue Book, 1892
- Sessional Papers, 1892
- Government of Jamaica—*
- Departmental Reports, 1891-92
- Appropriation Accounts, 1892
- Government of the Leeward Islands—*
- Blue Book, 1892
- Acts of the General Legislature, 1892
- Government of Mauritius—*
- Lois de Maurice sur le Notariat. Par L. A. Thibaud. 1893
- Blue Book, 1892
- Council of Government Debates, 1893
- Government of New South Wales—*
- Historical Records of New South Wales. Vol. I. Part 1. Cook: (1762-1780), and Maps, 1893
- Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1891-92
- Journals of the Legislative Council, 1891-92
- Statutes, 1892-93
- Parliamentary Debates, 1893
- Agricultural Gazette, August, 1893
- Government of New Zealand—*
- Journals and Appendix of the Legislative Council, 1892
- Journals of the House of Representatives, 1892
- Budget of the Hon. J. G. Ward (Colonial Treasurer), 1893
- Parliamentary Papers, 1893
- Parliamentary Debates, 1893
- Government of Ontario, Canada—*
- Sessional Papers, 1893
- Statutes, 1893
- Government of Quebec—*
- Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1893
- Journals of the Legislative Council, 1893
- Government of Queensland—*
- Statistics of Queensland, 1892

- Report of the Registrar-General of the Returns of Agriculture and Live-stock for 1892
- Parliamentary Debates, 1892
- Acts of Parliament, 1892
- Blue Book, 1892
- Government of South Australia—*
- Parliamentary Papers, 1893
- Government of the Straits Settlements—*
- Blue Book, 1892
- Government of Trinidad—*
- Laws of Trinidad, 1853-1882, 1886-1892
- Government of Victoria—*
- Parliamentary Papers, 1893
- Parliamentary Debates, 1892-93
- Government of Western Australia—*
- Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889
- Minutes and Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, 1890-91, 1891-92
- Parliamentary Debates, 1885-1892
- Blue Books, 1870 and 1893
- Census of Western Australia, 1891
- General Report, with Appendices. By W. A. Gale
- Adelaide Observatory, South Australia—*
- Meteorological Observations made at the Adelaide Observatory and other Places in South Australia and the Northern Territory during 1884-85; 1893
- Agent-General for British Columbia—*
- Second Report of the Department of Agriculture of British Columbia 1892
- Agent-General for New South Wales—*
- Comments on Cook's Log. By the Hon. Philip G. King, 1891
- Geographical Encyclopædia of New South Wales. By W. Hanson, 1892
- Wealth and Progress of New South Wales, 1892. By T. A. Coghlan
- Year Book of Australia, 1892
- World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: Catalogue of New South Wales Exhibits
- Physical Geography and Climate of New South Wales. By H. C. Russell, 1892
- Sheep and Wool in New South Wales, 1893
- A Sketch of the Progress and Resources of New South Wales. By Greville Tregarthen, 1893
- Australian Timbers. By W. H. Warren, 1892
- Prison System of New South Wales. By George Miller, 1893
- New South Wales: Statistics, History and Resources, 1893
- Marine Fish and Fisheries of New South Wales. By Philip Cohen, 1892
- Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales. By the Hon. Richard Hill and the Hon. George Thornton, 1892
- The Rise, Progress and Present Position of Trade and Commerce in New South Wales. By Edward Pulsford, 1892
- Australia, and America in 1892: a Contrast. By Edward Dowling, 1893
- New South Wales Municipal Directory, 1893-94
- Blue Book, 1892
- Report of Board appointed to inquire into the Prevalence and Prevention of Lead Poisoning at the Broken Hill Silver-Lead Mines, 1893
- Annual Progress Report of State Forest Administration, 1892
- Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Water Supply and Sewerage, 1892
- Return showing all Unclaimed Deeds of Lands, Names of Grantees, Dates, Areas, and Situation of such Grants of Land to end of 1891
- Agent-General for New Zealand—*
- New Zealand Handbook, 1893
- Amended Regulations for the Formation of Farm Homestead Associations, 1892
- Amended Regulations for Village Homesteads, 1892
- Mining Act, 1891, and Regulations made thereunder, 1892
- The Patents, Designs, and Trade-Marks Act, 1889
- New Zealand Crown Lands Guide, 1891

- Emigration Statutes and General Handbook, 1891
- Statistical Chart showing the Progress and Position of New Zealand, 1889
- Journal of Commerce and Labour, March-May, 1893
- Time Table for the New Zealand Government Railways, May, 1893
- New Zealand Grand Tour, 1891
- Trout in New Zealand: where to go and how to catch them. By W. H. Spackman, 1892
- New Zealand's Lone Lands. By R. Carrick, 1892
- A Romance of Lake Wakatipu. By R. Carrick, 1892
- The Crown Lands of New Zealand, 1892
- Hanmer Plains Sanitorium. By A. Ginders, 1891
- New Zealand, a Trip for Tourists, 1890
- The Land Laws of New Zealand as enacted by the Land Act, 1892 Compiled by Vincent Pyke, 1893
- Budget of the Hon. J. G. Ward (Colonial Treasurer), 1893
- *Agent-General for Queensland—*
- Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction, 1892
- *Archæological Survey of India—*
- The Bower Manuscript; Fac-simile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Translation with Notes. Edited by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle. Part 1, 1893
- *Board of Supervision, Jamaica—*
- Annual Report, 1893
- *Bureau of Mines, Department of Crown Lands, Ontario—*
- Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario, and Measures for their Development, 1890
- Annual Reports of the Bureau of Mines, 1891 and 1892
- *Chief Weather Bureau, Queensland—*
- Standard Weather Charts of Australasia and Surrounding Regions, May-July, 1892
- *Colonial Office—*
- New Zealand University Calendar, 1893-94
- General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners, 1848, 1850, 1860 and 1868
- New South Wales Government Gazette. Nos. 346, 397 and 409 1889
- Queensland Government Gazette. Nos. 26 and 27; 1889
- Index to Queensland Government Gazette. Vols. XLIX. and L.
- The Canadian Confederation Defended. By (Sir) Charles Tupper, 1868
- Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria. Vol IX. Part 2, 1869
- Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1870, 1873-74, 1874-75
- Sierra Leone Royal Gazette. Nos. 250, 252, 254, 255; 1890
- *Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg—*
- Report on Crops and Live-stock in Manitoba, August 1893
- *Department of Labour, New Zealand—*
- Journal of Commerce and Labour, July-September 1893
- *Department of Mines and Agriculture, Sydney—*
- Annual Report, 1892
- Records of the Geological Survey of New South Wales. Vol. III Part 3. 1893.
- *Department of Public Instruction, Queensland—*
- Seventeenth Report of the Secretary for Public Instruction for 1892
- *Department of State, U.S.A.—*
- Consular Reports, April-October 1893
- *Durban Corporation—*
- Mayor's Minute, 1893
- *Education Department, Cape Town—*
- Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1892
- *Geological Survey Department, Canada—*
- Catalogue of Section 1 of the Museum of the Geological Survey, embracing the Systematic Collection of Minerals, &c. By G. Christian Hoffmann, 1893
- Catalogue of a Stratigraphical Collection of Canadian Rocks prepared for the World's Columbian Exposition. By Walter F. Ferrier, 1893
- *Government Civil Hospital, Hong Kong—*
- Annual Report of the Medical Department, 1892

- High Commissioner for Canada*—
- Statistical Year-Book of Canada, 1892
- A Travel's le Nord-Ouest Canadien. Par De Bouthillier-Chavigny, 1893
- Description of the Province of Manitoba. Published under the Authority of the Hon. T. Mayne Daly, 1893
- Hong Kong Observatory*—
- Observations and Researches made at the Hong Kong Observatory in 1892. By W. Doberck, 1893
- Immigration Department, British Guiana*—
- Consolidated Half-yearly Returns of Immigrants. December 1892
- Annual List of Arrivals and Allotments of Immigrants in British Guiana, 1892-93
- Mining Department, Melbourne*—
- Annual Report of the Secretary for Mines, 1892
- Post and Telegraph Department, Queensland*—
- Annual Report, 1892
- Registrar-General, Tasmania*—
- Census of the Colony of Tasmania, 1891. Parts 1-8, with Introduction. Report by the Registrar-General, 1893.
- Registrar-General, Trinidad*—
- Report on the Vital Statistics, 1892
- Secretary of State for the Colonies*—
- Agricultural Bulletin of the Malay Peninsula, 1891-93
- Secretary of State for India*—
- Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. By George Watt, 1889-93. 9 Vols.
- Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58. Edited by George W. Forrest. Vol. I. 1893
- Census of India, 1891:—Madras; Lower Provinces of Bengal and their Feudatories; Central Provinces and Feudatories
- Report on the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, &c., 1891-92
- A List of Agricultural Implements and Machinery which have been tested in India during 1892
- American Colonisation Society, Washington, U.S.A.*—
- Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the American Colonisation Society, 1867
- Annual Report, 1893
- Bulletins, November 1892-February 1893
- American Geographical Society*—
- Bulletin, September 1893
- Anthropological Institute*—
- Index to the Publications of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1843-1891. By George W. Bloxham, 1893
- Journal, August 1893
- Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*—
- Report of Fourth Meeting held at Hobart, Tasmania, 1892
- Australian Museum, Sydney*—
- Australian Lepidoptera and their Transformations, by the late A. W. Scott Edited and revised by H. Forde and A. S. Olliff Vol. II. Part 4, 1893
- Annual Report of the Trustees of the Australian Museum, 1892
- Bankers' Institute of Australasia*—
- Bankers' Magazine, September 1893
- Bengal Chamber of Commerce*—
- Report of the Committee, 1892-93
- Bibliothèque Municipale d' Alexandria*—
- Rapport sur l'assainissement de la ville
- British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*—
- Anti-Slavery Reporter, May June 1893
- Canadian Bankers' Association, Montreal*—
- Journal, Vol. I. No. 1, September 1893
- Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association*—
- New Zealand Country Journal, September 1893
- Colonial College*—
- Colonia, August 1893

- *Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce, Queensland—*  
Annual Report, 1892-93
- *Colonial Museum and Geological Survey of New Zealand—*  
Annual Report on the Colonial Museum and Laboratory, 1891-92
- *Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft—*  
Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, August-October 1893
- *Dunedin Public Art Gallery—*  
Trustees Report and Catalogue of the Pictures, 1893
- *Durban Chamber of Commerce, Natal—*  
Annual Reports, 1892
- *Free Association of Employers and Workmen of Hawkes Bay, N.Z.*  
Annual Report, 1893
- *Hamilton Association, Hamilton, Canada—*  
Journal and Proceedings. No. 9, 1893
- *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba—*  
Social Customs and Amusements in the Early Days in the Red River Settlement and Rupert's Land. By John MacBeth, 1893
- Annual Report, 1892
- *Hobart Chamber of Commerce—*  
Annual Report, 1893
- *Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce—*  
Annual Report, 1893
- *Institute of Bankers—*  
Journal, October 1893
- *Institution of Civil Engineers—*  
Minutes of Proceedings. Vols. CXII., CXIII., CXIV., 1892-93
- Charter, Supplementary Charter, By-Laws, and List of Members, 1893
- The Independence of Abstract Science and Engineering. By William Anderson, 1893
- *Institute of Jamaica—*  
Journal, August 1893
- *Koninklijk Instituut, 's Gravenhage—*  
Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land—en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie. No. 4, 1893
- *Kotoniaal Museum, Haarlem—*  
Bulletin, July 1891
- Pamphlet on Petroleum. By Dr. D. De Loos
- *Manchester Geographical Society—*  
Journal, January-June 1893
- *McGill College and University, Montreal—*  
Annual Calendar, 1893-94
- *Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid—*  
Wekelijksche Courant do Nijverheid, July-September 1893
- *New Zealand Institute, Wellington—*  
Manual of New Zealand Coleoptera. By Captain Thomas Broun, Parts 5, 6, 7, 1893
- Transactions and Proceedings. Vol. XXV., 1892
- *Nova Scotia Institute of Science—*  
Proceedings and Transactions. Vol. I. Part 2, 1892
- *Oriental University Institute, Woking—*  
Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, October 1893
- *Polynesian Society, New Zealand—*  
Journal, March and June, 1893
- *Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce—*  
Annual Report, 1892
- *Public Library, Museum, and National Gallery of Victoria—*  
Report of the Trustees, 1892
- *Queen's College and University, Kingston, Canada—*  
Examination Papers; Arts, Law, Divinity, 1893
- Calendar, 1893-94
- Queen's Quarterly, October 1893

- *Royal Anglo-Australian Society of Artists*—  
Illustrated Catalogue, 1893
- *Royal Asiatic Society*—  
Journal, July and October, 1893
- *Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*—  
Journal. Vol. XI. No. 40. 1893
- *Royal Botanic Gardens, Trinidad*—  
Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information, June and September, 1893
- *Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham*—  
Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Index 1837-1892
- *Royal Gardens, Kew*—  
Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information, July-September 1893
- *Royal Geographical Society*—  
Report of the Proceedings of the Society in reference to the Improvement of Geographical Education, 1886
- Geographical Journal, September-November 1893
- *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Queensland Branch)*—  
Proceedings and Transactions, 1892-93
- Summary of the Geographical Work of Mr. J. P. Thomson
- *Royal Scottish Geographical Society*—  
Magazine, August-November 1893
- *Royal Society of Canada*—  
Proceedings and Transactions. Vol. X., 1892
- *Royal Society of South Australia*—  
Transactions of the Society. Vol. XVI. Part 2. Vol. XVII. Part 1, 1893
- *Royal Society of Tasmania*—  
Papers and Proceedings of the Society, 1892
- *Royal Society of Victoria*—  
Proceedings of the Society. Vol. IV. Part 2, 1892
- *Royal Statistical Society*—  
Journal, September 1893
- *Royal United Service Institution*—  
Journal, June-November 1893
- *Tate Public Library, Streatham*—  
Second Annual Report, 1892-93
- *United Service Institution of New South Wales*—  
Journal and Proceedings, 1892
- *University of New Zealand*—  
Annual Calendar, 1893-94
- *University of Sydney, New South Wales*—  
Calendar, 1893
- *Victoria Institute*—  
Journal of Transactions, 1892-93
- *Victoria University, Toronto, Canada*—  
Calendar of the Victoria University, 1893-94
- *Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines*—  
Monthly Return of Gold, July and August, 1893
- *Messrs. W, H. Allen & Co.*—  
History of the French in India, 1674-1761. By Col. G. B. Malleson, 1893
- *R. B. Anderson, Esq.*—  
West Indian Journal and Civil Rights Guardian, 1891 to June 1893
- *Anonymous*—  
West India, "Compensation to the Owners of Slaves," its History and its Results. By Edmund Sturge, 1893
- *R, Barr-Smith, Esq.*—  
Bimetallism and what Bimetallism may do for South Australia. By the Donor, 1893
- *G. S. Beeching, Esq.*  
Discovery and Adventure in Africa. By Hugh Murray, Prof Jameson and James Wilson, 1840

- Messrs. B. Bentley & Son*—
- Indian Memories. By W. S. Burrell and Edith E. Cuthell, 1893
- Messrs. Wm. Blackwood & Sons*—
- The Zambesi Basin and Nyassaland. By Daniel J. Rankin, 1893
- J. B. Boosé, Esq.*
- Handbook of British Guiana. By James Rodway, 1893
- J. G. Bourinot, Esq., C.M.G., Ottawa*—
- Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Cape Breton. By the Donor, 1892
  - Royal Society of Canada: Proceedings for 1893
  - Quebec and Levis Directory, 1892-93
  - Brantford City Directory, 1890-91
  - London City and Middlesex County Directory, 1892
  - Montreal Directory, 1892-93
- Hon. T. A. Brassey*—
- The Naval Annual. Edited by the Donor, 1893
- British North Borneo Co.*—
- English-Sulu-Malay Vocabulary. By Andson Cowie. Edited by Wm. Clark Cowie, 1893
- British South Africa Co.*—
- Map of Mashonaland, Matabeleland, Kbama's Country, &c., the British South Africa Company's Territory South of the Zambesi, 1893
- Dr. A. M. Brown*—
- Life and Speeches of Daniel Henry Deniehy. By E. A. Martin. 1884
- A. F. Calvert, Esq.*—
- Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders. By J. S. Polack, 1840
  - An Account of New Zealand, and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island. By the Rev. W. Yate," 1835
  - The Australian Emigrant. By G. H. Haydon, 1854
  - Roughing it in Van Diemen's Land, &c.
  - Adelaide University Calendar, 1891
  - Mineral Resources of Western Australia. By the Donor, 1893
- Messrs. Cassell & Co. Ld.*
- The Story of Africa and its Explorers. By Dr. Robert Brown. Vol. II., 1893
- Joseph Chailley-Bert, Esq.*—
- La Hollande et les fonctionnaires des Indes Néerlandaises. By the Donor, 1893
  - Conseils à ceux qui veulent s'établir aux colonies, 1893
- Messrs. Chapman d Hall*—
- History of the Gold Coast of West Africa, By Colonel A. B. Ellis, 1893
- The Clarendon Press*—
- Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen to America. Edited by E. J. Payne, 1893
- The Copp, Clark Co., him., Toronto*—
- Later Canadian Poems. Edited by J. E. Wetherell, 1893
- Capt. Ernest Cruikthank, Ontario*—
- The Story of Butler's Bangers and the Settlement of Niagara. By the Donor, 1893
- C. E. Cullen, Esq.*—
- Imperial Institute Year-Book, 1893
- T. K. Davies, Esq.*—
- Open Letter upon the Hawaiian Crisis. By the Donor, 1893
- The Rev. Æneas Macdonell Dawson, Ottawa*—
- Our Strength and their Strength: the North-West Territory, &c. By the Donor, 1870
  - The North-West Territories and British Columbia. By the Donor, 1881
  - Pius IX and his Time. By the Donor, 1880
  - Zenobia; Queen of Palmyra, a Poem. By the Donor, 1883
  - The Catholics of Scotland from 1593, and the Extinction of the Hierarchy in 1603, till the Death of Bishop Carruthers in 1852. By the Donor, 1890
- Messrs. John Dcuigall & Son, Montreal*—
- Sea, Forest, and Prairie; being Stories o Life and Adventure in Canada, Past and Present. By Boys and Girls in Canada's Schools, 1893
- Stanley Edwards, Esq.*—

- A British Grawl on the Condition of the Democracies and of the Colonies. By John Houghton, 1892
- Rural New Zealand: the Britain of the South. By John Houghton, 1893
- *Messrs. D. Edwards d Co., Cape Town—*
- Cape Illustrated Magazine, May-October 1893
- *Messrs. Effingham Wilson d Co.—*
- A Plain Statement of the Currency Question, with Reasons why we should Restore the Old English Law of Bimetalism. By John Hill Twigg, 1893
- *C. Washington Eves, Esq., C.M.G.—*
- Hortus Jamaicaensis. By John Lunan. 2 Vols. 1814
- West India Common-Place Book. By Sir William Young, 1807
- Flora Barbadosensis. By J. D. Maycock, 1830
- *Henry Faija, Esq.—*
- On the Manufacture and Testing of Portland Cement. By the Donor, 1893
- *A. A. Fauvel, Esq.—*
- Kurrachee et Bombay, souvenirs de voyage. By the Donor, 1892
- Etude de cartographic sur l'Archipel des Seychelles. By the Donor, 1893
- *Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson, Ceylon—*
- Tropical Agriculturist, July-October 1893
- Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon, July-September 1893
- *John Ferguson, Esq.—*
- Ceylon in 1893. By the Donor
- *The Rt. Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., M.P., &c.—*
- Catalogue of the York Gate Geographical and Colonial Library, 1886
- *B. G. Gray, Esq.—*
- Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia. By Thomas C, Haliburton, 1829
- *Rev. W. P. Greswell—*
- The British Colonies and their Industries. By the Donor, 1893
- *Hare Press, Calcutta—*
- Raja Digambar Mitra: his Life and Career. By Bholanauth Chunder, 1893
- *Thomas Harry, Esq., South Australia—*
- Some Failures of Democracy. By the Donor, 1893
- *T. H. Haynes, Esq.—*
- Veto of the Crown. By the Donor, 1893
- Territorial Waters, and Ocean Fishery Bights. By the Don or, 1893
- *H. H. Hayter, Esq., C.M.G.—*
- Victorian Year-Book, 1892. Vol. II. By the Donor
- *Wm. Heinemann, Esq.—*
- Guide Book to Alaska and the North-West Coast. By Eliza Ruhamah Scidinore, 1893
- *Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B.—*
- Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland. 1800, 1861, 1862, 1865
- Queensland Government Gazettes, 1859-60, 1862, 1863, 1864
- *Dr, J. George Hodgins, Toronto—*
- Ryerson Memorial Volume, 1844 76. By the Donor, 1889
- Hints and Suggestions on School Architecture and Hygiene. By the Donor, 1886
- Educational System of the Province of Ontario. By the Donor, 1886
- *Messrs. Hofmeyr & Regter, Cape Town—*
- Zuid Afrikaansche Tydschrift, August 1893
- *Imperial British East Africa Co.—*
- British East Africa or Ibea. By P. L. McDermott, 1893
- *Robert Johnstone, Esq.—*
- Jamaica Weather Report, May to August 1893
- *W. Kennaway, Esq. C.M.G.—*
- New Zealand Statutes, 1861, 1867, 1875 and 1876
- *Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston d Co.—*
- How I Shot my Bears; or, Two Years' Tent Life in Kullu and Lahoul. By Mrs. R. H. Tyacke, 1893
- Brown's "South Africa," a Guide for the Use of Tourists, Sportsmen, Invalids and Settlers, 1893
- *j. A. Macdonell, Esq., Q.C., Ontario—*
- The Early Settlement and History of Glengarry in Canada. By the Donor, 1893

- Messrs. Macmillan & Co.*—
- *Adventures in Mashonaland by Two Hospital Nurses, Rose Blennerhassett and Lucy Sleeman, 1893*
- Messrs. E. Marlborough & Co.*—
- *An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. G. C. Grubb in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. By E. C. Millard, 1893*
- Archer Martin, Esq., Winnipeg*—
- *Western Law Times of Canada, July-October 1893*
- Messrs. McCarron, Stewart & Co., Sydney*—
- *The Cosmopolitan; a Bimonthly Gazette for Furthering the Spread of Volapük. Nos. 9 and 12, 1893*
- Messrs. A. McKimley & Co., Melbourne*—
- *The Imperial, July 1893*
- D. McLaws, Esq., Ontario*—
- *Free Trade and Direct Taxation. By the Donor, 1893*
- Messrs. Methuen & Co.*—
- *British Commerce and Colonies from Elizabeth to Victoria. By H. de B. Gibbins, 1893*
- J. C. H. Mingaye, Esq.*—
- *Notes and Analysis of a Metallic Meteorite from Moonbi, near Tamworth, New South Wales, 1893*
- Henry J. Morgan, Esq., Ottawa*—
- *Hamilton, the Birmingham of Canada, 1893*
  - *Brockville, The City of the Thousand Islands*
  - *Descriptive Report of the Coal Mines of the Canadian Anthracite Coal Company, at Anthracite and Cadmore, N.W.T.*
  - *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Montreal Board of Trade, 1893*
  - *A Very Fair Comparison of the Relative Condition of Farmers in New York State and the Province of Ontario, 1893*
  - *Programme of the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association Meeting 1893*
  - *The Manitoban, July 1893*
- Henry J. Morgan, Esq., Ottawa*—
- *Agreement between Canada and France in Respect of Customs Tariffs, 1893*
  - *Summary Report of the Geological Department, 1892 Trade with Great Britain (Horses), 1892*
- J. R. Mosse, Esq.*—
- *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science: 1881*
- Dr. G. L. Mullens, New South Wales*—
- *Rules and By-Laws of the Sydney Medical Association*
  - *Rules and By-Laws of the Eastern Medical Association, 1893*
- John Murray, Esq.*—
- *Typee: a Narrative of Four Months' Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands; or a Peep at Polynesian Life. By Herman Melville, 1893*
  - *Omoo: a Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas. By Herman Melville, 1893*
- F. Nash, Esq., Mauritius*—
- *Plan détaillé de la partie de la ville détruite par l'incendie du 23 au 24 Juillet, 1893*
  - *Rapport du Comité des Chimistes, 1893*
- Joseph Nelson, Esq.*—
- *Proposed Hudson's Bay and Pacific Railway and New Steamship Route. By the Donor, 1893*
- Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons*—
- *Doing and Daring: a New Zealand Story. By Eleanor Stredder.*
- Simpson Newland, Esq.*—
- *Paving the Way: a Romance of the Australian Bush. By the Donor, 1893*
- John Noble, Esq., Cape Town*—
- *Illustrated Official Handbook of the Cape and South Africa. Edited by the Donor, 1893*
- Ontario Publishing Co., Limited, Toronto*—
- *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, March-November 1893*
- Orient Steam Navigation Co., Limited*—
- *Notes on a Winter Cruise in the West Indies. By Lieut. G. T. Temple, 1893*
- George Owen, Esq.*—
- *New Zealand, Graphic and Descriptive; the illustrations by C. D. Barraud. Edited by W. T. L. Travers, 1877*
- C. E. Parker-Rhodes, Esq.*—

- Improved Compass for Ships and Overland Travellers. By the Donor, 1893  
*J. A. Otonba Payne, Esq., Lagos—*
- Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History. By the Donor, 1893  
*Walter Peace, Esq., C.M.G.—*
- Frame of Views of Natal Bay  
*Messrs. George Philip & Son—*
- The Discovery of Australia. By Albert F. Calvert, 1893
- Mineral Resources of Western Australia. By Albert F. Calvert, 1893  
*A. H. Pritchard, Esq.—*
- North Queensland Mining Annual: a History of the Progress of North Queensland Mining for 1892  
*The Proprietors—*
- Cape Church Monthly, June-October 1893  
*The Proprietors—*
- South African Catholic Magazine, June-October 1893  
*Proprietors of the Mackay Standard—*
- The Way to Revive the Prosperity of Queensland, 1893  
*George Ranken, Esq., New South Wales—*
- Our Wasted Heritage. By the Donor.  
*W. H. Read, Esq., C.M.G.—*
- British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca. By T. J. Newbold, 1839. 2 Vols.  
*Religious Tract Society—*
- Forty-two Years amongst the Indians and Eskimos. By Beatrice Batty, 1893  
*The Eon. Arthur Renwick, Sydney, New South Wales—*
- An Australian Language. By L. E. Threlkeld and others. Edited by John Fraser, 1892  
*T. Reunert, Esq.—*
- Diamonds and Gold in South Africa. By the Donor, 1893  
*G. MacLean Rose, Esq., Toronto—*
- The Canadian North-West; its History and its Troubles. By G. Mercer Adam, 1885
- The Life and Career of the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald. By G. Mercer Adam
- History of the Early Missions in Western Canada. By Very Rev. W. R. Harris, 1893  
*E. D. Rowland, Esq.—*
- British Guiana Medical Annual and Hospital Reports, 1893  
*H. C. Russell, Esq., C.M.G.—*
- Results of Meteorological Observations made in New South Wales during 1890. By the Donor, 1892
- Results of Rain, River, and Evaporation Observations made in New South Wales during 1891. By the Donor, 1893  
*John Russell, Esq.—*
- Selangor Journal, July-October 1893  
*Sabiston Litho. and Publishing Co., Montreal—*
- Board of Trade, Montreal. A Souvenir, 1893  
*James Sadler, Esq., Adelaide, South Australia—*
- Lyrics and Rhymes. By the Donor, 1890  
*Walter Scott, Esq.—*
- Canadian Poems and Lays. Arranged and Edited by William Douw Lighthall  
*Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall & Co.—*
- The Golden Transvaal. By Henry Longland, 1893  
*Josiah Slater, Esq.—*
- Cape Law Journal, August 1893  
*Edward Stanford, Esq.—*
- Australasia, Vol. I., Australia and New Zealand. By Alfred R. Wallace, 1893  
*Sunday School Union—*
- Alexander Mackay: Missionary Hero of Uganda, 1893  
*Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.—*
- History of South Africa (1834-54). By George McCall Theal, 1893  
*G. J. Symons, Esq.—*
- Meteorological Magazine, July-November 1893  
*J. Thomson, Esq. F.R.S—*
- Timehri: Journal of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana, June 1893

- Sir Charles Todd, K.C.M.G., South Australia*—
- Report of the Postal and Telegraph Conference held in Brisbane in March 1893
- Frederick Tooth, Esq.*—
- Photograph Album
- Messrs. Tylston & Edwards*—
- Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah. By Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, 1893
  - A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome. By Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, 1893
  - Vikram and the Vampire; or, Tales of Hindu Devilry. Adapted by Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, 1893
  - Vikram and the Vampire; or, Tales of Hindu Devilry. Adapted by Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, 1893
- Lt.-Col. the Hon. C. J. Ward, C.M.G., Jamaica*—
- World's Fair: Jamaica at Chicago. An Account descriptive of the Colony of Jamaica. By the Donor, 1893
- Messrs. F. Warne & Co.*—
- History of England and the British Empire. By Edgar Sanderson, 1893
- Col. Wm. White, Ottawa*—
- Report on Agriculture and Colonisation, 1893
  - British Columbia Fishery Commission, Report, 1892
  - Rapport de la Commission Royale relatif à certaines accusations portées contre l'Hon. Sir A. P. Caron, 1893
  - Rapport Annuel du Département des Affaires Indiennes, 1892
  - Report of the Superintendent of Insurance of the Dominion of Canada, 1892
  - Reports of the Chairman of the Board of Steamboat Inspection, 1892
  - Criminal Statistics, 1892
  - Report on Canadian Archives. By Douglas Brymner, 1892
  - Fisheries Statements and Inspectors' Reports, 1892
- Messrs. W. H. White & Co.*—
- Through Canada with a Kodak. By the Countess of Aberdeen, 1893
- Mrs. E. Stone Wiggins, Ottawa*—
- Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister: Letters of a Lady to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ontario, 1881
- Messrs. Williams & Norgate*—
- A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language. By the Right Rev. William Williams, 1892

## Notices to Fellows.

Library of the Royal Colonial Institute.

### Desiderata.

The following volumes and parts are required in the Library to complete the various series. Donations will be much appreciated:—

- Australasia*—
- Adelaide Chamber of Commerce. Annual Reports. Nos. 1 to 25, and 28 to 30
  - Australasian Medical Gazette. Vols. I. II.
  - Australasian Sketcher. Melbourne. Nos. 127 to 140 of 1881 Nos. 154 and 157 of 1882. The whole of 1883. No. 203 of 1886
  - Australian Medical Journal (Melbourne). All issues previous to Vol. XIV. 1892
  - Blossville (le Marquis de). Histoire de la colonisation pénale et des établissements de l'Angleterre en Australie (1831). 1859
  - Buckton (T. J.). Western Australia. 1840
  - Bunce (D.). Australasiatic Reminiscences. Twenty-three Years Wanderings in Tasmania and Australia, &c. 1857
  - Bunce (D.). Language of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria and other Australian Districts. 1859
  - Burn (David). Van Diemen's Land Vindicated. 1840
  - Canterbury (N.Z.) Chamber of Commerce. Annual Reports. Nos. 1, 2, 6 to 10, and 17, 18, 21, and 32
  - Cox (Alfred). Men of Mark of New Zealand. 1886
  - Dunedin (N.Z.) Chamber of Commerce. Annual Reports. All previous to 1874, and 1875, 1876, and 1887
  - Étude sur les races indigènes de l'Australie. Instructions présentées à la Société d'Anthropologie. 1872

- Finn (Edmund). *Chronicles of Early Melbourne*. 2 vols. 1889
  - Fitzgerald (R. D.). *Australian Orchids*. (Additional Number)
  - Hobart Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. All previous to 1886
  - Hovell (W. H.) and Hume (Hamilton). *Journey of Discovery to Port Phillip, New South Wales, in 1824-25*. Edited by Dr. W. Bland; and a *Brief Statement of Facts in connection with an Overland Expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip in 1824*, by H. Hume. Edited by Rev. W. Ross. 8vo. Sydney. 1837
  - Hovell (William H.). *Answer to the Preface of the second edition of Mr. Hamilton Hume's "A Brief Statement of Facts in connection with an Overland Expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip in 1824"*. Sydney. 1874
  - Hume (Hamilton). *Brief Statement of Facts in connection with an Overland Expedition from Lake George to Port Phillip, 1824*. 8vo. 1873-74
  - Lyttelton (N.Z.) Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. 3rd Report to date
  - Maryborough Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. Nos. 3-7 and 16
  - Melbourne Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. Nos. 1 to 23, 25 to 29, 32, and 37 to 40
  - Moore (Charles). *Flora of New South Wales*
  - New South Wales. *Report of the Council of Education upon the Condition of Public Schools, 1866-75, 1879, and from 1881 to date*
  - New Zealand University Calendar. All previous to 1891
  - New Zealand. *Reports of Geological Explorations. With Maps and Sections*. Previous to 1881
  - Presbyterianism in the Australian Colonies. 8vo. 4 vols. 1846-69
  - Townsville Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. 1883, 1884, and 1885
  - Wellington (N.Z.) Chamber of Commerce. *Annual Reports*. Nos. 1 to 14, and 16 to 24
  - Wentworth. *The British Settlements in Australasia*. 2 vols. 1824
  - Westmacott (Capt. R. M.). *Sketches in Australia*, 1848
  - *Year-Book of Australia*. Edited by Edward Greville. 1882, 1883, 1884, 1887, 1889
  - Zimmermann. *Australien, in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde*. 2 vols. 1810
- British North America—
- Ashley (W. J.). *Nine Lectures on the Earlier Constitutional History of Canada*. 1889
  - Bibaud (Michael). *Histoire du Canada sous la domination française (1837 et 1843)*
  - *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination anglaise*
  - Christie (Robert). *A History of the late Province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political*. 5 vols. 1848-54
  - Colby (C. C.). *Parliamentary Government in Canada*. 1886
  - Collins (J. E.). *Life and Times of Sir John A. Macdonald*. 1883
  - Dent (J. C.). *The Last Forty Years. Canada since the Union of 1841*. 1881
  - Dent (H.). *Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion*. 2 vols. 1885
  - Dominion Board of Trade, *Proceedings of*. From 10th Annual General Meeting of 1880 to date
  - Edits, *Ordonnances Royaux, Déclarations et Arrêts du Conseil d'Etat du Roi concernant le Canada*. 1854.
  - Faillon (Abbé). *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada*. 2 vols, 1865
  - Ferland (J. B. A.). *Cours d'histoire du Canada*. 2 vols. 1861, 1865
  - Garneau (F. X.). *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*. 1882
  - Gérin-Lajoie (A.). *Dix ans au Canada, de 1840 à 1850*. 1888
  - Gunn (Hon. D.). *History of Manitoba*. 1880
  - Hamilton (J. C.). *The Prairie Province*. 1876
  - Hincks (Sir Francis). *Reminiscences of his Public Life*. 1884
  - Kingsford (Dr.). *The Early Bibliography of Ontario*
  - Kirby (William). *Le Chien d'Or. A Legend of Quebec*. 1877
  - Lareau (Edmond). *Histoire du droit canadien depuis les origines de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours*. 2 vols. 1888
  - Le Moine (J. M.). *Quebec, Past and Present. 1608-1876*
  - Lesperance (John). *The Bastonnais. Tale of the American Invasion of Canada in 1775-6*. 1877
  - *Letters of "Veritas."* 1815. (Hon. John Bichardson)
  - *Letters of "Nerva."* (Mr. Justice Gale)
  - Lindsey (Charles). *Life and Times of W. Lyon Mackenzie, with an account of the Canadian Rebellion of 1837*. 2 vols. 1863
  - *Lovell's History of the Dominion of Canada and other Parts of British America*. 1876
  - Macpherson (Col. J. P.). *Life of Sir John A. Macdonald*. 1892

- Morgan (H. J.). Sketches of Celebrated Canadians
- Morgan (H. J.). Bibliotheca Canadensis
- Rattray (W. J.). The Scot in British North America. 2 vols, 1881
- Statements of the Home and Foreign Trade of the Dominion of Canada; also Annual Report of the Commerce of Montreal. 1874 to date
- Sullivan (D. A. O.). Government in Canada; the Principles and Institutions of our Federal and Provincial Constitutions. 1887
- Tuttle (C. R.). Our North Land; being a full Account of the Canadian North-West and Hudson's Bay Route. 1885
- Toronto Public Library. Second Report
- Watson (S. J.). The Powers of Canadian Parliaments. 1880
- Winnipeg Board of Trade. Annual Reports, 1 to 5
- Withrow (W. A.). A popular History of the Dominion of Canada, from the discovery of America to the present time. 1888 Year-Book of Canada. 1874 to date

#### Cape Colony, Natal, &c.—

- Among the Palms. By Rev. Mr. Brown
- Cape Monthly Magazine. Vol. III. (1858), Nos. 13, 16, and 17. Vol. VII. (1860), No. 40. Vol. VIII. (1860), No. 46. Vol. IX. (1861), Nos. 50, 51, 52. Vol. XI. (1862), No. 66
- Eastern Province Monthly Magazine. Vol. I. (1856), March and April. Vol. II. (1856), October. January, February, and May (1857)

#### West Indies—

- Amphlett (John). Under a Tropical Sky
- Barbados Agricultural Gazette and Planters' Journal. All previous to May 1887, and March and June 1890
- Desultory Sketches and Tales of Barbados. 1840
- Grisebach (Dr.). Flora of the British West India Islands
- Hancock (John). Climate, Soil, and Productions of British Guiana

#### General—

- Geographical Magazine. Edited by Clements R. Markham. Vols. I., II., III. 1874, 1875, 1876
- Meteorological Magazine. Vols. I. to XVII. 1865-82
- Reports of Emigration Commissioners. 1849
- Simmond's Colonial Magazine. Vols. I.-IV. 1844-5
- United States Consular Reports. Nos. 1, 40, 54, 56, 103, 106, 110, 111, 113, 116, 117, 119, 121, 123, 126, 131, 132, 135

#### Societies (United Kingdom)—

- Royal Geographical Society, Journal of. Vols. 3, 7, 10-22
- Royal Geographical Society, Proceedings of. Vols. I.-XI.
- Royal United Service Institution, Journal of. Vols. I. to XIII.
- Royal Institution of Great Britain. Notices of the Proceedings at the Meetings of the Members. Vol. VI.
- Society of Arts, Journal of. Vols. I. to XVI.
- Royal Statistical Society, Journal of. Vols. I. to XXXVI.
- Victoria Institute, Journal of Transactions of the. Vols. III., IV., and V. 1869-72
- East India Association, Journal of. Vol. II. Nos. 2 and 3. Vol. III. No. 2. Vol. IV. Vol. V. No. 2
- Institute of Bankers, Journal of the. Vols. I. to IV. (1880-83)
- Royal Colonial Institute, Proceedings of the. Vols. II., III., IV., V., VI VII.
- Royal Engineers Institute, Chatham. Occasional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers. Vol. I. Parts 1 and 4. Vol. II. Part 6 and Index. Vol. IV. all except Part 12
- Royal Engineers Institute, Chatham. Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 4 and Index. Vol. II. No. 6 and Index
- Royal Society. Transactions. 1834 (Part 1), and 1835 to 1851

#### Societies (Colonial—

##### New South Wales—

- Royal Society of New South Wales. Transactions and Proceedings. Vols. I. to VIII. (1866-74)
- Philosophical Society of New South Wales. Transactions. Previous to 1862
- Australian Philosophical Society Proceedings. 1850-56
- Royal Geographical Society of Australasia. New South Wales Branch. From Vol. IV.

##### Victoria—

- Bankers' Institute of Australasia. (Bankers' Magazine.) August 1886 to August 1887. December 1887 to October 1889. January 1890 to March 1890. May 1890 to March 1891. June 1891 to December 1891. May and June 1892

- Royal Society of Victoria. Vols. V., VII., Part 1. Vol. VIII. (1868) and Vol. X. to Vol. XXI. 1870-85
- Zoological and Acclimatisation Society of Victoria. Previous to Vol IV. (of 1875), and from Vol. V.
- Philosophical Institute of Victoria. Vols. I. and II. (1856-7). Vol. IV. Part 1, 1858
- Victoria Institute. Transactions and Proceedings. 1854-5 Philosophical Society of Victoria. Transactions. 1855
- South Australia—
- Royal Society of South Australia. Transactions and Proceedings of the late Adelaide Philosophical Society. All previous to 1877-8
- Royal Agricultural and Horticultural Society of South Australia. Proceedings. Previous to 1868
- Tasmania—
- Royal Society of. Papers and Proceedings. 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1870, 1871
- Launceston Mechanics' Institute. Annual Reports. Previous to 1882
- British North America—
- The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art. Conducted by the Canadian Institute. Nos. 5 (1856), 7 (1857), 25, 26, 27, 30 (1860), 33 (1861), 49 (1864), and 60 (1865)
- Ceylon—
- Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch). Journals and Proceedings. Vol. III. No. 10, 1856-8. No. 11, 1858-9. No. 12, 1860-61.
- Vol. IV. No. 14, 1867-70. Vol. V. No. 16, 1870-71. Vol. VI. No. 21, 1880. No. 22, 1880. Vol. VII. No. 23, 1881. Proceedings. January 25, 1882, to December 22, 1882

## Parliamentary Publications.

- New South Wales—
- Government Gazette. No. 410 of Vol. II. 1888. Index to Vol. I. January and February 1890
- New Zealand—
- Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives. Vol. II. 1873
- Statutes of New Zealand. 1864, 1873, 1874
- Victoria—
- Government Gazette. Vol. LXXV. Nos. 2, 55, 57. 1888
- South Australia—
- Government Gazette. Vol. II. (1887), Nos. 1 to 47. Vol. I. (1889), Nos. 18, 29, 30
- Queensland—
- Government Gazette. Vol. XLIII. No. 33. 1888. Vol. XLIV. No. 19. 1888. Vol. XLV. No. 112. 1888. Vol. XLVIII. Nos. 25 and 28. 1889
- Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. 1865-7, 1870, 1872-6 and 1881
- Tasmania—
- Hobart Gazette. January to June 1889
- Cape of Good Hope—
- Government Gazette. Previous to September 1887
- Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, and Appendices. 1861, 1867, 1869, 1871-4
- Straits Settlements—
- Proceedings of the Legislative Council. 1886
- Government Gazette. Nos. 58 and 61. 1889
- British Guiana—
- Minutes of the Court of Policy. Previous to 1860, and January to March 1861. January to March 1862. October to December 1863
- Trinidad—
- Ordinances. All previous to 1888
- British Honduras—
- Government Gazette. Nos. 34, 35, 37, 38. 1888
- Bahamas—
- Votes of the House of Assembly. 1871-8
- Votes of the Legislative Council. 1883, 1884
- Manitoba—
- Statutes of the Province of Manitoba. 1886
- Manitoba Gazette. Nos. 10 and 24 of Vol. XVII. 1889
- Sierra Leone—

- Sierra Leone Royal Gazette. Nos. 139, 140 (1881), Nos. 146,149 (1882). Nos. 194, 195 (1885). No. 225 (1888).

## **Arrangements for the Session.**

The following Papers will, amongst others, be read during the present session:—  
Subsequent meetings will be held on the following dates:-March 13, April 10, May 8, June 19.

## **Resolutions of Condolence.**

DEATH OF DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS.

The Council have adopted resolutions expressing their deep regret at the death of Sir Alexander T. Galt, G.C.M.G., who rendered eminent services to the Dominion of Canada and the Empire generally, and served as a Vice-President of the Institute for upwards of twelve years, taking an active part in its proceedings as long as his health permitted; and Dr. John Rae, F.R.S., the intrepid Arctic explorer, who served on the Governing Body of the Institute as a Councillor for over thirteen years, during the whole of which period he zealously sought to advance its interests and promote its usefulness.

## **Appointments to the Council.**

Subject to confirmation by the Fellows at the next Annual Meeting, General Sir H. C. B. Daubeney, G.C.B., has been appointed a Vice-President, in succession to the late Sir William Mackinnon, Bart.; and T. Morgan Harvey, Esq. (late of Natal), a Councillor, in succession to the late Dr. John Rae, F.R.S.

## **Honorary Corresponding Secretary, Sydney.**

Mr. Wilfred L. Docker, of Sydney, New South Wales, has been appointed Honorary Corresponding Secretary in succession to Mr. Laidley Mort, who has been kind enough to discharge the duties of that office for nearly four years past.

## **Use of Council Room for Conferences.**

Subject to the approval of the Council, the Council Room will be available for Conferences on subjects of general Colonial interest, when not otherwise engaged. Applications should be addressed to the Secretary, explaining in each case the object in view, it being understood that the use of the room cannot be granted for party-political, religious, or company-promoting purposes.

## **Late Opening of the Institute.**

The Institute will again be kept open, by way of experiment, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. on week-days, up to December 30, except on evenings of Ordinary Meetings, when it will close at 7.30 p.m. The permanency of the arrangement will depend on whether the attendance is such as to justify the additional expense that must necessarily be incurred.

## **Informal Social Meetings.**

At the suggestion of several Fellows of the Institute it is proposed to hold informal meetings in the Smoking Room on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, for the discussion, in a conversational way, of Colonial, literary, and social subjects.

A notice will be posted in the Hall of the Institute each week announcing the subject to be brought under discussion on the Wednesday evening next ensuing, and the name of its introducer.

## **Changes of Address.**

Fellows of the Institute are particularly requested to notify all changes in their addresses to the Secretary, so that the Journal and other communications may be forwarded without delay.

## **Colonial Newspapers at the British Museum.**

Any Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute who wishes to consult the back files of Colonial newspapers

which are regularly presented by the Institute to the British Museum should apply in the first instance at the office of the Principal Librarian of the Museum, where he may obtain an order for the Newspaper Boom on presentation of his card. Should he require a ticket for any length of time, he can obtain, at the Principal Librarian's office, a more permanent form of admission on producing a letter of recommendation from the Secretary of this Institute.

Advertising for Johannis mineral waters

Advertising for Victorian Government Debentures

Advertisement for Victorian Government Treasury Bond. Victorian Government Inscribed Stock.

Tasmanian Government Inscribed Stock

Advertisement for the Colonial Bank of New Zealand

Advertisement for the Bank of British Columbia

Advertisement for the Imperial Insurance Company

ESTABLISHED A.D. 1774. SHAND, MASON & CO. makers of STEAM and MANUAL FIRE ENGINES to the METROPOLITAN (LONDON) FIRE BRIGADE, H.M. Admiralty, War Department, Board of Trade, Council of India, the Principal Colonial and Foreign Governments, and leading Fire Organisations in all parts of the world. MEN "DOUBLE VERTICAL" STEAM FIRE ENGINE FOR THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE. 51 out of the 51 Steam Fire Engines in use by this Brigade have been constructed by Shand, Mason & Co. Write for ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of FIRE APPARATUS FOR COLONIAL USE. 75 UPPER GROUND STREET, BLACKFRIARS ROAD, LONDON.

HÔTEL MÉTROPOLE THIS MAGNIFICENT HOTEL, situated in NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, IS arranged and furnished to afford Residents every convenience and comfort. In addition to a large number of Single and Double Bedrooms, and Bedrooms with Bath Room and Lavatory attached, there are elegant Suites of Private Apartments. The position is Central, the arrangements are complete, the Public Rooms magnificent, and the Charges Moderate. The general organisation enables the proprietors to provide the highest class Banquets, Dinners, and Wedding Breakfasts, for which some of the most luxurious Suites of Rooms in Europe are available. THE GORDON HOTELS ARE: Grand Hotel, London; Hotel Métropole, and Whitehall Rooms, London; First Avenue Hotel, London; Hotel Métropole, and Clarence Rooms. Brighton; Burlington Hôtel, Eastbourne; Royal Pier Hôtel, Ryde, Isle of Wight; Cliftonville Hôtel, Margate; Hôtel Métropole, Monte Carlo; Hôtel Métropole, Cannes.

Advertisement for the Clarendon Press

Crystal Palace Educational Institutions. THE SCHOOL OF ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE. LADIES' DIVISION . . . . . Established 1859. LECTURES on the University Extension system. Tutorial Instruction of the highest class. Private Lessons. The Art and Scientific Collections of the Crystal Palace are utilised for practical education, Academic Drawing, Painting, Modelling in Clay, Designing, Music, Kinging, Dancing. Distinguished Instructors. Begin any time. Session from October 1st to July 31st. Junior Section for girls under 16 years of age. Centre for Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. THE SCHOOL OF PRACTICAL ENGINEERING. (Next Session Opens Monday, January 8th, 1894.) Mechanical, Civil, Electrical, Mining, Marine, and Colonial Courses. Prospect uses and particulars of the undersigned, in the Library, next Byzantine Court, Crystal Palace. R. G. HODSON, Superintendent, Education Department.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, BRISTOL. ENGINEERING EDUCATION. Professor-J. RYAN, M.A., LL.M. (Camb.), D.Sc. (Lond.). THE Department of Engineering includes Courses for those intending to become Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, or Mining Engineers, Surveyors or Architects. Students in Engineering who study during the six Winter months at the College can spend the rest of the year in the Workshops and Offices of various firms in and near Bristol. Surveying and Field work occupy a prominent place in the Civil Engineering Course during the Summer Term; and arrangements have been made with leading Civil Engineers and Architects for the entry into their Offices of Students who have passed through the respective courses. Facilities are offered in the way of College Scholarships, Engineering Works Scholarships, and special arrangements for entrance into professional life. Calendar, containing full information, price 1s. (by post, 1s 3d.). Applications, with references, should be made as early as possible to the Secretary, from whom Prospectus and particulars of residence in Clifton may be obtained. JAMES RAFTER, Secretary.

HIGHEST AWARDS AT ALL EXHIBITIONS. GEORGE JENNINGS (Contractor to H.M. War Department), HYDRAULIC AND SANITARY ENGINEER, STANGATE, LONDON. Works and Show Rooms—Opposite St. Thomas's Hospital. Colonial Agents: JAMES McEWAN & CO., Limited. MELBOURNE. F. LASSETTEH & CO., Limited, SYDNEY. Illustrated Catalogues on application.

Advertisement for the Hotel Belgravia and De Vere House

PERUVIAN GUANO (AS IMPORTED). OHLENDORFF'S DISSOLVED PERUVIAN GUANO, and all MANURES for HOME and COLONIAL USE. DOUBLE HIGHEST AWARD AT THE CHICAGO EXHIBITION. CONCENTRATED SUPERPHOSPHATES. SULPHATE OF AMMONIA. NITRATE OF

SODA. POTASH SALTS. ANALYSIS GUARANTEED. THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL (LATE OHLENDORFF'S) GUANO WORKS, LONDON AGENCY, 15 LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON. Sole Contractors for Peruvian Guano for all Countries.

WANTED. Volumes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, & 13 of the PROCEEDINGS of the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE APPLY AT THE INSTITUTE, NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE.

Advertisement for J. H. Steward

ROBEY SS. CO. Portable Engine. j Winding Engine, with Patent Wrought-iron Tank Foundations. Engine and Boiler can be supplied for fixing separately from each other. Improved Stone Breaker ed Compound "Robey" Engine. Also Makers of Patent Portable and Semi Fixed Oil Engines. Patent "Robey" Gas Engine ed Hoisting Engine. 10 Head Stamp Battery. a Makers of all descriptions of Pumps, Wrought-iron Pit Head Gears, Mining Plant and Gold, Silver, Lead, &c., Reduction Machinery. GLOBE WORKS, LINCOLN.

Advertisement for the Castle Line

Advertisement for the Union Line

Front Cover

The Raid of the Russian Cruiser 'Kaskowski' An Old Story of Auckland.

With an Introduction and Appendix on Colonial Defence,

Enumerating the [unclear: al] and Military Forces of the European Powers and the Colonies, [List of Royal Naval Reserve Merchant Cruisers, and Opinions of Lord Salisbury, Lord Brassey, Capt. Eardley-Wilmot, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Roberts, and other Prominent Statesmen and Experts on the War Problem.

By D. M. Luckie.

*The firm faith of men of true British blood is that Britain must be Supreme upon the Seas.*

Wellington, N.Z. Printed by the New Zealand Times Company, Limited Lambton Quay 1894

## Past and Present Views on Britain's Naval Defences.

"Mein Gott! Vat a city vor to sack!"—*Field-Marshal Blucher, on his visit to London, after Waterloo.*

"The Royal Navy of England hath ever been its greatest defence and ornament. It is its ancient and natural strength—the floating bulwark of our island."—*Black-stone (Commentaries, 1765).*

"England will defend her Colonies with her last ship and her last shilling."—*Speech of the late Lord Granville, in the early sixties.*

[This declaration was dragged from Lord Granville by reason of the popular feeling which had been created against the late Mr. John Bright's assertion that the Colonies were "a burden and a danger" to the Mother Country, and conferred little economical benefit; and against his doctrine of "Wayward sisters, go in peace!" Happily, all this has been changed, and the financial and commercial world now knows and appreciates the great and growing advantages of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and to her productive industries and requirements.—D.M.L.]

"We are bound to give to the Colonies effective protection by naval means. Depending, as we do, on imported food, it is essential that our supplies should be made secure. It is not too much to say that upon the efficiency of its naval defences the British Empire will stand or fall."—*Lord Brassey.*

"One hundred years ago England was nearly, if not quite, self-supporting. To-day we are not provisioned for more than six weeks or two months."—*Hon. T.A. Brassey, in Nineteenth Century.*

"The continued advance upon India, of Russia and France make it necessary for the frontier to be closely guarded."—*Address of Lord Lansdowne, January 22.*

"Loss of the Colonies would be England's ruin. The active naval preparations at present carried on by Russia and France are directed against England."—*Speech of the Right-Honorable Arthur Balfour at Manchester, January 23.*

"France has greatly increased her Empire, not only in China and Tonquin but in Africa, and has extended her interests in other parts of the world; and in the event of a war with this country all these interests would be jeopardised, and in a very short time France would be cut off from communication with her outlying dependencies in different parts of the world."—*Speech of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre in Parliament, May, 1889.*

"Spanish military experts are advising the fortification of the Bay of Algeciras, to the west of Gibraltar, in order to secure power to silence the forts at Gibraltar."—*Cable message from Madrid, January 23.*

"In any future war in which the British Empire may become involved, British commerce will undoubtedly suffer losses. Their number and extent will depend on the strength and efficiency of the British Navy; but it is only in the case of that strength being allowed to fall to a point which will leave the command of the sea in

doubt that British commerce will be seriously interrupted. In such a case it is idle for British merchants to talk of securing the safety of their trade under a neutral flag. No Power with which we might be at war would respect the neutral flag where ships were carrying food supplies absolutely vital to the existence of the enemy. Place the command of the sea in doubt, and the ruin of British commerce and the British Empire is assured.—*Hon. T. A. Bras ey.*

"The wealth of this country cannot be concealed or withdrawn from the eyes of the world. Lord Salisbury warns the country that its position at present is far from one of security. It was useful to point out, as Lord Salisbury did to the people of Cardiff, the consequences that would follow from even the temporary ascendancy of a foreign fleet outside their port. Yet, without bombarding a town, without in any way bringing the horrors of war home to a single port, an enemy who could drive our fleets off the sea would hold us entirely at his mercy.

"It is not a question of losing greatness, or consideration, or Empire. It is a question of losing our very independence, and of suffering actual conquest without putting the enemy to the expense of invasion. Our frontier everywhere is the sea, and our natural existence depends upon our holding it against all comers."—*The Times, November 29.*

"We are literally sleeping upon a volcano at a time when sleep should be allied with the most acute watchfulness in preparing for a peril that is imminent. The destruction of every empire has been preceded, after a period of careless luxury, by a comatose condition of the mind which has closed the eyes to external warnings. If 18 millions per annum are necessary for expenditure upon an army which would be positively helpless in a war with a first-rate Power, does it not prove to the meanest understanding that we depend for our existence entirely upon our Navy? We should lose no time in doubling our effective naval strength."—*Sir Samuel Baker*

To The Hon. Richard John Seddon,

Premier, in his Capacity of MINISTER OF DEFENCE FOR NEW ZEALAND,

This Reprint of an Old Story of a War Scare in Auckland is Respectfully Inscribed.

## Preface.

ALTHOUGH the tale narrated herein has been reprinted at different periods in New Zealand journals, frequent pressing applications have been made for its publication in a form less fugitive than that which the columns of a newspaper afford. The present day, when the atmosphere is agitated by presages of "war's alarms," seems a fitting time to comply with these requests, all the more so that, only the other day, Lord Salisbury set before a large and enthusiastic audience at Cardiff, as a possibility "by no means imaginative," the effects of a raid by a foreign cruiser on that important English county town,—a narrative which forms a curious counterpart to the fanciful sketch of the "KASKOWISKI" visitation to Auckland of one-and-twenty years ago. Hence the present *brochure*, with its collection of various statistical and other information germane to the prominent war topics of the hour, which are engrossing the attention of millions of people on both sides of the planet.

Wellington, New Zealand,

D. M. Luckie.

April, 1894.

## Contents.

## Introduction.

[*unclear*: THAT] impartial critic and brilliant thoughtful writer—artist as well as author—Mr. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, who has spent half his lifetime in France, [*unclear*: in] attractive volume, entitled "French and English," published in 1889, says:—

"I have no illusions about friendship between nations. There never will be any firm frie[*unclear*: nd]-between England and France; and a momentary attachment would only cause me anxiety account of the

*inevitable re-action."*

The force of this pregnant sentence may not unreasonably be applied to the [unclear: ent] suddenly evolved ebullition of French affection toward Russia, whose [unclear: domient] autocracy is in principle and practice the very antipodes of that republican [unclear: ment] which at present animates and rules the Gallic people and their [unclear: poli]. Doubtless, the "inevitable reaction"

Since these lines were written it would almost appear that this reaction has already [unclear: shown] beginnings, for, by reason of France having decided to place an import duty on grain and other [unclear: tuffs] which will seriously affect Russian agricultural products, a marked feeling of dissatisfaction with France has been displayed. France also, while reducing the import duty on Russian [unclear: teum], subsequently extended the same privilege to America, the only strong competitor of [unclear: sia] the oil market. This, too, has caused irritation. "Friendship is Friendship," says the [unclear: Vr]emya, "but do ut des is the basis of commercial relations, and France had better [unclear: re] her position in taking such a course." But the French Ministry have declined to make my alteration.

will, in due course, follow the late [unclear: lar] enthusiasm for Russia, which found such extraordinary expression [unclear: when] Bussian Fleet and its officers and crews visited Toulon and Paris. There [unclear: can] no doubt that at the time of these Russian receptions there was promise of [unclear: a] close rapprochement, a more than mere friendly connection, if not an actual [unclear: aty] of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Russia. The feeling [unclear: nrest] which these demonstrations awakened in Great Britain, both in and [unclear: out] Parliament, led the French Premier publicly to express a hope that the [unclear: excitent] which this Franco-Russian friendship (this Autocratic-Republican allian[unclear: ce] "powers eternal! such names mingled!") created in England might [unclear: pedily] pass away. But time went on and it did not pass away. On the [unclear: trary] it grew stronger and spread. Britain's far-off dependencies, in these [unclear: podean] seas, have become alive to the danger which would threaten these shores [unclear: ed] their vast sea-borne commerce should there arise a European war in which England became involved. The possible imminence of such a calamity has [unclear: cted] the attention of the colonial authorities on the other side of the Tasm[unclear: an] as well as of those in these islands.

The Defence Minister of New Zealand, acting on the advice of the Commandant of the Defence Force, has ordered the transmission to England of the guns in our [unclear: tifications,] for alterations and modern improvements, so as to render them fully [unclear: tive] as weapons of defence. The coal port of Westport, whence was obtained the superior coal which enabled Captain Kane to carry the "Calliope" out of [unclear: moa] in the teeth of a tropical cyclone, is to be fortified: so also is the Port of Greymouth, on the same coast.

Major-General Edwards, an experienced officer of the British Army, has specially [unclear: ted] to the Government of Victoria on the defences of the Australian Colonies, and has recommended federation of the military forces of the four [unclear: prin] Colonies in the Australian Continent. Regarding the danger to which, in the [unclear: e] of war, these possessions would be subject, General Edwards says,—

*"The Australian Colonics offer a rich and tempting prize to a hostile country, and if [unclear: f] Colonies had to rely on that own resources as regards defence they would certainly lie call [unclear: ed] fight for their own and peudence; and, without cohesion of power and combination, their [unclear: po] would be one of great danger."*

During the la it month the New South Wales Government sent a [unclear: detach] of the Submarine Mining Company of Engineers to Newcastle to comple[unclear: te] fitting up of the submarine mining stations at that port.

Speaking a few weeks ago at Cardiff, Lord Salisbury referred to the [unclear: elemen] danger to the coasts of the British Isles, if subjected, as they might be, at [unclear: s] critical moment to the mercy of England's enemy. "Have you ever," he asks—

*"Have you ever, here in Cardiff, thought what it would mean if, owing to any accident [unclear: of] new machines (our great battle ships', or to any combination that we have not foreseen-[unclear: if] to that, for a short time the enemies were masters of St. George's Channel? Have [unclear: you] thought what the effect of that would be? It would be the absolute destruction, for the [unclear: m] of your trade. I rob bly a hostile squadron would anchor above Cardiff, and you would he [unclear: inf] that unless you collected within twenty four hours some fabulous sum of money your torn [unclear: wa] burned to the ground Every gentleman would be collecting his plate every lady would be, [unclear: colle] her jewels, and everything th at could be obtained would be scraped together out of the banks [unclear: and] tradespeople would be brought together and compelled to contribute. This is not the mere [unclear: paly] the imagination"*

It is curious to read this utterance of to-day by Lord Salisbury and [unclear: comp] with the narrative which is reprinted in the body of this pamphlet. Twen[unclear: ty] years ago Russia was steadily advancing her outposts in Central Asia, near[unclear: er] nearer to the frontiers of British India, and there was a feeling of possible [unclear: cod] of interests in the air, and of their reference to the "dread arbitrament of [unclear: un]

Then "the pay of my imagination" took practical shape one sunny [unclear: mor] in Auckland, in the direction of considering what might probably [unclear: happ] to that city and to other defenceless colonial seaports in the event [unclear: of] European war, and a consequent equally sudden and unannounced visitation [unclear: of] few powerful hostile ships to our then wholly unprotected shores. Next [unclear: morn] the exploit of the Russian cruiser "Kaskowski," (following at a modest distan[unclear: ce] the lines of the famous "Battle of Dorking,") appeared in the columns of [unclear: th] *Daily Southern Cross*, to the editorial chair of which I had recently been [unclear: appoi] by Sir Julius Vogel, who was then the proprietor of that journal.

Years after the publication of that narrative circumstances came to [unclear: ligh] which prove I that Russia did seriously contemplate a descent on these Colonies and their commerce on the sea. Since 1873 more than one "war scare" has [unclear: agita] the minds of Australasian communities. Hitherto the uneasiness has been [unclear: cans] by the possible action of Russia. Now it is Russia cum France,—a warlike connection of a much more serious character in view of the results of a combination of the fleets of two such allies.

When one morning in 1885 the sudden apparition of the Russian [unclear: crui] "Vestnik" was beheld comfortably anchored in Wellington harbour, on the man-of-war ground, which she had quietly reached during the night, entering the harbour without any pilot's assistance, there once more arose a feeling in the public mind that the ports of the colony were certainly not so safe from a hostile [unclear: incu] as they ought to be. It was felt that what was then done by way of unannounced entrance in peaceful guise might be as easily accomplished with unfriendly [unclear: int] by vessels of greater power than the "Vestnik." About that time, too, as was subsequently ascertained by the naval authorities at Home, there were lying in the Russian naval station at Vladivostock, on the Russian Asiatic coast, two war [unclear: vess] fully equipped, and only waiting for a then expected declaration of war. ready for immediate despatch to Australasian waters with a hostile object, which could not be misunderstood.

Since the Crimean war of forty years ago the Russian fleet has been enormously strengthened and enlarged, especially since 1877. That of Turkey, on the other hand, has dwindled and fallen into what might almost be termed decay, so much so as now to be considered quite incapable of coping with Russia in the Black Sea, for the latter Power deliberately broke the Treaty of Paris of 1850, by which she was prohibited from building war vessels in the Euxine, where she now owns a [unclear: ful] fleet of ships of latest modern construction, one possesses also a squadr[unclear: on] special cruisers described as "splendid" and powerful, belted with complete [unclear: line] belt six inches thick, and having a speed of 16 to 18 knots per ho[unclear: ur]. ironclad cruiser, the "Rurik," which was launched little more than a year [unclear: ago],. long, 67ft. broad, with a displacement of 10,933 tons, 13,250 indicat[unclear: ed] power, and armed with 16 heavy breech-loading guns. This vessel, it [unclear: was] at the time of her completion, is able to make the voyage from the Baltic to [unclear: vostock] (19,000 miles) "without once coaling by the way." There are [unclear: others] this type of ship being constructed, and there have been many smaller vessels [unclear: ed] to the Russian Navy in recent years.

The great aim of Russia in a new war (and, of course, it would be the aim [unclear: of] other Power with whom she may be allied) can be plainly gathered from [unclear: the] and open declaration of the Russian *Official Gazette* at the time this great [unclear: er] "Rurik" was launched. It was this:—

*"Ever since Europe, headed by England, began a systematic opposition to our policy, Russia [unclear: er] august monarchs have never ceased to regard this system of cruisers as the most effecti[unclear: ve] of contending with our enemies on the seas."*

Russia's policy is still the same. The same desire to reach Constantinople, with was frustrated in 1853 by the Crimean war, and again when the Treaty [unclear: of] Stefano was annulled, mainly by British interference in 1878—is still the policy the "august monarchs" of the north.

"Referring to Russia's dominant desire, Sir George Giey in Auckland nearly twenty years [unclear: ago], the writer, that Russia had not forgotten or forgiven the result of the Crimean conflict, [unclear: that] policy he believed would be to expand his forces, especially the Russian navy, and [unclear: so] Britain greatly to enlarge both her naval and military strength, and consequently [unclear: to] taxation to what might prove an oppressive burden and thus create public discontent and [unclear: able] revolt against the pressure of the tax-gatherer. It might, Sir George continued. [unclear: take] to mature the scheme, but he had no doubt it would be attempted. The utterance of [unclear: the] *Guzette* makes Sir George Grey's remarks prophetic as regards Russian policy.

The desire of Peter the Great that the [unclear: ble] eagle might float over the dome of the mosque of St. Sophia still remains [unclear: erished] dream of Russia's policy, and that is scarcely veiled in the offic[unclear: al] quoted above. The "Sick man of Europe," as the Emperor Nicholas designed the Sultan of Turkey in 1852, is far more worn and sick to-day than he [unclear: was] years ago. His dominions have been diminished and divided. Russia has [unclear: red] possession of more Turkish territory than she surrendered alter the [unclear: ean] war, and Turkey is sensibly weakened as respects both dominion and [unclear: es,] as well as finance. Her debt is enormous and growing. The impecunious [unclear: tion] of her heavily-taxed

Empire is notorious. There are still thirty millions [unclear: ing] of the last war indemnity due to Russia. A successful war waged by Russia [unclear: hst] Turkey would be far more likely to drive the Turk out of Europe now than [unclear: ed] at all probable when Nicholas declared war in 1853, or when, twenty-fo[unclear: ur] later, the Russo-Turkish war arose, resulting in the crowning defeat at Plevna.

Movements among smaller kingdoms are not infrequently indicative of more [unclear: tant] action, of which such movements are only the, initiative, stirred up to colour for an interference on the part of the more grasping of the Greater [unclear: rs] so as to lead to a foregone conclusion when the time is ripe. For example, [unclear: fessed] regard for the orthodox faith, and the protection of the "Holy Places" [unclear: usalem,], was made the pretext by Russia for declaring war against Turkey [unclear: in] and similarly the question of the succession to the throne of Spain was [unclear: in] the flimsy pretence of Napoleon III. for that war with Germany, for whi[unclear: ch] sides had for a considerable time been making gigantic preparations. [unclear: In] Russia declared war against Turkey under the guise of protection of the [unclear: vm] trodden Christian subjects' of the Porte, though the acquisition of more [unclear: tory,] and a nearer approach to Constantinople, were the true objects of this [unclear: ian] protection, which history shows has almost invariably developed into [unclear: occu] and ultimate absorption. It is thus that small pretexts lead up to gre[unclear: at] There may be, therefore, more than is apparent in the late action [unclear: of] young kingdom of Servia, which, as was announced a few weeks ago, was [unclear: lising] her reserves because of an alleged secret alliance between her nei[unclear: gh]-Bulgaria and Roumania, presumably the outcome of Russian intrigue.

Only recently Russia gathered a large army corps near the German fronti[unclear: er], she has just completed arrangements for securing a naval station in the [unclear: ranean] Sea.

All the great nations of Europe are spending vast sums in armaments and [unclear: ments] of war. Armies, colossal in strength and numbers beyond all [unclear: mod] experience, are declared to be ready for the crisis on the shortest notice. [unclear: Even] (Gladstone's Ministry (whose ultra-peace doctrines lost us the Soudan) [unclear: were] strained to profess themselves prepared to spend some twenty millions to [unclear: strea] the British Navy. In presence of these great European preparations, and [unclear: of] universal unrest which prevails, and from which these preparations spring increase, the prospects of maintaining peace in Europe are not assuring.

What is there, then, to guard the Colonies and the great fleets of mercha[unclear: nt] with their ever increasing colonial commerce, in their passage on the hi[unclear: gh] which those powerful cruisers of the Tsar are intended to be the "most [unclear: effe] means" of intercepting, capturing, or destroying? For, being interpret[unclear: ed], the plain meaning of the official utterance in the Russian *Gazette* above [unclear: reco] What the Confederate cruisers Alabama and Shenandoah did in the destruction the mercantile marine of the North during the civil war in America, Russia [unclear: dently] hopes to accomplish, or at least to attempt, in any war in the future [unclear: in] she may be engaged, against a foe possessing vast sea-going commerce. Her [unclear: con] and the uncertainty of peace-preservation, particularly with France as a possib[unclear: le] is a standing menace to the commerce of Britain and her Colonies. The [unclear: me] fleets of England swarm in every sea, laden with the products of all [unclear: lands] smoke of her great steamers, and the white canvas of her sailers, can be [unclear: trac] well-known routes where an enemy's cruisers may lie in wait. Our rich and ponderous Colonies, with numerous and wealthy cities and towns, require a certa[unclear: in] assured protection *on the waters* from any possible foe.

It is true that conditions have greatly changed within the last twenty years. The important Australasian cities have been fortified, the harbours protected forts armed with guns of power and precision, and approach has been [unclear: fu] rendered dangerous to hostile warships by means of torpedoes, electrically [unclear: con] from the shore—a valuable guard, provided the advent of the enemy were [unclear: pro] detected in the sombre gloom of a moonless night. We have now, in [unclear: Austral] waters, a Colonial Squadron, which did not exist twenty years ago, and an [unclear: ene] ships would, in ordinary circumstances, have no easy task to evade their [unclear: vig] But the interests of British and Colonial commerce are so scattered over eve[unclear: ry] that, in the face of a great war, it would be a herculean task to safeguard [unclear: our] chant fleets on the sea, and at the same time to prevent aggressive visitation [unclear: to] coasts. Nevertheless, great and arduous though the task may be, it is what [unclear: Be] and Britain's dependencies look for at the hands and by the foresight of [unclear: Brit] statesmen. Her colonial children will afford all the assistance they can by [unclear: cornb] effort provide. But the navy of Great Britain is the grand guardian of her [unclear: coasts] her commerce; the great arm on which her scattered millions at Home and [unclear: abr] have for generations been taught in the main invariably to depend. The [unclear: vast] borne commerce of the United Kingdom and its Colonies is, by comparison, [unclear: ever] greater importance to the people of the British Isles themselves than it is [unclear: to] dwellers in these dependencies. A glance at the figures of the annual trade [unclear: in] appendix hereto will suffice to demonstrate this proposition.

In that appendix there will also be found tables conveying some instructi[unclear: ve] and figures regarding

the naval and military forces, when on a war footing, [unclear: of] principal powers of Europe, more especially of the five great Powers, [unclear: which] this moment to be standing face to face in painful expectation of a possi[unclear: ble] coming struggle. Particulars are given of the British-Australasian Navy, [unclear: and] the infant navies of the four principal Australian Colonies, together [unclear: with] figures setting forth the numbers of the permanent and volunteer forces [unclear: belong] to the different colonies of the Empire, and a summary of the armed forces [unclear: of] world. There are besides instructive extracts from the recent [unclear: writings] speeches of eminent authorities, whose opinions carry weight and me[unclear: rit] sideration.

As already mentioned, Lord Salisbury, in his speech at Cardiff, repeated brief, *mutatis nominibus*, the story of the "Kaskowski," as the same is detailed the succeeding pages. If such an occurrence was felt by a great statesman [unclear: to] possible occurrence on the shores of the British Isles, it is none the less, [unclear: pro] more so, on the coasts of these Colonies, unless they are carefully guarded [unclear: on] waters of the Austral seas and on the great trade routes to and fro.

## War with Russia.

## A Calamity for Auckland.

## Hostile Visit of a Russian Ironclad.

## Seizure of Gold and Hostages.

(Copied from the "Daily Southern Cross," Auckland, of Monday, 17th February, 1873.)

Notwithstanding the telegraphic communication from England to Melbourne, and the periodical intercourse by steamer between New Zealand and the Australian ports, the sudden declaration of war between Russia and England, arising out of the Central Asian difficulty and the dishonesty of the Shah of Persia, was only made known to Auckland yesterday (Sunday) by one of the greatest calamities that ever overtook the Colony—an event productive of grave disaster to New Zealand, and destructive of the ancient prestige of England and her boasted supremacy as Sovereign of the Seas. That event was the sudden appearance of the hostile ironclad man-of-war, the "Kaskowski," which took possession of the British warship lying in the waters of the Waitemata, seized our principal citizens as hostages, demanded a heavy ransom for the city, and emptied the coffers of the banks of all the gold and specie they contained.

The consternation which, for a time, overwhelmed the people of the Province, who were made aware of this nefarious and barbarous transaction, which is utterly at variance with the laws and practice of modern warfare, may be understood by the reader but cannot be described here. At this moment we are under the complete domination of Russia, our own guns in our own man-of-war being pointed against the city, ready to be opened upon us at any moment that the barbarous caprice of her captors may select. A domiciliary visitation to the office of this paper for daring to publish this narrative is what will probably have taken place ere these lines meet the eyes of our more distant readers. Duty to the public, however, demands that we set down the particulars of this terrible visitation, regardless of any consequences of temporary loss or inconvenience to ourselves.

Before describing the circumstances of this "untoward event" we must compare the action of the British cruisers during the Crimean war with this piratical proceeding which our Northern enemy has adopted and which has degraded the chivalry of modern war to the level of mercenary robbery. In the Baltic and in the Black Sea in 1854-6, no cannon of ours desolated unfortified towns, no predatory visits were made by our warships, no black mail was levied; our very provisions were liberally paid for when we landed at any part of the coast of Russia which was without fortification. It is true we captured Bomarsund, seized the Aland Islands, bombarded Sveaborg, and many other places; and sent a hostile expedition to the Chersonesus. These were fortified cities and stations held for strategic purposes, and were fair marks for the guns of an enemy; but on no occasion was an unarmed town assailed. Even, when bent on destruction, our guns were carefully directed against fortifications and arsenals only. The civil quarters of a city were religiously guarded. We never asked for

ransom. We treated the people of the country with more kindness and consideration than they met with at the hands of their own troops. The Russian repays this forbearance by taking advantage of a few days of prior intelligence, under her superior force, suddenly displayed, committing robbery which civilised nations will denounce as soon as it is known. Bitterly do we now regret the absence of that telegraphic cable which should directly connect New Zealand with Europe.

These considerations have, for a moment, delayed the narrative of events, which we now proceed to detail.

The steamer "Wonga Wonga" left Auckland on Saturday afternoon with a large number of passengers for Australia. On Saturday night, a little after midnight, three rockets were sent up from the vicinity of the North Head, their sticks, in a still fiery condition, falling in the neighbourhood of Devonport Hall. It is supposed that there was some treachery on the North Shore, and that some spies had arranged this as a signal to teach the "Kaskowski" the proper time to enter the harbour. Of this there is no certainty, and the strict surveillance kept on the harbour prevents the possibility of enquiry.

It should be mentioned here that this vessel (as we learn from the statement of one of the crew, a native of the United States, who was found by our shipping reporter on the Bastion Rock, which it appears, was first taken for a fort, and which was reconnoitred by a boat's crew, who left the American behind by mistake) was built on the Alaska Peninsula. Alaska, as is well known, was sold by Russia to the United States some years ago. But, by a baseness of treachery, which only the lax supervision of our consular agents could have rendered possible, the Government of Washington had permitted the secret construction of this ironclad in that remote region, so that, when the time came for action, she might enter the Pacific and unannounced, pounce upon the unprotected colonies of the British Empire. She has a complement of 953 men and officers, all told, is provisioned for a year, carries twelve 30-ton guns, and has machinery [unclear: gg] the manufacture of the deadly water-gas invented by the late [unclear: eral] Todtleben, and, for the first time, now employed in warfare by Russia, the sole depository of the secret. This gas can be injected [unclear: to] an opposing vessel from a considerable distance, and so stealth[unclear: ily] not to be discovered until its paralysing effects have done their work. Its strength can be so modified as either to ignite of its own [unclear: tive], and blow up or set on fire all inflammable material with whi[unclear: ch] cones in contact, or it may be so diluted as to cause a mephitic [unclear: pour] to overpower all the animal life within the range of its [unclear: inhala]. This explains the easy seizure of our brave defenders in our [unclear: ship] into and over which this fatal gas was poured. But we [unclear: ticipate].

At 7 o'clock on Saturday, the "Wonga Wonga" while off Kawau, [unclear: cried] a large vessel, hull down, steaming apparently towards her. [unclear: fter] a short time, darkness came on and she lost sight of the ship. at 8.10 p.m. a shot was fired across her bows; she slowed her engines, and a boat came alongside. In peremptory tones its occupants [unclear: anded] what she was, whither bound, and her cargo. On obtaini[unclear: ng] reply, the order was given in good English, to lie-to as a prize of a Russian ship of war. On hearing this a gallant naval officer, who [unclear: was] board the "Wonga," with the aid of some of the passengers and [unclear: ew] lifted a small cannon off the carriage, raised it over the bulwarks, and dropped it into the boat. A loud crash followed. The feat was successful. The gun stove the boat, and in a moment she sank, having the crew struggling in the water helpless. All lights on boa[unclear: rd] "Wonga" were immediately extinguished. She altered her [unclear: urse] and steered for Auckland; but she saw, as the moon rose, that the great speed of the Russian ship, 17 knots an hour, was too much for her, and that unless she sought refuge in some of the harbours [unclear: on] coast, she would inevitably be overhauled and captured. Accordingly, she made for shelter to Mahurangi; and, a point of land interlining between her and her pursuer she evaded the chase. The swift [unclear: ling] cutter "Volunteer" was providentially in the river at the time of her arrival, and the captain of the "Wonga" despatched her to Auckland, with a favouring breeze, to apprise the authorities there of their danger.

It was "too late." The great speed of the Russian rendered these well meant efforts fruitless, for the cutter did not arrive until yesterday (Sunday) morning, by which time the "Kaskowski" had done her work; had seized our war steamer in the darkness, arrested our chief citizens and bankers, left a prize crew on board the captured warship, and bad gone off at full steam to resume the chase of the "Wonga," for the double purpose of preventing her carrying the intelligence to Australia and of avenging the destruction of her boat and crew, and at the same time making a prize of the ship and the treasure in gold-dust which she carried. Heaven help the crew and passengers and save our Australian towns from the power of this almost invulnerable vessel, and of her scientific apparatus for dealing death and destruction.

Arriving stealthily in our harbour, and without showing any lights, the "Kaskowski" sent her submarine pinnace, well manned, and with the mephitic water-gas apparatus on board, toward our washing. This new invention silently proceeded, sailing six feet bel[unclear: ow] surface of the smooth water of the Waitemata, and, rising [unclear: at] distance of half a cable's length, projected the fatal gas on the [unclear: vesse] Heavier than our atmospheric air, this vapour speedily penetrated [unclear: th] interior of the ship, producing

semi-suffocation to all on board [unclear: Th] watch alarmed those below; but it was again too late." Six [unclear: bo] laden with marines surrounded the vessel, and she was boarded. [unclear: Th] captain and some of the officers of our ship, with a handful of the [unclear: cre] weak and almost breathless, attempted to face the boarders, [unclear: bu] without effect. It was resolved to fire the magazine and prevent the foe from taking the vessel. Taking instructions from the captain, who was overcome by the vapour, one of the lieutenants crawled below. He was seen and followed by one of the Russian officers, who cut him down as he was about to fire a pistol into the magazine, the hatch of which was then closed. There was a brief struggle on deck, the fainting blue-jackets were overpowered. The ship was in the enemy's hands, and she now lies with the bated double-eagle floating at the main above our loved "meteor flag of England."

Then came the extortion of the enemy. Detachments had been sent ashore during the night. These took possession of the armoury and magazines, with all the arms and ammunition in the city. The telegraphic offices were occupied to prevent the transmission of the news of this disaster to other places in the Colony, and particularly to the Thames. The telegraphic station at Onehunga, and all stations within 40 miles of Auckland were occupied by strong guards. The steamer "Golden Crown" was seized, and a body of 80 men armed with short repeating rifles, and strengthened with four rocket tubes, to fire the town if necessary, was sent to Grahamstown, in order to take the treasure from the banks in that town. There could be only one result, but we have heard nothing of it, as, although the enemy permits the passing of ordinary telegrams (they have their own English trained telegraphists) for obvious reasons they allow nothing to pass along the wires respecting their own proceedings.

During the night the captain of the Russian ship, Vice-Admiral Herodskoff, landed with a body of Russian marines and sailors, armed with cutlasses and repeating needle-carbines. He proceeded to the Provincial Council Chamber, and thence sent messengers commanding the attendance of the Superintendent of the Province, the Mayor of the [unclear: ity], all the bankers and bank directors, and members of the Assembly. These gentlemen were ordered out of bed, and, amidst the dismay and terror of their families, were led to the Council room. On their arrival they were placed in the centre of the chamber, the armed men, with carbines loaded and bayonets fixed, lining the walls of the room. Seated on the Speaker's chair, Admiral Herodskoff, in good English, read a requisition demanding immediate payment of one-and-a-half million roubles (£250,000 sterling) as a ransom for the safety of the city, and intimating that, if the money were not paid within three hours he should retire to his ship and burn the town. He first asked what the Superintendent had to produce from the [unclear: vincial] chest, whereupon his Honor exhibited the Treasurer's [unclear: ccounts], and proceeded to prove that the province had "no accumulated savings," that the assets had entirely disappeared in consequence of recent financial arrangements under the hands of his officials. He proposed that the General Government should be applied [unclear: ed] as from his own experience he knew there were funds in that [unclear: chequer]. He was proceeding to show the means by which the money might be forthcoming from Wellington, when he was interdicted by the Admiral, who said he should himself see to that point, with which the Superintendent had nothing to do, and he should take [unclear: re] he never should, and he discourteously added that in Russia his Honor would have been knouted and sent to Siberia for daring to [unclear: stuct] such a balance-sheet as he had produced.

Mr. Sheehan, M.H.R., and Mr. Lusk, Provincial Secretary, both [unclear: wyers], humbly suggested that the action of the Russian Admiral [unclear: ras] in contravention of the laws of war. Mr. Sheehan quoted from Vattel, at the wrong place, respecting the law of nations, and Mr. Lusk sought to show the "invalidity" of the whole proceedings, but with a bow admitted his error, and dropped to the rear, when the Admiral haughtily waved his hand towards his armed force, and remarked that their presence proved the perfect "propriety" of his [unclear: tion]. Mr. Lusk then also referred to Vattel, and affirmed the general validity of that well-known author's work. But the Admiral, with that diplomatic astuteness and ripe knowledge which Russia's [unclear: aining] gives to her officers, demolished his argument by stating that Vattel's work was merely a synopsis of the works of Puffendorf, [unclear: rotius], and others; that he was often wrong in his generalisations, and drew many false conclusions, because he omitted from his presses the practice of nations, and displayed an ignorance of the principle of utility in our time so generally adopted as the test of international morality. The Admiral added, with something of letterless, that he did not come to dispute, but to command, and he desired to hear no more of such law.

Mr. Creighton, M.H.R., (as representing the Onehunga Ironsand Smelting Company) proffered, as his contribution to the ransom, the secret for smelting our ironsand at one process, which he said would be a great boon to Russia; at the same time suggesting to the Superintendent that a poll-tax should be levied on the people of the province to recoup himself and his partners for the sacrifice. Both proposals were instantly rejected, the Admiral scornfully remarking that Russia had long been in possession of the secret, and was only waiting until it was convenient to annex Norway and Sweden in order to apply the discovery to Swedish iron.

The next person interrogated happened to be Mr. Swanson, M.H.R., who said he would consent to advance

a large sum of money (less exchange), but was told that it would be taken from him with or without his consent.

On behalf of the new National Bank, Mr. W. S. Grahame, and Mr. Head, the manager, said they were anxious to save the city from ruin, and offered to provide £60,000, or one-fifth the sum demanded, on the security of the English shareholders; but were sternly informed that with such security to back them they ought to provide double the sum. Mr. Thomas Russell said the Bank of New Zealand was proposed to give £50,000; but on this sum being declared too little by a fifth, he agreed, at the suggestion of some of the directors, to provide the other £10,000. The representatives of the other banks were ordered to furnish their quota; and armed parties were told off, in charge of the bank managers, to ransack the cellars for the specie and gold-dust they contained.

During their absence some one suggested that the old floating paper in Auckland, and the mining scrip, should be tendered as part of the ransom, but the proposal was derided with scorn by the stern Russian. It was not a moment for mirth; but the suggestion brought a smile to many of the anxious faces which looked upon the hard impassive face of this self-appointed judge. After the lapse of half an hour the detachments returned from the banks with all the gold and silver that could be found. It amounted to only £131,096 17s. 6d., little more than half the sum demanded. Admiral Herodskoff threatened the lives of the gentlemen who were before him, and at last gave orders to have them taken on board the "Kaskowiski," stating that immediately after daybreak he would sail in pursuit of the "Wonga," and, if he overtook her, and found sufficient gold on board to make up the sum required, he should land his hostages at Fiji.

He then rose, the hostages were ordered downstairs, and placed in the centre of a hollow square, formed by the sailors and marines, and in this fashion they were marched to Wynward Pier, in the dull grey of the peaceful-looking morning, put on board two boats, and taken to the "Kaskowiski," which almost immediately after steamed out of the harbour, leaving the town as we have said, at the mercy of the prize crew put on board *our own warship!*

We have given a narrative of this terrible disaster, as succinct as could be gathered in the circumstances. The grief of the community it is unnecessary to parade. Deep as that is at the loss of our treasure, a far deeper pang fastens on each heart to think of the dishonour this affair has cast on the British flag and the British nation. Lord Granville promised to defend England's Colonies with England's "last ship and her last shilling." Russia has taken both in Auckland waters. From the depths of our despair, we cry,—

"WHERE IS THE BRITISH NAVY?"

## Wanted—An Australasian Squadron.

### A Cry of Twenty Years Since.

(From the "Daily Southern Cross," Tuesday, February 18th, 1873.)

It is the poet Campbell who says,—

*"Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her march is o'er the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep."*

Exactly! But on the pacific waters of our Australian seas every one must desire to be assured that Britannia's floating bulwarks shall float so numerous and well as that they shall give a good account of any privateer or interloper which, in case of a war, may choose to prowl about these latitudes. It has to be remembered that Russia has already broken the terms of the Treaty of Paris of 1856, and her fleets can now enter the Dardenelles. By that treaty, which followed the Crimean war, privateering was abolished. Seeing that Russia broke the treaty on one point she may on another, and that other, if she thought fit, is likely to be the article abolishing privateering. America, who was no party to the treaty, refused to agree to the abolition of privateering. We know how much injury to our shipping a few fast-sailing privateers or ships of war may inflict. The history of the confederate cruisers "Alabama," "Shenandoah" and "Florida," tell a complete story on that subject. Hence the necessity of a large squadron of ships being placed on the Australasian station, so that the Colonies and their shipping should be completely protected. There is little likelihood that a hostile ship of war from any nation will visit an unfortified colonial town with hostile intent. But our commerce—our gold and

wool ships—would be seriously endangered unless a fleet, numerous, swift, and strong were placed in these waters. The pure fiction published yesterday, with its grotesque incidents and situations, its "water-gas" and "submarine pinnace," created quite a commotion in town and elsewhere. We meant that it should do this. But the reader might have seen, by tracing an asterisk in the title to the foot-note, even apart from internal evidence, that it was a fiction purporting to be taken from the *Daily Southern Cross*, of May, 1873, three months after date! If it shall direct attention to the necessity of these Colonies being properly protected it will have served its object. We do not agree with the idea that was mooted in the Legislative Council that the colony should go to the expense of erecting forts. These would give excuse for a hostile visit, not likely to be made to places unarmed. The colony cannot afford this. Torpedoes can render any attempt at entering our harbours dangerous, if not impracticable. A few of these judiciously placed would make Auckland invulnerable, and render no approach to the city nearer than seven or eight miles possible. The Manukau could be similarly protected. On the open sea our own squadron should be made sufficiently powerful to do the rest, if ever its services were required.

\*\*\*\*\*

Our evening contemporary (*The Star*)

NOTE.—It may be added here (without offence after all these years) that the then editor and co-proprietor of the *Star* (Mr G. M. Seed), while, in his paper, condemning the "Kaskowski" article for creating such a panic as was never before witnessed in Auckland,—in a moment of comic confidence said to the writer, "By Jove, I'd have given fifty pounds to have had the story for the *Star*!" Mr Reed was, years after, the author of a most circumstantial account of "The discovered Noah's Ark" on the summit of Mount Ararat (printed in the *New Zealand Herald*), the verisimilitude of the details of which rendered it a hoax widely believed and accepted, and seriously commented on by hundreds of journals, and made the orthodox theme of many sermons and Sunday School disquisitions in various parts of the world, especially in America.—D.M.L.

) says that now is the time to secure sufficient defences for the coast of New Zealand, and declares a conviction that "one well-armed vessel might enter any of our ports, and bid defiance to its inhabitants." It suggests "torpedoes and batteries." Coast batteries would be costly, and may be deemed otherwise objectionable. As we point out in another column, torpedoes should protect our harbours, and the British Navy our seaboard. In that case, if a hostile ship were to venture into this region, she would have some difficulty in getting away again.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Excitement in Auckland.

Comical were many incidents which followed the publication of the *Cross* yesterday, produced by a cursory perusal of the article describing an ideal visit of a supposititious and visionary Russian ironclad with the not very original name of "Kaskowski" (Cask of Whisky) pretended to have been built in the snowy regions of ice-bound Alaska. Crowds besieged our office, and discussed the question in the street. Some persons in the country—who, like others, forgot to read the foot-note of the article that explained the whole romance (which, as is said elsewhere, was written as a warning to lead to future protection)—took up a plank of their flooring and concealed their money and jewels; others proposed to go far into the interior. One tradesman, who on Saturday had drawn a large sum of money to pay a month's purchases, confidentially informed a friend that he had hidden it, and asked if it was safe. The watermen pulled up their boats and sought no fares. A cautious shipmaster stood on his deck with a watch in one hand and a telescope at his eye, waiting for the eight o'clock hoisting of the British Ensign at the peak of our own war steamer. His watch was fully five minutes fast; and minute after minute passed, and still the well-known bunting did not appear "By Jingo, the Russians are there!" he ejaculated, as he hurried below. An old naval man pulled on his uniform while his wife was reading the account, but before he had sallied forth to the barracks she discovered the foot-note, and said "Oh, Robert, it's only a hoax." "Hoax, be adjectived" was the reply as he proceeded to take off his war paint. A school in the suburbs gave its pupils a holiday that they might go and see the Russian frigate. Knots of people at the wharf were tracing out, as in a map, how the exploit was accomplished. One blue-jacket could not understand it, for "they did not mention it [onboard," but he swore "We'll lick the Russians." One energetic lady asked a knot of men on the street why they did not go and shoot the Russians. One poor old woman resident in the vicinity of Nelson Street, upon hearing the news, cast her eyes around her domicile to discover the most valuable of her Lares and Penates to save from wreck and ruin. After much cogitation she fixed upon her favourite washing tub, by which she had earned her living for so many years, as the most valuable article to be saved, and buried the treasure in the garden. Stories of this kind are multitudinous. The thing has been a day's wonder, and it is hoped it will have the effect intended. Auckland has shewn she can be aroused from apathetic slumbers.

## Appendix.

## On Raiding Cruisers and Australasian Defences.

REGARDING possible or projected raids on British merchant shipping, on Colonial ports, Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot, R.N., writes as follows in [*unclear: Le*] Brassey's *Naval Annual*, for 1893:—

"We come next to the feasibility of raids by one or two cruisers that might evade our fleets. Attacks on our commerce by individual cruisers of great speed and coal endurance are contemplated in case of war with this country by nations which would otherwise have little scope for maritime operations. The production of vessels with a speed of twenty knots, and able to traverse thousands of miles without replenishing their coal supply, has put within their reach possibilities that a for years ago existed only in the imagination. Such a vessel may be a *bona fide* was cruiser or an armed merchant steamer,—auxiliary cruisers with a sea speed [*unclear: of*] knots, and a large bunker capacity. Evading our own cruisers she could effect considerable damage before being brought to bay. The antidote is not to be found in harbour defence ironclads or gunboats. Cruisers of high speed and moderate gun power must be employed against an enemy of this description.

"Taking a survey of British interests in all parts of the world it is at [*unclear: co*] apparent that the welfare of our Colonies depends very largely upon preserving intact the goods they are receiving and sending across the sea by well known routes"

In describing the defences of KING GEORGE'S SOUND, SYDNEY AND PORT DARWIS a is stated by Captain Wilmot, that Sydney holds "a commanding position between Melbourne and Brisbane. With the coal supply of Newcastle in immediate proximity it should be the Portsmouth of the Pacific. A single battery with medium [*unclear: si*] guns at Inner South Head or Bradley Point, would keep out any hostile vessel" Writing of Melbourne and other Colonial ports, he says:—

*"MELBOURNE is well guarded by extensive batteries on each side of the entrance to Port Phillip. Local defences have in fact been overdone here and absorbed money which might have been more usefully employed. A tingle battery on Point Loss dale and Point Nepean would keep off any hostile vessel. As for landing, unless the enemy brings a fleet of transports and a force of 50,000 men, the idea may be dismissed.*

*"ADELAIDE is a locality which, except at an enormous expense can only be effectively covered by guns afloat. A small ironclad could guard the approach up Gulf St Vincent.*

*"TASMANIA.—The general defence of Tasmania will devolve upon the naval forces guarding the approaches to Melbourne and Sydney. A single battery at Hobart will relieve the town from anxiety, if a friendly cruiser is not in sight. Launceston is too difficult of access to fear an attack.*

*"NEW ZEALAND.—Owing to its isolated position New Zealand must rely mainly on naval defence. An adequate force of cruisers would necessarily be detailed to protect commerce approaching and leaving its shores. Light defences would deny the principal towns to any raider that had slipped past our vessels. The approach to Auckland is not easy to the stranger, but it is only necessary to place a few guns in a commanding position within the harbour, to counteract any such design. Wellington can be as effectually guarded. There is no special object in excluding a hostile cruiser from Port Nicholson. All that is necessary is to prevent him taking up such a position as to cover the town with his guns without fear of a reply. One fort at the point at the Eastern end of Lambton harbour will remove this risk. The same principle may be applied elsewhere."*

On the same subject the Hon Mr Brassey writes:—"The ports of Cape Colony of India, of Australia and of New Zealand, possess an element of safety from attack in their distance from Europe. It is clear that no power could withdraw a fleet of ironclads for operations in distant seas without abandoning to us the absolute command of European waters, and without setting free a proportionate number of British battle ships. Attacks on commerce by one or two cruisers, keeping generally out of sight of the coasts are the most probable form which the operations of an enemy would take on the coasts of India, Australia, or South Africa. Occasional raids on territory might be made with the object of obtaining supplies, but it may be safely asserted that few captains of cruisers would waste ammunition on bombardment with the chance of falling in with an enemy's cruiser before they could return to their base to obtain a fresh supply."

## Defensive Unity of the Australasian Colonies.

### Obsolete Weapons.

A general union of all parts with the Mother Country would augment our resources, so in a lesser degree does the amalgamation of individual portions of our outlying territory assist their defence. Nothing appears more ridiculous now than the way in which the several Colonies in Australia, all working on different lines when they decided to guard against some spectre attack, the direction and force of which they were unable to define. Misled by military experts, who should have been the last persons called on where it is a question of estimating attack by sea, they wasted their substance in providing elaborate batteries with guns of all natures;

while remember a few years ago being called on to inspect some torpedo-boats for colonial defence, which were armed with a weapon we had long discarded. A union of all the Colonies in Australia with New Zealand and Tasmania, would enable the defences to be planned and worked on a common basis.—*Captain Eardley-Wilmot.*

### **Torpedoes and Submarine Mines.**

"I do not wish to be considered as one opposed to all forms of submarine defence. There are many places in which this weapon can be applied with excellent results, but they depend on conditions which do not exist everywhere. Combined with forts they may avert an attack in front, but cannot guard the flanks and rear of a coast town. They did not delay by one hour the fall of Valparaiso when the forces opposed to Balmaceda, having command of the sea, landed a few miles north of the town." *Ibid.*

### **The Mother Country and the Colonies.**

The same author on this subject writes as follows:—

*"We extol the advantages and glory of our vast Colonial and Indian Empire in sounding phrases, but murmur at the necessary cost of maintaining it. Unfortunately, when there has been a disposition on the part of the Colonies to assist in the work of defence, no word of advice or encouragement has come from the Mother Country. Instead of the Imperial Government initiating joint action in the matter each Colony was left to its own devices. Hence we find some Colonies bristling with guns on shore, while others are left without any such defence. In one locality small torpedo-boats are obtained, incapable of action except in the finest weather; in another Colony gunboats are favoured, which, owing to lack of speed and other qualities, would be equally ineffective against an enterprising enemy who had evaded our Fleet. Then, great store is set in certain quarters on submarine mines, and elaborate systems have been devised which will infallibly break down under the stern test of war.*

### **The Royal Australasian Squadron.**

#### **A Contrast Between Now and 1873.**

Subjoined is a list of the Royal-Australasian Squadron, the duty of which, as specified by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty is—"The Protection of Floating Trade in Australasian Waters." The ships are thirteen in number, and are thus described and classed in the *Navy List*:—

What a contrast this list presents to-day compared with that of the time (some twenty to twenty-five years ago), when the modest "Brisk," the "Blanche," the "Dido," and one or two others of that class were content to pay an occasional and rare visit to our Colonial ports, and then sail away to suppress labour schooner engaged in "blackbirding" in the remote islands of the Pacific! As these lines are being penned the evening gun booms over the waters of Wellington harbour, in which, at the moment, lie at anchor three noble vessels of this fleet—the Orlando, Curagoa, and Tauranga.

#### **Colonial Subsidies to the Royal Australasian Squadron.**

For the services of the Australian Protective Squadron the Australasian Colonies pay the Imperial Government an annual subvention of £126,000, the contributions of each Colony being determined on the basis of population. For the year 1892 the respective contribution of each Colony is given as under:—

#### **The Australian Colonial Navy.**

The war vessels owned by the respective Colonies are thus described in the official lists:—

- —Wolverene, screw corvette, 22 guns, 2,540 tons, 1,400h.p.
- —Gayundah, double-screw steel ship, 2 guns, 360 tons, 400 h.p.; Otter, gunboat, steel, 1 gun, 220 tons, 460 h.p.; Palma, double-screw iron ship, 2 guns, 360 tons, 400 h.p.
- —Protector, cruiser, 6 guns, 920 tons, 1641 h.p.
- —Cerberus, double-screw, iron, armour-plated turret ship, 4 guns, 380 tons, 1660 h.p.; Nelson, training-ship, steel, 22 guns, 2,730 tons, 500 h.p.; Victoria, gunboat, steel, 2 guns, 530 tons, 800 h.p.; Albert, gunboat, steel, 6 guns, 356 tons, 400 h.p. There are also registered as belonging to the Navy of Victoria eleven other small vessels:—Countess of Hopetoun, Childers, Nepean, Batman, Fawkner, Gannet, Lady Loch, Commissioner, Customs No. 1, and Gordon.

#### **Naval and Military Forces in the Principal British Colonies.**

## **Australasia.**

The strength of the forces maintained in the seven different Colonies of the Australasian Group is given as follows in Mr. Coghlan's latest volume:—

In addition to these there are in New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania Rifle Clubs or Companies of a strength of about 8,500 men, who, trained to the use of the rifle, would be available in time of war.

The strength of the various arms in these Colonies is thus summarised:—

These, with the Rifle Companies, make a total strength of about 35,256 men.

The Marine forces, trained to submarine mining and the use of torpedoes, or capable of being employed either as light artillery land force, or to serve on board the local war vessels, are stated as follows:—

The combined forces of all the Australasian Colonies, on their present footing, according to the last official returns, are 38,452 strong, and of these 25,000 could be mobilised in any one of the Colonies of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, or South Australia.

Mr. Reid, Minister for Defence in Victoria, in addressing the London Volunteers in Westminster Hall, on 13th April current, said, "The Colonial Volunteers were ready to fight on behalf of Great Britain anywhere that their services may be required."

## **Forces of Cape Colony.**

The Cape Mounted Rifles comprise 815 officers and men, and the Volunteer (horse and foot) number 5,160.

## **Forces of the Dominion of Canada.**

The military establishment consists of (1) an Imperial Military and [unclear: Na] Garrison at Halifax, and a naval station at Esquimalt, on the Pacific, [unclear: altogeth] comprising about 2,000 troops; (2) a permanent corps, with schools of instruction for cavalry, artillery, and infantry, with a total strength of 1,015 officers and men (3) a volunteer force of 37,677 men.—*Hazell's Annual, 1894.*

The *Army List* (large edition) states that the Dominion has a reserve from estimated at 1,030,000 men.

## **Great Britain's Stake on the Seas.**

### **Mercantile Marine of the World.**

### **Value of British and Colonial Shipping and Commerce.**

When the shipping and commerce of the Empire are compared with those of other nations, those of the British Isles far transcend in magnitude and value, in ships and their freights, those of all other Powers. There are, according to [unclear: Lia] Register, 32,010 steam and sailing merchant vessels of 100 tons and upward, with a tonnage of 24,258,375 tons, owned by the different nations of the world. Of then the flag of the United Kingdom floats over 9,333, whose tonnage is 11,563,997 tons to which have to be added 2,526 vessels of 1,224,285 tons belonging to the British Colonies, making a total of 11,859 vessels, employing nearly 250,000 persons. and with a tonnage of 12,788,282, or more than all the tonnage owned by eve[unclear: ry] country.

The annual imports and exports of the Kingdom exceed in val[unclear: ue] millions sterling. Of this last-named sum the Australasian Colonies, in their British imports and exports, supply close on 63\* millions. The total imports and exports of these seven Colonies (apart from the value of the large intercoical trade) amounted in the last year reported on by Mr. Coghlan to over £84,651,000 In the same year that intercolonial trade reached no less a sum than £30,057,000 that is to say commodities worth one hundred and fifteen millions of pounds sterling were produced, and purchased in one year by a population of less than four million souls.

These figures, compiled from the latest sources, are specified here in order the it may be seen at a glance what an enormous amount of the marine commerce if the world is produced, owned, and conducted by the people of the British Empire. They all demonstrate, as a natural corollary, that Englishmen in every clime look to the British Navy as the safeguard of the vast interests, the existence and in portance of which those figures display.

### **More Fast Cruisers Wanted.**

How this safe-guarding is to be accomplished is put with great earnestness by Captain Eardley-Wilmot, from whom I have already copiously quoted. He says,—

"We still require a large addition to our fleet of fast cruisers. There will be an immense demand for them in time of war. More cruisers will be the cry of every officer in command of battle-ships, as Nelson groaned over his want of frigates. From every part of the globe will come an appeal for their presence for the protection of commerce. Our standard for battle-ships should be two to one possessed by any possible enemy. This standard must be largely increased in the case of cruisers. . . . We should have ten cruisers for every one of a possible enemy, excluding all vessels of a less speed than 16 knots."

## **The Armies and Navies of Europe.**

### **Military Forces.**

The subjoined particulars are compiled from the latest authentic sources available. At a time like the present the facts they disclose possess no little interest as showing the enormous burdens which the nations of Europe are compelled to sustain for warlike objects, and the formidable array of armed forces which, by the word of a potentate may be culled to meet in deadly conflict involving issues that must more or less affect the destinies of nations, and most parts of the civilized world.

### **The British Army at Home and Abroad.**

The latest returns of the Regular Forces at home and abroad show that the total number of officers and men borne upon the regimental rolls (exclusive of the Indian Native Army) is very little below 220,000, and about 2000 more than were in the ranks a year ago. Of these, nearly 20,000 are cavalry, 37,000 artillery, 7,500 engineers, 143,500 infantry, 5200 colonial troops, 3500 Army Service Corps, and 2500 Medical Staff Corps, the remainder being made up of the smaller departmental corps. Great Britain and Ireland retain nearly half the Regular Army for home service, there being little short of 107,000 troops in the three kingdoms—74,000 in England and Wales, 28,000 in Ireland, 3500 in Scotland, and the residue in the Channel Islands. Away from home India always absorbs the greatest number of Regular troops, and the men of the Imperial Army there now reckon up about 77,000, or about 600 more than at this time last year. Of these, 15,500 are in Burma. Egypt has 5000. The Regular forces scattered over the Colonies in all parts of the world are 31,000 in number. Gibraltar has in its garrison 5000 men, and Malta 8000, while Cyprus has only about 600, mostly infantry. There are 3300 at the Cape and Natal, 1000 in the West African Settlements (where the Regular Lops are principally the coloured soldiers of the West India Regiments), 2900 at Hongkong, 1500 at the Straits Settlements, 1600 to Ceylon, 1400 to Nova Scotia (the only portion of the Dominion of Canada garrisoned by Imperial troops). 1600 to Jamaica, 1400 to Bermuda, 1,300 to Barbados, 800 to Mauritius, and only 200 to St Helena.—*The Times*.

Besides these there are Militia 140,300, Yeomanry 14,000, and Volunteers 264,000 In addition to the British troops in India, there is a native army of 150,000 men. There are also 170,000 native Police officered mainly by Europeans, also the native reserves which number 7000 infantry; and Imperial service troops furnished by native states numbering 14,000, of which 6400 are cavalry. There are also European and Eurasian volunteers, which number close on 20,000, with an enrolled reserve of 2200.

### **The Peace and War Forces of Russia and France Germany, Austria, and Italy.**

The total *peace* force of the Franco-Russian Alliance is thus put,—

Their respective strengths on a *war* footing are stated at—

The *peace* strength of each of the parties to the Triple Alliance is thus set out—

And the *war* footing is as follows:—

These particulars are extracted from Sir Archibald Alison's recent paper on "The Prospects of War in Europe." The war footing of the five Powers above enumerated sum up a gross force of 11,379,247 men. Other authorities, which bring down details to the end of last and beginning of the current year, present somewhat different figures in a few instances. Appleton's tables (American), for example, credit France with a gross war-footing force of 4,190,000 officers and men of all ranks and services. Another authority specifies only something over 2,000,000. For Germany Appleton gives fully 3,000,000. A later compilation sets the war force of the German Empire at 3,350,000, which can be put in the field fully armed, while, by the new Army Act passed by the German Parliament, this force will, by 1,916, be raised to 4,400,000 men, including the Landwehr and Land-sturm reserves.

### **Other European Land Forces.**

These figures are partly compiled from Appleton's summary. The forces of Italy are elsewhere represented as having in war a regular force of 839,354, with a movable and a local militia of fully 1,909,000, making a total nominal strengths the land forces, on a war-footing, of 2,848,000, which very nearly agrees with the

figures of Appleton. The last-named authority, in a table of the war land forces alone (including reserves), foots up his calculations by showing 18,909,608 officers and men, with an addition of 378,633 men in the navy, making together 10,288,241 men.

## Forces of the Nations of the World and their Cost.

Let us add the war forces of other nations outside Europe. China has an army of about 1,200,000, with a navy comprising 3 ironclads, 7 cruisers, 35 ironclad gunboats, 9 torpedo vessels (British built), and 100 other minor war vessels. Japan has 245,000 soldiers. Persia, 150,000. The United States of America has an army of only 27,000 (including 2,140 officers.) Canada possesses 38,000 militia, and a reserve of 1,030,000. These, with the forces of other Powers, Persia, Morocco, Brazil, Argentina, &c" sum up roundly to 3,260,000 more, making a grand total of the war forces of the world possible for equipment of no fewer than twenty-two-and-a-half millions of men—22,500,000.

Of that vast array it is said that one-fourth to one-fifth of the number form the permanent regular forces, the maintenance whereof reaches an annual cost of about 250 millions of pounds sterling. This is not the place to discuss the ethics of these armaments. But in view of the new demands of the masses of all nations, the momentous social conclusions to which these facts and figures point, (especially in their bearing on the burdens of the peoples) form to-day very prominent factors in the current thought and history of our common humanity.

## The British Navy.

The *Navy List* shows that (exclusive of coast-guard ships and some thirty other smaller vessels employed in harbour duties), Great Britain possesses 560 war vessels of all kinds. Many of these are battle-ships of the first order and newest construction, formidably armed with great quick-firing guns of precision and long range. These vessels mount over 2,500 guns.

There are now, says a recent report, being built in the United Kingdom 40 war vessels—16 in Royal dockyards, and 23 in private yards. The tonnage of the 17 amounts to 82,420 tons, that of the 23 to 13,055 tons. Four of the vessels are for foreign States.

## Lord Charles Beresford's Programme.

Lord Charles Beresford, in a naval programme, says that England, on the basis of making her fleet one-third stronger than both France and Russia combined, should have 60 battleships. England has only 42 battleships. With regard to cruisers, Lord Charles Beresford says that France and Russia combined have 90, and one-third more makes England's requirements 120, which number she possesses.

But as two cruisers ought to be attached to each battleship nothing is left for the protection of mercantile marine. Therefore, in his opinion, ten more large cruisers should be built. The French possess 242 torpedo-boats, the English 97, and Russia has 135 (March, 1893), or France and Russia combined 377, Great Britain 97.

To watch the torpedo stations in the narrow seas he proposes to build an entirely new class of ironclad. "It is absolutely necessary that some such vessel should be built. The first duty on the outbreak of a war for a British Admiral would be to smash the torpedo stations of the enemy in the narrow seas in order to insure a safe highway for our mercantile marine." For this purpose Lord Charles Beresford proposes to build ten new ironclads at a cost of £2,600,000, displacement about 3500 tons, armoured belt 8in and 6in, speed about 17 knots, principal armament 6in and 4.7 guns (about 12 in number), with light draught to enable to get at their work.

Lord Charles urges the immediate necessity of building a mercantile mole at Gibraltar, and greatly lengthening the present military mole another 1800ft on the eight-fathom line. This work, which is all-important, should be undertaken at case and not spread over a number of years.

The sum of the suggestions is as follows:—

"This was my proposal," says Lord Charles Beresford, "on March 30, 1893—88 vssels and 30 torpedo-boats at a cost of £23,240,000; but since that date the following ships have been projected:—Battle-ships—Magnificent, Majestic, Renown, £620,000; cruisers—Powerful, Terrible (about £800,000 each), £1,600,000; Talbot, Eclipse, Minerva (about £250,000), £800,000; ten torpedo-boats. £150,000; total £5,170,000, and their cost would be deducted from the original proposal, leaving £18,070,000."—*The Times*.

## Proposed Purchase of the Island of Lemnos.

Lord Charles Beresford also says:—

*"It is imperative that Britain should buy, or enter into treaty with the Turkish Government for, the island of*

*Lemnos or some such island possessing a good harbour at the east end of the Mediterranean, Cyprus being of no use whatever as a naval base of operations.*"—*The Times*.

## **Naval Strength of England, France, and Russia, Ships Built and Building.**

(From Lord Brassey's *Naval Annual*, 1893.)

### **Cruisers.**

### **Torpedo Boats.**

The torpedo-boats of France are eight of 397 tons each, two of 440 tons, and, three of 925 tons. Those of England are four of 525 tons each; eleven of 735 tons; eleven of 810 tons; and five of 1070 tons.

### **Warships of Other Powers.**

The following table, prepared from particulars given by the Navy Department of the United States, shows the relative strength of the navies of the world, as regards fighting ships (compiled from *Brassey's Annual*:—

### **Growth of Torpedo Boats of the Three Great Powers.**

The following is a summary of all the first-class torpedo boats, as distinct from torpedo-boat catchers and torpedo-boat destroyers, that have been built, ordered, or authorised by Great Britain, France, and Russia since the passing of the English Naval Defence Act of 1889:—

Recent information cabled from Home shows that greater vigour is now being exercised in respect of these boats. Among the latest completions are the *Havock*, with a speed of 26 knots per hour, and the *Hazard*, which makes 28 knots, that is 34 miles an hour, the highest rate yet reached by any of this class. This gives promise of the accomplishment of a speed of forty-miles-an-hour which has lately been predicted as the speed that may safely be reached. At the same time far larger provision has been made for extended naval construction in the Old Country.

The sixty-seven ton gun is to be abandoned by the Admiralty as too heavy for battleships. The 110 gun was similarly condemned some time ago. Guns of 12 inch bore and fifty tons which can be loaded by hand are to be the heavy weapons of the future.

### **Royal Naval Reserve Merchant Cruisers.**

Of late years most of our ocean merchant steamers have been constructed so as to be capable of speedy conversion into war cruisers, and numbers of these have been liberally subsidised by the British Admiralty. Below is a list of the vessels as published in October last:—

### **New Demand for High Speed.**

All these vessels are not subsidised, but they are all held by the owners for the use of the Admiralty. Besides these there are numerous others of our ocean steamers which have fulfilled the requirements of the Admiralty as regards construction fitting them to carry effective armaments, though they are not under contract.

Indeed the demands of the Admiralty as regards speed, have within the last few months been made more stringent, their Lordships having decided that all new vessels open to be subsidised must, to obtain subvention, possess speed of not less than 20 knots per hour, so as to be able to cope with the swift cruisers of any enemy. For example, the new vessel "*Gothic*," recently in Wellington, although strongly built and fitted for warlike purposes, is by the new rule not included in the Merchant Auxiliary Reserve list, because her speed does not reach the request twenty knots per hour. So I was informed by one of the owners of the "*Gothic*."

### **Permanent and Volunteer Forces of New Zealand.**

(Compiled from the Official Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Fox, Commandant New Zealand Defence Force.)

The total includes 3 majors, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 sergeants-major, 2 corporals, 2 bombardiers, and 12 artificers.

The total include 2 captains, 4 officers, 1 corporal, and 4 second corporals. Attached to this corps are the torpedo instructor and one sergeant major instructor of the Royal Engineers.

There are thirty-nine cadet corps in the colony, numbering in all 2,153 cadets. "They vary in value," says Colonel Fox, "from very great efficiency to absolute inefficiency," a condition of things arising from a lack of "system or guidance in the management," an official hint which will doubtless be productive of improvement in the drill and training of our youth to familiarity with arms.

## **Obligations of the British Navy.**

These obligations are becoming more arduous and extensive every year. They are, speaking generally, first to be prepared to blockade, or to meet and defeat on the high seas the fleets of the European Power or Powers opposed to us; and, secondly, to keep open our trade routes and lines of communication with our colonies and dependencies, and to guard our merchant vessels from the deprivations of hostile cruisers.—*Lord Roberts's address to the Lincolnshire Artillery Volunteers.*

## **Scarcity of Engineers for the Navy.**

In its present condition the navy is very short of engineers. In 1882 the indicated horse power of the navy was about 500,000, and there were 700 engineer officers. It is now 1,500,000 and there are 750 officers, so that in 1882 there was one engineer officer for about 700 horse power, while then there is now one engineer officer for 2000 horse power. This is without considering the enormously increased amount of machinery other than propelling machinery, with the maintenance of which the engineers are charged.—*Mr John Venn, M.P., of the engineering firm of John Penn and Sons, Greenwich.*

## **Expenditure for Naval Construction in Britain France and Russia in 1894.**

The actual figures for naval construction for the current year are Britain, £2,982,000; France, £2,918,000; Russia, £2,692,000. Our sea-borne commerce enormously exceeds that of any other Power. That of France and Russia is comparatively insignificant, their colonial possessions are of very minor importance, yet each of them is spending nearly as much as Britain is on naval construction. Why should our European neighbours, whose maritime interests are in no way menaced by the naval superiority of this country, endeavour to wrest from us that command of the sea which is so necessary to our national life and independence?—*Speech of Lord Roberts, in London, December 15th.*

## **Coaling Stations for Warships Protecting Trade Routes.**

The only requirement in a coaling station for a warship was smooth water to coal in, because the effective protection of commerce necessitated the assumption that our naval force on every trade route would be so far superior to that of a possible enemy as to restrict his operations to attacks on merchant vessels on the principles of evasion and surprise, and to forbid the idea of open warfare. The defensive power of coaling stations themselves need not, on this theory, be greater than would be sufficient to protect them against a *coup de main* by a small force.—*Admiral Sir John Colomb, in a lecture before the Aldershot Military Society.*

## **Lord Roberts on Sympathetic Relations with the Colonies.**

At a meeting of the Court of the London Scottish Corporation, at which £3760 was subscribed for the purposes of the charity, General Lord Roberts, of Khandahar and Waterford, who possesses the Victoria Cross for Valour, is a Knight of the; Grand Cross of the Bath, Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, Knight Grand Cross of the Star of India, and a Doctor of Laws, Cambridge—in proposing the toast "The Scottish Corporation," after referring to the beneficent character of the charity, spoke as follows:—"The history of the Scottish Corporation appeared to him to be characteristic of the Scottish race. It illustrated their power of cohesion as well as their pride in their nationality—a power and pride which had made them equally illustrious in war and successful in peace. He had observed a Scottish regiments that almost every soldier looked, not only to his individual interest, but to the credit of his corps and the honour of his country, and, similarly in the pursuits of civil life, the Scotchman showed the same patriotic feeling resulting in an active desire to serve his fellow-countrymen. (Cheers). If the component parts of the Empire were determined and prepared to hold together in matters of Imperial policy, we might rely on British interests being maintained and British influence extended to the great advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the less civilised races with which we were brought in contact. He had no intention to express an opinion on any of the political questions of the day, but he might venture to remind them that in the excitement and turmoil of domestic affairs *they were sometimes apt to forget the necessity for cultivating close and sympathetic relations with that Greater Britain beyond the seas which was one of the principal sources of oar national wealth, and an essential element of our national greatness.* (Cheers) The industry, enterprise, and self-reliance which distinguished men of British descent would, he trusted, do as much in the future as they had in the past to increase the prosperity of all classes in the United Kingdom. But not less conducive to such prosperity was the peaceful and uninterrupted development of the resound of the whole Empire; and this could not be secured unless the mother country and its several colonies and dependencies were determined to defend Imperial intern whenever and wherever they were seriously endangered. (Cheers). He had as hesitation in expressing his conviction that, whether morally or

physically, the British race was certainly inferior to none on the face of the globe, and that the maintenance of our rule over less civilized and less enlightened races was beneficial, not only to our colonists and the home population, but to humanity as a whole." (Cheers.)

## **A Prominent French Statesman Prophecies War.**

A cable message from Paris, of 30th March, states that "M. Ste. Hilaire says that war between France and Germany is inevitable, and every day France's opportunity for revenge draws nearer."

When a veteran savan, statesman, and historian such as the aged and highly, cultured M. Barthélemy Sainte Hilaire (one of the most prominent living Frenchmen of the century) gives expression to an opinion so grave in its predictions as that just quoted the situation presents even more disturbing aspects. M. Ste. Hilaire has been a spectator of, and intimately connected with all the varied political phase and movements in France during the last sixty years. Notwithstanding his great age his mental faculties appear unimpaired, as is evidenced by his two most recent works, which the Press highly eulogised—"Philosophy in its Relation to the Sciences and Religion," published in 1889, and "Francis Bacon," in 1890. both works of a profound and erudite character. M. Ste. Hilaire's history, political and literary, embraces a wide experience and keen observation, and a ripe knowledge of affairs. He occupied the Chair of Greek and Roman Philosophy in 1838. and next year was made a member of the French Academy, and for some years was Minister of Finance. After the Revolution of 1848 he entered the Republican Assembly, where he was one of the leaders of the Moderate Party. On the occurrence of the *coup d'etat* in December, 1851, he was among those representatives who were arrested and imprisoned, and when Napoleon III. made himself Emperor, M. Ste. Hilaire refused to take the oath of allegiance to Napoleon, and resigned his appointments. After the Franco-Prussian War, and the restoration of the Republic, he was, in 1871, returned to the Assembly, where he was a steadfast supporter of President Thiers. Five years later he was made a life Senator, and in 1880-81 he held the portfolio of Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Cabinet of M. Jules Ferry From all this it follows, that,—coming from a statesman of his qualifications and experience in. the history and troubles of France, and of the conflicts of Europe since the early days of Louis Phillipe's reign—an opinion like that with which he is now accredited as having published gives cause for disquietude. That impression may be abated to some extent if it is argued that the opinion of the philosopher and statesman may arise from exaggerated alarm, a not uncommon accompaniment of extreme old age. But if so then the utility of transmitting the intelligence is not sufficiently apparent.

## **Progress of the New British Warship.**

### **The Latest Orders for 120 Vessels.**

At a public gathering at Cardiff, on 27th January last, Mr. W. H. White, Director of Naval Construction, said that of the 70 ships authorised by the Naval Defence Act five years ago, 61 would be completed and ready for service by the end of March next (last month), and the remaining nine, which were only small vessels would be very far advanced.

Later cable messages from London state that the British Admiralty has issued orders for 120 new warships, to be constructed within the next six years. These include ten first-class and three second-class battle-ships, six first-class and 27 second-class cruisers, and 64 torpedo-destroyers. This does not appear to warrant the existence of assured confidence in any project of general disarmament—at least on the western side of the "Silver streak" of sea, while on the other side the Continental Powers seem so afraid of each other that instead of lessening they are increasing their forces.

## **Is a General Disarmament Probable?**

Late intelligence from Europe announces that an opinion is current that the commercial treaties between Russia, Germany and Austria indicate the approach of "a general disarmament, or the definite suspension of military preparations." The latter idea is not a very reassuring alternative considering the gigantic proportions which these preparations have already reached; and seeing also that the British Admiralty, according to latest advices, has almost adopted the whole defensive navy programme of Lord Charles Beresford, narrated in page 31 of this Appendix hereto.

Russia declines to be a party to consider general disarmament. She proposes to borrow three millions sterling for "railway purposes"—doubtless stratagetic lines as usual.

## **Postscript.**

The latest cablegram that can be noticed here (dated Paris, 16th April) supplies the unexpected information from the French Assembly that the state of the French Navy displays inexcusable negligence in its

administration, and eminent disorder; that it is unprepared for war mobilisation; that its torpedo vessels are unseaworthy, the naval stores depleted (as the French Commissariat was in 1870), and that a specially-constructed ironclad is "liable to capsize at the first impact." And further, it is declared, by the same authority, that all the great battle-ships of France are in a similar predicament.

## "The Angel of the Revolution."

### A Tale of the Coming Terror.

Under the caption of "A Tale of the Coming Terror," that excellent and cheap weekly, *The Sketch*, gives an effective review and concise epitome of Mr. George Griffith's, "The Angel of the Revolution," which, dealing as it does, with warfare in the twentieth century, and descriptive of air-borne battle-ships, forms a not-inadequate addendum to this booklet, and I have taken the liberty of transferring the letter-press from *The Sketch* without permission of the publishers, as follows:—

*"In the presence of Edward Bellamy, Ignatius Donnelly, and, last but not least, the Rev. W. Baxter, Rev. Mr. Baxter, some forty years ago, was the author of "The Coming Struggle," which he predicted the end of the world about the seventies, with Napoleon the Third as the great Rider of Europe—bo much for prophecy*

*no one would think of denying that the gift of prophecy is highly developed at the close of this century as ever it was in the world's history. But as Alexander Dumas said to the Judge, when he accused him of being a dramatist, "Il y a des degres." In the days of, let us say, Elijah, the Prophets—that is to say the true Prophets—were of one mind concerning the things they predicted. With our latter-day seers it is otherwise, and the result is a trifle mystifying to the plain man. Can it be that there is a lion in the way for a few of these nimble fore-tellers? If so I trust it will not get wind of Mr. George Griffith, for he is far more entertaining than his compeers. He gives his predictions to humanity wrapped in the 'embroidered casuistry' of fiction. Nay, more, for he seasons the evil of his prophecy by the presence of a heroine of surpassing beauty. She is a sort of 'Vierge Rouge' in her premiere jeunesse, and her name is "Natasha." The first chapters of the book, however, belong to the hero Richard Arnold, who has the reputation of being a 'crank.' Like a second Pallisy he brings his invention to perfection just as he is on the eve of starvation. Chance throws him in the way of a member of the great secret society known to the initiated as the Brotherhood of Freedom, and to the world as the Terrorists. At the persuasion of this friend in need, Richard Arnold joins their ranks, and places his marvellous air-ship at the disposal of its chief, Notas, a mysterious being who is known to his subjects principally as the father of Natasha. Shortly after, Arnold is dispatched on a secret mission to Russia in the company of this damsel and Anna Ormovski, a princess with Nihilist leanings. The two women fall into the hands of the Russian police, and are sentenced to Siberia. They are rescued by Arnold on the trial trip of his air-ship, and the fortress of Cronstadt is destroyed at the same time, for in the twentieth century, which is the date of this story, projectiles are in use which, as agents of destruction, transcend a millionfold the power of our present Woolwich popguns.*

*"But the Brotherhood of Freedom is not entirely recruited from the recalcitrant subjects of the Czar. Mr. George Griffith does not forget that 'it's greatly to his credit that he is an Englishman.'" To make a peer of Albion the right-hand man of the Terrorist chief may seem at first sight rather an obscure manifestation of the patriotic spirit. Lord Alanmere supplies the missing link between the old civilisation and the new regeneration, and his presence in the story enables its author to associate the ultimate destiny of the British Empire with the conquering forces of the Revolution. At the period when the action of the narrative takes place Queen Victoria has abdicated in favour of the present Prince of Wales, and is living in comparative retirement. The parliamentary parties range themselves under the leadership of Mr. Balfour and Mr. John Morley. On the very eve of the last Titanic struggle of the nations, England is discovered in the throes of a General Election, and the day after the Conservative Ministry returns to power France declares war. Russia, who has nominally been at war with Britain for over a month, suddenly takes the offensive, and pours her Asiatic troops into the passes of the Hindu Kush. At the same moment Italy secedes from the Triple Alliance.*

*"Thenceforward the new warfare progresses without Terrorist intervention. They hold a watching brief for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and occupy themselves in the construction of a fleet of air-ships. Meanwhile the Czar, with his war balloons, carries everything before him. After devastating the European Continent, the Muscovite forces decide to beard the British Lion in his own den. Aberdeen is bombarded and falls, coincident with the surrender of the German Emperor and the occupation of Berlin by the armies of the Czar. It is not, however, till the Russian troops are at the gates of London that the Terrorists abandon their neutral position. By their agency the secret alliance which the Czar sought to conclude with America is brought to naught. The battles of Dover and Warwick had placed the English Metropolis practically at the Muscovite's mercy. But ere*

*the downfall of the city could be consummated the Brotherhood, with its aerial fleet, looms in light. The armageddon of the western world is fought, and the spoil is to the irresistible artillery of the air. The first shot is fired by the 'Angel of the Revolution,' and after that the Terrorist token is to slay and spare not. These are somewhat sanguinary tactics for the inaugurators of international amity; but Nihilists till be Nihilists to the end of the chapter. The Czar himself is taken prisoner, and this lurid prophecy closes with the picture of his Imperial Majesty on his way to the Siberian mines, while the Angel of the Revolution bestows her hand on the Admiral of the aerial fleet."*

## England's Friends in the Mediterranean.

Under the above title is an admirably instructive article in the London Graphic of 17th March, in which is narrated the condition of the fleets of the various Mediterranean Powers, whose interest and welfare naturally make them the friends of Great Britain. The writer specifies the coastal and geographical coigns of vantage which each of these Powers possesses, and narrates the diplomatic and political "reasons for friendship" with England, which must actuate each of them in the event of war. Greece, and her fleet and naval stations and harbours; Turkey, and her fleet and her various naval bases of operations; Spain, and the Spanish fleet; Austria and Italy, with their naval forces and coast advantages, all these are succinctly and graphically described, with sketches, which imply illustrate the printed descriptions. This article, and its accompanying engravings, form a valuable and timely contribution to the discussion of the war problem. Reference is made to the recently completed Italian fort of Maddalena, in the Straits of Bonifacio, between Sardinia and Corsica, now fully armed, and consequently an almost impregnable *place forte* for harbouring a fleet. Maddalena was occupied by Nelson in 1803 as a *point d'appui*, and its value in that respect is declared to be vastly greater to-day than it was then.

Finis.

Wellington, N.Z.:

*Printed at the New Zealand Times Office, Lambton Quay.*

MDCCCXCIV.

NEW ZEALAND INSURANCE COMPANY Subscribed Capital - - - £1,000,000 UNLIMITED LIABILITY. Take out a Policy in the Premier Colonial FIRE & MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY which has close upon HALF A MILLION POUNDS OF ASSETS has an Annual Income of £292,000, and has PAID £2,981,940 IN LOSSES since the establishment of the Company in 1859. WARWICK WESTON, General Manager.

National Fire and Marine INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW ZEALAND. HEAD OFFICE - - - - - DUNEDIN, OTAGO Subscribed Capital .. . . . . . 62,000,000 (With Unlimited Liability of Shareholders) Paid Up and Reserves .. . . . . . £194,749 This Company issues Policies against Marine Risks of every description at the LOWEST RATES OF PREMIUM. SECURITY IS UNDOUBTED Being the united wealth of an extensive and influential proprietary. OPEN POLICIES GRANTED ON WOOL AND GRAIN From Ports or Stations in New Zealand till landed in the United Kingdom. The National is a Colonial Institution with its funds invested in New Zealand, and its continued success is a matter of interest to every colonist.

Offices—George Thomas & Co.'s Buildings. ANDREW CAMPBELL, Manager, Wellington Branch. THE SOUTH BRITISH FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW ZEALAND CAPITAL - - - - £1,900,000 unlimited liability of shareholders FIRE AND MARINE PROMPT AND BRANCHES AND INSURANCES OF LIBERAL AGENCIES EVERY DESCRIPTION SETTLEMENT THROUGHOUT EFFECTED AT OF LOSSES. THE WORLD. LOWEST RATES. Wellington Branch - - - - CHAS. W. BENBOW, Manager OFFICES—27, Lambton Quay

Established 1782. Funds £1,500,000. Auckland W. WARD BAKER. Dunedin THOS. J. McKERROW. Christchurch L. A. CUFF Napier ROBERT DOBSON & CO. Wanganui WM. HALL ASSURANCE COMPANY PHNIX Paid in Losses. £20,000,000 Income £1,200,000 New Zealand Head Office - - WELLINGTON R. M. SIMPSON, PERCY BUTLER, GENERAL MANAGER. DISTRICT MANAGER. Wairarapa Manawatu H. H. WOLTERS HUGH L. SHERWILL Gisborne Invercargill C. F. LEWIS. WM. W. MITCHELL With numerous Sub-Agencies throughout the Colony.

## The Public Trust Office of New Zealand.

THE Public Trust Office has been established for the purpose of affording [*unclear*: at] rates of commission a secure and convenient recourse for persons resident as well abroad as in New Zealand, who may desire to form trusts in the colony, and may be in doubt or difficulty as to the choice of trustees or executors; and for person also who are appointed to or have accepted trusts but who may be unwilling for various reasons to

undertake or continue the administration.

## **ITS CONSTITUTION AND OBJECTS.**

The Public Trust Office was constituted by "The Public Trust Office Act, 1872. and its functions have since been much enlarged by amending Acts, necessary to enable the office to meet the growing requirements of the public and of the business The Amendment Acts of 1891 and 1893 present many new and important features They facilitate the administration of properties placed in the office; provide for the administration by the Public Trustee of intestate estates of a value not exceeding £250 without the expense of an order of the Court; provide for the notification to the Public Trustee of the money and property of deceased persons, by persons, etc, having the custody of such property and knowing it to be vested in the Public Trustee; authorise a more prompt distribution of the residue of testate and intestate estates; provide absolute security from loss to properties of the funds arising from them which may be invested at the discretion of the Public Trustee in mortgages of real estate within the colony, or in General Government securities of the colony; insure the regular and punctual payment of interest on such funds; and, by rendering practicable a more efficient conduct of the office and of the arrangement of the accounts, have raised the office in the estimation of the public.

## **ITS SECURITY.—CAPITAL FUNDS AND INTEREST GUARANTEED.**

The security and fidelity of the administration of the Public Trustee must undoubtedly afford a great attraction to any person who may contemplate the appointment of a trustee. The Public Trust Office is a Government department. The fidelity of its administration is guaranteed by statute; and, by "The Public Trust Office Acts Amendment Act, 1891," *the colony guarantees the integrity of the capital funds of properties placed in the Public Trust Office where there is no direction for the investment of such funds, or where there is no direction for such investment other than generally that the funds are to be invested at the option of the Public Trustee, in General Government securities of New Zealand or in mortgage of real estate within the colony.*

The colony also guarantees on such capital funds for investment a common rate of interest, to be determined from time to time by Order in Council, and to be credited quarterly, FREE OF ALL OFFICE CHARGES OF THE PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE, to the properties from which the funds arise.

A person making a will or arranging a trust must always be seriously concerned as to the security of the capital funds; and the larger the capital funds the greater will be the concern for security, and the less for a high rate of interest.

The Public Trustee, in his official capacity, never dies, never leaves the country, and never becomes disqualified or involved in private difficulties, or distrusted. It will thus, be evident that, by his appointment as trustee, the preparation of the numerous deeds, and the consequent expense, which might become necessary in the case of a private trustee are altogether obviated. These advantages will be readily appreciated by all who have any knowledge of the incidents of trusteeships.

## **Crown Lands of New Zealand.**

Crest of the crown

New Zealand Offers to the Would-Be Settler

A Choice of Lands under Varied Climatic Conditions,

Ranging from Sub-Tropical in the North, to One Resembling Southern England in the South.

Within these Limits most of the Products of the Temperate Zones are grown with success.

The Crown Lands are disposed of under three Systems—

Cash, Occupation with Right or Purchase, and Lease in Perpetuity.

And the prices vary from 5s an acre up to £5 per acre, according to soil, position and local circumstances.

The average price at which lands are offered is about £1 per acre. Land covered with bush costs from 25s to 35s an acre to clear; after being burnt these lands carry fine crops of grass, keeping, on an average, 2 sheep to the acre. The open lands are situated mainly on the Middle Island, and are native grassed ready for pasture or agriculture. For full information as to the lands open for selection or about to be thrown open, and how to see them, apply to the Commissioners of Crown Lands at Auckland, Napier, New Plymouth, Wellington, Blenheim, Nelson, Hokitika, Christchurch, Dunedin or Invercargill.

The Hot Springs of New Zealand.

Government Baths are established at Rotorua in the North Island, and Hanmer in the Middle Island, and there are privately conducted baths at Waiwera, Te Aroha, Wairakei, Taupo, and Tarawera.

Excellent accomodation for Visitors is furnished at the Government bathing establishments. As health resorts all of these Springs are year after year attracting a large stream of visitors, who derive very great benefit

from the Thermal Waters, which have been found very efficacious in the following diseases:—Chronic, Articular and Muscular Rheumatism, Gout, Rheumatic Gout, Lumbago, Neuralgia, Nervous Exhaustion, Uterine Ailments, Disorders of the Digestive Organs, &c. All of these places are situated in fine climates, with beautiful scenery either surrounding them or in their immediate vicinity, and access is now made easy by rail or coach.

No Matter Where you live our unequalled Time Payment System enables you to become the owner of a, thoroughly good Piano or Organ by the Best English, German, and French makers. Pianos By practically every Leading Maker in the World—notably, Broadwood, Collard & Collard, Kuhse, Schwechten, Lipp & Sohn, Erard, and Steinway. TIME-PAYMENTS from 20s. Monthly. The Dresden Piano Co. M. J. BROOKES, Manager. WELLINGTON

Front Cover

The Sacredness of Family

[Price, 6d

Guarded by Affinity as Bar to Marriage with Near of Kin. Historical Exhibition of Practical Bearings and Scriptural Grounds.

By the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Oamaru.

*"I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the Lord" (Lev. xviii. 4,5).*

*Ipsa charitas generis humani, qua tota domus conjugio et stirpe conjungitur, serpit sensim foris cognationibus primum tum affinitatibus (Cic. De Fin).*

*"The head of John the Baptist."—Herodias.*

Dunedin Bible and Tract Depot. Oamaru; Andrew Fraser,

## Prefatory Note.

At an April meeting of Oamaru Presbytery this season I gave notice of [*unclear: tion*], now superseded by this publication and otherwise, for the purpose of [*unclear: ly*] warning to the community with reference to the character of a new move-*[unclear: ent]*, affecting the doctrinal constitution of the Church,—thus far in the line of [*unclear: ries*] of movements, originating and centring in the same quarter, which reaches [*unclear: ck*] to the Salmond case, A.D. 1888.

Apart from constitutional bearings of the movement on this church, the Marriage Affinity question has bearings of general interest and importance—*[unclear: torical]*, practical, and scriptural—of which a representation is offered in the allowing pages. But it may be well that the general reader should be aware of the following facts with reference the special constitution which in this connexi*[unclear: on]* assailed anew.

1.—The Otago and Southland Presbyterian Church has the Confession as [*unclear: trinal*] basis of her constitution: even her temporal property, denominational El congregational, is by the Model trust deed held on condition of adherence to [*unclear: at*] standard; so that lapse from Confessional doctrine would involve, to the [*unclear: sed*], forfeiture of title to such property held by them. Last year's Synod, in [*unclear: ri*] Resolution approving the Scottish Free Church Declaratory Act, declared [*unclear: hat*] this was on the view, that the explanations in the said Act are consistent with the doctrinal constitution of this church. In any case, no resolution of good can change the Church's constitution; and if a majority of her courts [*unclear: re*] to pass from that constitution, then in point of law they and their adherents would consequently be outside of the historical Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland.

2.—All her ministers, at their ordination (or induction, as the case may be), [*unclear: ion*]. as condition of their admission to her office, the following declaration and [*unclear: mise*] with reference to her doctrinal constitution:—

*"I . . . , do hereby declare that I do sincerely own and believe the whole [unclear: trine] contained in the Confession of Faith adopted by the several Presbyterian Churches [unclear: ring] from the Reformation Church of Scotland, to be the truths of God, and I do own the [unclear: ce] as the confession of my faith" (the italics here are mine—J.M.) . . . "I promise but through the grace of God, I shall firmly and constantly adhere to, and to the utmost [unclear: of] power shall in my station assert, maintain, and defend the said doctrine, &c."*

3.—The Confessional doctrine at present in question, Chap. xxiv. 4, is set [*unclear: rth*] in the following terms, which have been commended for firm precision in [*unclear: ment*] of the generally received Christian view of the matter:—

*"Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the word; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man, or [unclear: ment] of parties, so as these*

*parties may live together as man and wife. The man may not [unclear: arry] any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of [unclear: er] husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own."*

References in this publication to a Free Assembly Committee's Report (*a.d.* 1885) bring to view the great name of Candlish, worthily sustained by the Convener of that Committee. And it is worth noting in this connexion that, in the Free Church witness-bearing relatively to this Marriage Affinity question, a leading part has been taken by Principal Candlish's immediate predecessor Principal Channingham and successor Principal Rainy (Church History professors), as well as by the Glasgow Principal Douglas (Hebrew Professor),—who apparently (at the time of his writing) reckoned Professor Lindsay's (United Presbyterian) the last book on the subject (Cunningham's only predecessor was Chalmers.)

Oamaru,

7th July, 1894

## The Sacredness of Family.

### Practical Aspects.

Dr Macgregor gave out as a motto Rom. xvi. 17, 18, with reference to "the doctrine which ye have learned"; and intimated that, as the doctrine at present in question is being opposed by some professed believers in Bible religion, he would in the second part of this exposition deal with the Scriptural foundation of the Church's belief in the matter. The first part, with reference to practical aspects of the matter, might serve as introduction to the second, particularly through bringing into view the nature of the subject, and the importance of our knowing and believing what God has really said about it for our learning. At a later stage he said, that the subject in some respects is not a pleasant one to handle in the pulpit: but that, as it is being misrepresented, and the people misled in relation to it, the truth of God's word regarding it has to be spoken and maintained in the public place of witness-bearing for the Christian religion—where mere pleasure, whether of speaker or of hearers, is a very secondary matter. He then proceeded:

Twenty-one years ago it was said by Dr. Cairns at Melbourne, that the colonial legislation about this matter had been thoughtless; that there had been mocking and jeering, and men had not seriously studied the subject. To a colony so happily placed as this, there is a danger in its beginning life with an inheritance of civilisation; namely, that laws or constitutions should be thrown aside because their nature and value have not been learned from experience. And churches may be tempted, inwardly as well as outwardly, to countenance the ruination. It is a great duty of patriotism, in the beginnings of a nation's life, to "prove all things" and "hold fast that which is good"; and the canker, which lives on cosuming life, has in those beginnings a great opportunity.

Permission by law to marry the [unclear: sist] of a deceased wife does not make the thing right; but may make it a duty of citizens to peek a change of the law of the land in accordance with the true law of nature and of God. A church [unclear: is] a lawmaker for the nation: but only administers the law of Christ in His own house. If any citizen choose to form [unclear: th] connection, the church has no power to prevent him. Only she can tell him "You are breaking the law of Christ" and she can say to him: "If you do this at your own peril, it must be outside of our communion as a church." That is all that the church's prohibition means.

Some propose that this prohibitionist should be abandoned by the Otago and Southland Presbyterian Church. That would so far involve abandonment of this Confession of Faith (chap, xxiv, 4) which is the doctrinal basis of our connection and constitution as a Church. Nor is the doctrine,—of the sinfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister—a mere insular peculiarity of Westminster Presbyterianism and of the Church of England. It was confessed by all the Protestant Churches of the Reformation, in common with the Romish Church,

A certain shilly-shallying of Romanises in this relation does not undo the fact above stated.

and with the Greek or Eastern Church; as also had been held by the undivided Primitive Church, and has ever been held by those Jews—the "Karäite"—who adhere to the ancient Scriptures as their only Rule—rejecting the "tradition" (Mark vii, 13) through which other Jews "have the the word of God of none effect." In [unclear: at] the doctrine,—that the marriage in [unclear: tion] is condemned in Scripture as [unclear: tuous]—has been believed by the mass believing readers of the Bible in [unclear: all] of the existence of the Bible among [unclear: kind].

This is a very strong presumptive proof at the doctrine is really Scriptur[unclear: al] why should the mass of Bible read[unclear: rs] ages have believed that it so teach[unclear: es] reference to a plain matter, if not, [unclear: use] it does so teach in fact. Nor [unclear: is] proof met by production of opposed [unclear: ions] of individuals, which are hawked [unclear: ct,] and may (Rom. xvi., 17 and 18) [unclear: ceive] the hearts of the simple." The [unclear: unction] of such individual opinions [unclear: in] case is a fallacy or sophism, a mare'[unclear: s] perhaps hiding a trap for "t[unclear: he] "Change for Marshal Turenne!" [unclear: a] French lady when the king—as it [unclear: king], twenty shillings make a pound, [unclear: eated] a batch of new marshals [unclear: in] of that great old one. The little [unclear: er] of one great man may be worth [unclear: ns] of mere notabilities. And it [unclear: t] take a good many millions of [unclear: idual] opinions about the present [unclear: ter] of Scripture teaching to out-[unclear: er] the solemnly deliberate judgment [unclear: ch] an assembly as the Westminster, [unclear: he] most illustrious Christian council [unclear: t] ever met within the seas of Britain, [unclear: earing] witness on God's behalf to the [unclear: ches] and the world: not to speak of [unclear: s] famous historical churches which in this [unclear: ter] have adhered to its Confessi[unclear: on] of the whole catholic Church of [unclear: ist] so remarkably of one mind in [unclear: fing] this same doctrine through [unclear: all]

The present matter is not merely of [unclear: ract] doctrine, nor only of Church [unclear: ler]. It profoundly affects the Church's [unclear: rity], and consequently the character o[unclear: f] influence among mankind as a [unclear: per] leaven. It enters into all the [unclear: mon] life of man—the individual, the [unclear: ily] the whole community. For it [unclear: bes] the central fountain of all tha[unclear: t] so that moral ill-condition in respec[unclear: t] it is a poison to all human prosperity and happiness at the fountain. Relative[unclear: y] such a matter, the Church (1 Tim. iii. [unclear: s] is peculiarly bound to faithfulness in [unclear: ness]-bearing. Especially if the Stat[unclear: e] wrong in its law, misdirecting what so touches the people's deepest life, all the more it is the Church's part, for God's honor and man's life in the truth, to bear up its banner (Jer. i. 18). And to give way at the one point of this marriage affinity question would be to abandon the defence of a city precisely where it is assailed.

The sacredness of family is the root matter in question. Whatever dims or diminishes the "honor" of family poisons the life of mankind in its fountain. Thus, as to divorce, breaking the indissolubleness which guards that sacredness,—at the first French Revolution time a statutory permission of divorce, in effect unlimited, was accompanied or followed with a boundless moral dissoluteness in the general community, not exceeded among the pampered corrupt class in the darkest times of the old monarchy; and in our own day, with reference to a society so largely Christian as that of the great American republic, America's greatest theologian since Jonathan Edwards has published, in connection with facilities for divorce in certain States, the awful declaration: "Men and women, who make the murder of infants a profession, are rolling in wealth." (Hodge, Systematic Theology, vol. iii. p. 383).

On behalf of permission to marry a sister-in-law there are appeals to public sympathy, in consideration of the feelings and supposed interests of individuals desiring that connection. What if, in connection with divorce, there should be appeals to public sympathy, in consideration of the feelings and supposed interests of individuals, for statutory permission to murder "their own" (1 Tim. v. 8) infants? A French magistrate, with reference to a movement for abolition of death punishment for murder, said that he had no objection to the change if the murderers would begin. The feelings and interests of a few criminals are not to be consulted at the cost of a plague that threatens the life of all.

On behalf of the permission it is pleaded that some have done the thing. When the matter was placed before the House of Lords in 1852, Lord Chancellor Campbell, the head of the English law, said that the agitation had been very disgraceful, first lying about the law so as to induce unlawful marriages, and now alleging these as a reason for changing the law. The existence of criminals is not usually pleaded as a reason for abolishing the law against their crime; but the contrary. And, in fact, the number of individuals really desiring this kind of connection must be extremely small. Very few persons are ever widowers; not many of them think of second marriage; of these not one in ten thousand, in a Christendom that abhors the connection as incestuous, would dream of a wife's sister as the second wife;

The Bible nowhere has a man's "widow." Be he living or dead, it is always his "wife." "Widow" in Scripture means "desolate in condition."

and, it is to be hoped, not one woman in ten hundred thousand would be willing to marry a brother-in-law if asked,

It is needless here to raise any question about the propriety of speaking of incestuous connection as "marriage"—an elastic expression, which does not occur at Lev. xviii., 6.18. To raise any such question here is to withdraw attention from the essential point, of incest, unnatural connection, vile and abominable by reason of "nearness of kin."

—Q.E.D. Evidently, as compared with the whole population of the country, who all have a vital interest in

prevention of the plague—desecration of family—the number of would-be criminals of this class will probably be always very much smaller than the number of would-be criminals of other classes, for whom no one thinks of seeking a statutory permission or an ecclesiastical benediction—*e. g.*, of holy water on a robber's enterprise. "Purge your mind of cant"—sentimental, screamly, rotten-hearted.

Then, as to the real benefit to be expected for those individuals from the connection. Is it, like "godliness with contentment, great gain?" Let us look at the thing in the light of what Christendom as a whole believes to be the law of nature and of God's Word. The following picture, then, is not drawn by me, but given to me by Christendom:—The widower binds himself in a lifelong incestuousness, with one whom he was bound to love in honor as a sister. His orphans have in her, instead of an honored aunt, an incestuous stepmother, of whose ineffaceable dishonor they are monumental proofs. His house is a home lamentable "confusion" which is [unclear: pollution] (Lev. xx. 12, cp. xviii. 23) [unclear: where] husband and wife are brother and [unclear: sisters] whose children are their nephew[unclear: sisters] nieces, while these are one another cousins as well as brothers and [unclear: sisters] The condition is looked on with horror[unclear: friends] friends and neighbors who honor God law of nature as declared in his [unclear: Holy] Word; and who can hope for no [unclear: blessing] blessing in a household where [unclear: the] "riage" is the opposite of "honorable (Heb. xiii, 4), and its seems impossible that children should really "honor" father and mother, or (1 Peter [unclear: iii.] husband "honor" wife. Surely the sympathy (!) that would [unclear: smother] men's way down to such an abyss[unclear: s] "cruel," like "the tender mercies of the wicked." The true kindness, toward a deluded few desiring that connection surely is not permission, but [unclear: stern] prohibition, in faithfulness like[unclear: e] wounds of a friend.

The interest of the whole communing demands, "if thy right hand offend then, cut it off." The rotten sentimentalise begins even to threaten liberty of speech (2 Cor., iii, 12 17). That is, with reference to use of the word "incestuous," which our Confession of Faith (chap, xxiv., sec employs for statement of the [unclear: doctrine] of God's Word regarding marriage within forbidden degrees of consanguinity (blood relationship) and affinity (relationship through marriage). Whether marriage with a sister-in-law falls within these degrees, is a question about which men may differ from this Confession, and from the judgment (as we already have seen) of the Christian world as a whole, But the question what *name* to give to such connections is settled, beyond appeal, by use and want of speech among mankind.

Thus, for common English, Johnson's Dictionary defines, "INCEST, Unnatural and criminal conjunction of persons within degrees prohibited;" similarly Webster's Dictionary. They give no other meaning; but Webster gives a sample of metaphorical use ("spiritual incest")—often paralleled in Scripture. For technicality of theology and law, Beza defines, *Incestuosa sunt quae can cognatis et affinibus junguntur*; (Opp., vol. iii., p. 52, De Divortiiis.)

To shrink from employing the cognised historical word ("incest") would be (cp. Ga. ii, 13) to "dissemble" the nature of the thing, as if one should give to murder only the colorless name of "killing."

"Killing no Murder," on the title-page of Colonel Titus, was intended to smooth the way to the or time.

On the part of a public witness, who professedly believes "the whole doctrine of our Confession, the dissembling is betrayal of the public interest in truthfulness of witness-bearing perhaps (Jer. vi, 14) at the impulse of a hypocritical man-pleasing worldliness or unmanly selfish cowardice. And if the doctrine of the Christian world as to this matter be true, then (Ezek. xxxiii, 6-8) the treason is most peculiarly a cruelty—like tender mercies of the wicked—to those individuals whose conscience, if things were called by their true names, might be timely alarmed into avoidance of this thing, or subdued into penitence and reformation: instead of transgressors' being countenanced and comforted in what is condemned by God's law of nature in His word.

Charles Lamb, writing to a friend at a penal settlement, quizzingly inquired about language of genteel society there,—Wether, *e. g.* they avoided the word "hemp." The sensitiveness, occasionally appearing in connection with employment of the proper historical name of this thing, the only available word for it, may indicate something quite different from delicacy of feeling: a sensuousness ready to take fire where "To the pure all things are pure;" or a spiritual deadness, which in relation to the family sacredness has mournfully grown upon society—partly, perhaps, in consequence of men's making light of it in the present matter, as "fools sake a mock at sin:" partly through grave perversity of moral judgment, as when the merciful dealing of Christ with a case of adultery is perverted into apology for copricipled abandonment of the divine law of incest at the foundation of the doctrinal constitution of Christ's Church, Were it only for the sake of would-be sinners thus invited to crime, there is all the greater cause for unshrinking free use of speech, which is faithfulness in witness-bearing on behalf of man's life in God's truth: "By thy words thou shalt be Unified." (Mat, xii, 37).

The moral feeling, that is represented by the word "incest," was not imported into men's minds by it. It grew into possession of this common word from men's view of the nature of the thing. And in the Bible (Lev. xviii, 6-18) a common word, of painful expressiveness, is chosen and set apart for expression of the feeling, of moral vileness, "abomination" in the thing. The author of that Book knew that "words, which we deem the servants of our thought, are its masters," and of our heart and life. The appropriate word here, familiar in men's

mouth and mind, is a habitual guard on the sacredness of family at the gateway of the common heart of social life. And the outcry against the word is an assault upon that guard: To shrink from use of the expression is to abandon the defence of that sacredness where it is assailed, by sap and mine if not "in the imminent deadly breach." Persistent faithfulness of testimony, in this and other modes, exemplified in the present matter by the Church of England and by the mother-Churches of Presbyterianism in Scotland, has hitherto, with one small exception, been exhibited by descendant Presbyterian Churches in the colonies, "witnessing a good confession" (1 Tim. vi, 13). It is fitted to do great good even where the thing witnessed against on God's behalf is legalised by the State. Men will be deterred from the crime by such testimony of God's professed people, and others will be strengthened in their salutary horror of it. Faithlessness, on the other hand, on a Church's part, the shepherd fleeing when the wolf is visibly coming, perhaps because faithfulness might in some respects be in convenient or costly, tends to corruption of society through effacement of a moral feeling (see the "wolves," Acts xx, 29), while it works for unbelief in a religion that is thus forsaken by its public witness at the Gethsemane point of real trial. And it is darkly ominous for a Church if those, who cannot so be shaken in their faith, be in their hearts reminded by her unfaithfulness of "Curse ye Meroz; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty" (Judges v., 28.)

The natural feeling, which is an indication of there being a law of nature in this Blatter, and may guide to ascertainment of the law in some details, is yet not to be relied upon instead of the revealed law of God, the supernatural declaration of His natural law of marriage. Experience in history shows—relatively to this law as to the moral law—that such reliance on mere natural feeling is a foolish wickedness of leaning on a broken reed. Without the strength of principle, firmly held because clearly and authoritatively declared, that feeling, in opposition to human passions and worldly interests, is only a vapor wall in opposition to a glacier or an avalanche; while, as we have observed, in this case the vapor itself tends to "vanish away" through deadening influence of tolerating evil (James i., 15), "First endure, then pity, then embrace." Hence the great importance of the Church's testimony for the true law of marriage as to be sought in "the Word." For, vitally important for all mankind though it be, that law is nowhere else to be found, so as to be an effectual rule of life.

The Israelites knew this from experience. In Egypt, the school of their infancy as a people, at the front of natural civilisation, natural feeling did not prevent permission of marriage of brothers and sisters in blood. Nor did it among the Persians. Israel's best friends in the heathen world before Malachi, in their second school of captivity. It did not even prevent the Jews themselves, who had the revealed law in this matter, from corrupting it by their tradition. It did not, in the highest civilisation of Greece, prevent, in their highest philosophic mind, that of Plato "the divine," an ideal of society where promiscuous intercourse comes into the place of family: even as in our own time there is a socialism, of stirring practical politicians, which, through one of its prophets, can speak of the family," along with "patriotism and religion," as "the obstacles" to be got rid of. In the pristine true greatness of the Roman Republic, natural feeling showed itself nobly: there was not one case of divorce in the first 500 years of Roman history; and the old Roman law of marriage was so nearly coincident with the Levitical, that, Beza says, it might seem to be a transcript of it. But before Christ came, in the "ice age" of moral degeneracy that natural feeling had proved to be only a vapor wall against avalanches or [unclear: gh] as also it is proving in those [unclear: Au] and European continental state[unclear: s] they are experimenting with [unclear: per] of divorce.

Some years ago a Germa[unclear: n] lamenting the social and moral [unclear: evil] result from vulgarising and [unclear: matri] men's conceptions of marriage, [unclear: sta] urged by way of antidote, that the [unclear: cl] through her discipline in exemplification of her doctrine—e. g., in her [unclear: prescri] for celebration of marriage—should the sacredness of it with fulness of distinctness into view. But wha[unclear: t] church abandon the doctrine fo[unclear: r] venience of evading the disciplin[unclear: e], haps professedly handing the matt[unclear: e] to natural feeling?

Natural feeling did not prevent placing

Teste Professor Douglas, of [unclear: Glag] Letter on the subject to Lord Bury M. P. A.D. 1858.

of niece-in-law alon[unclear: g] sister in the Bill originally laid before British Parliament. It was the[unclear: n] drawn, because the adverse feelin[unclear: g] reference to niece was found t[unclear: o] stronger than with reference to [unclear: sis] But the adverse reason is the stron[unclear: g] the sister's case, since the kin i[unclear: s] And a century before that time [unclear: Je] Holland had obtained permissio[unclear: n] marry a niece-in-law as well as [unclear: sis] law; to which, it has been [unclear: sug] they may have been moved by fear extinction of their visible [unclear: nation] there, where they were only an [unclear: infuitmally] small proportion of the whole [unclear: polation]. But apart from that, [unclear: unbelhie] Judaism seems to resemble Romani[unclear: a] this respect as in some others, e.g. [unclear: tively] to laws of God, an arrogatio[unclear: n] man of a dispensing office, which is patient to the Lawgiver (Mat. xii. 9) any case it is understood

Teste the late Principal Cuimingha[unclear: m], Edinburgh, in a Ms. note found by his [unclear: cessor] Dr

Rainy.

that [unclear: marr] with a niece-in-law is not very [unclear: unco] among Continental Jews. If *the [unclear: pris]* be abandoned, that alone is effectual prevention of movement, the natural [unclear: ings] of those who through that [unclear: aband]

\* Roedenbeck, Studien und [unclear: Krit] 1881, quarterly parts 3 and 4.

[unclear: nt] set the stone a-rolling will not be [unclear: sulted] about the stopping of it, even though their feeling should not "vanish way" like a vapour; and they are responsible for all the rolling, though it would be to the foot of the hill.

professor Douglas (A.D. 1858) mention that, on the night on which the Marriage Affinity Bill was brought into the House of Commons, there was presented to that House a petition for statutory permission of polygamy.

The most formidable consequence is no[unclear: t] the destruction that wasteth at noon-[unclear: but] "the pestilence that walketh in [unclear: kness]." What Hodge pointed out is [unclear: nly] a plague-spot indicative of a moral [unclear: dition] partly represented by the [unclear: stolic] "without natural affection" [unclear: om]. i, 31).

Where the "affection Or. *storgé*—that specific affection which (1 Tim. v., 8) man by nature has for "his own, and especially those of his own house": whence name of the "stork," proverbial for parental tenderness

This is near the head of Paul's black list (verses 29-31) of [unclear: enormi] of heathens whom God (verses 21-28) [unclear: p] punishment of godlessness, gave ove[unclear: r] "uncleanness" of heart, "vileness" in [unclear: ections] a "reprobate mind" that fit[unclear: s] indecencies. A condition thus resulting from judicial abandonment may (E[unclear: ph]. 18-19) result also from a self-abandon-[unclear: ent]

At all the four places, Eph. iv. 19, [unclear: and] i. 24, 26, 28, the Greek for "giving up" and "giving over" is the same: whether the consequence be penal or simply natural.

the immediate consequence of men's being "past feeling." The feelinglessness[unclear: s] absence of a guard—like a sluice gate—[unclear: ainst] outbreaking of corruption in [unclear: rmities,], monstrosities of wickedness [unclear: volting] to the ordinary feelings of even [unclear: dless] men. In a community it [unclear: conti] an inward condition like that [unclear: pearing] in Isaiah's terrific representation (Is. i, 4-6) of spiritual deadness in a [unclear: dy] politic. And that condition is thought into the heart of social life through the kind of connections that is represente[unclear: d] prosperity of child murder as a [unclear: profes] (see Heb. xii, 15-16). A more [unclear: laring] aspect of the condition is pointed not by a recent writer in the Contemporary Review, who, under the very title of "plague-spot," proves that adult murder is far more frequent in the great Republic than in the sister civilised states. But really more formidable is what lies behind such plague-spots—that is, the plague, the moral corruption, occasionally appearing in such a breaking out of waters of death. In a community it is a spreading plague, the cause and the effect of such connections as that now in question.

It may be well thus to count the cost to the community of permission of incest to a very small number of individuals. A part of that cost which directly concerns us at present is, abolition of affinity as a living reality. And here we call to mind a class of women who seem to be quite forgotten by the zealots for permission of crime to that one woman in a million who would be willing to marry her brother-in-law: namely, all other marriageable women, including not only other sisters-in-law, but nieces and aunts-in-law—those who are by affinity within the family circle. At present this relationship opens to many women a career, full of happy interest and profitableness for them and the families, making life "worth living" as well as honorably pleasant. This for woman is peculiarly important; because woman's career is peculiarly domestic by nature,—of the affections and the home: as compared with man's career, of campaigning out of doors. And all this for womankind is to be simply destroyed as a reality in order that one in a million may have a chance of incest with a brother-in-law. That we now shall see.

What we have to consider is the native tendency of a regime of the permission. Individual cases now appealed to, of persons married within the first degree of affinity, whose life is pure as a sunbeam in a sepulchre, really are out of the present question. The appeal to them is further illustration of the deadening tendency of disregard of God's law and nature's: apparently it makes men unconscious of the fact, that in the judgment of Christendom the self-made and self-maintained condition in the case appealed to is—sepulchre, essential impurity, abominable sin. But more perilous to sound practical reasoning here is men's forgetting that the character of those individuals has been formed under a regime of prohibition, and that now their life is environed in influences of that regime. So it will continue to be in the measure in which, no matter what the statute law may say, there continues among men the habit of feeling about this matter which has hitherto prevailed in Christendom and some parts of heathendom. What we have to consider is the native tendency of absence of that habit of feeling; for this is what the permission, so far as it goes, involves both as cause and as effect. And so I repeat, the native tendency, the inevitable result so far as permissionism really operates, is abolition of affinity.

The Mosaic permission of divorce (Matt. XIX, 9.) had reference to an exceptional condition, of mental and moral crudeness (Heb. V., 12, IX., 10.) in a people that was only beginning to be educated into moral civilisation (Gal. III., 24.). And the native evil tendency of so far suspending the primal constitution of the indissolubleness of marriage, might be counteracted by compensating influences arising out of that same condition: as an infant is saved by "unconsciousness" from what might be contamination in riper years. But now, in the Church's maturity, with a more advanced civilisation involving a more distinct unfolding of the natural affections, the evil tendency, unimpeded, will come into full effect: with aggravation of its virulence through consciousness of antagonism to nature and God's law. Exceptional cases do not count here, where the question is about the rule, the ordinary operation of a principle.

But now let us look directly at the present cases. Abolition of affinity (!) with all the countless blessings which that relation involves—to individuals, families, the whole community—that is, of affinity as a living reality, such as it now is in experience of innumerable households, whose common life it daily enriches, strengthens, and adorns. It is as it were a second and more purely spiritual half of the family tree, or a more ethereal counterpart of the primal family with its appropriate affections. And permissionism goes directly, not only to defile, but to destroy it, yea rather to make its existence impossible. No wonder that some zealots for permission say that affinity is really nothing. They have to say so, if they will reason the matter out whether they reason coherently or not we can see that in fact affinity is nothing wherever, and so far as, permission is a regime, in command of a habit of feeling.

The widower, for instance, under a regime, will not have, available for his wife, the sister-in-law about whom great things are said on his account his orphans'. He can have only the law, or formality of that relationship, the "sister" in it ("good-sisterly says the kindly Scottish tongue), destroyed, or made impossible, by permission which patronised the reality of sister is constituted, no mere legal form of a man's marrying woman who has a sister, or of a man marrying a man who has a brother, but by a "natural affection" corresponding to the nature of this relationship: a specifically fraternal affection, or brother and-sisterly habit of feeling, different from the tenderest closest friendship of a David Jonathan, who are not within the circle of one family. And that brother and-sisterly feeling cannot come into existence, and continue to exist, without a kind of intercourse that is impossible morally and even physically, where permission is the regime: as a tree cannot live and thrive apart from the nourishing and sustaining root, or apart from the sunshine and "the gracious rain."

This we can see in the case of brother and sisters by birth. In communities—e.g., the old Persian or Egyptian—where these may marry, their fraternal relation can hardly be more than a legal form, perhaps along with a vague natural sentiment, here unnaturally trodden under foot. For there can hardly be the kind of intercourse—the literal "familiarity"—the unreserved free tenderness of domestic intimacy, out of which alone the brother-and-sisterly habit of feeling, the properly fraternal affection, can arise, perhaps on that natural sentiment as a foundation soil. The affection, so great a part of the young lives in our families, so precious an investment for future strength of unity in sunshine and in storms, is made impossible or killed in its root, by the known possibility of marriage of brother and sister. Young people simply cannot be together in that intimacy if it be possible for them to become husband and wife. Though the form of the familiarity should be allowed, the inward fact of real maternity could not exist: fraternal, brotherly or sisterly, would be extinguished in the heart the very thought of possible conjugal relation, and still more by any rising natural affection that is connected with such a thought; or, rather, there would be precluded all inward reality of unreservedly free tender intimacy, which to brother-and-sisterly feeling is rain and the sunshine, the nourishing sustaining root. What saves the brother and sister to one another, to their homes, to all human society, is prohibition of marriage, so that the thought of such a thing never enters their mind. In this way the sacredness of matrimony, and the happy fulness of domestic life in purity and honorableness, are guarded against "confusion" that would be fatal as a choke damp: guarded effectually, without sense of pressure, at the ways of the heart and mind, as our life is effectually shielded by the air and by life's guardian sweetness the light.

So as to brothers and sisters-in-law, instead of a common parentage, is a something of physical basis of affection in the oneness of the twain whom the affinity is formed, their brothers and sisters within new family circle. In the new the vitally important thing is the of intercourse—brother-and-sisterly, which is guarded by the prohibition, and by the permission, of marriage, a wife's decease, her sister cannot and occupy as a sister the house of who can be her lover. And the wife must not be wholly ignored, if her only mission had been to "decease"

daring a sister's way to marriage with her husband. The wife, in a measure [unclear: luded] through domestic occupations, is compensated under a regime of prohibition by greatly-enriched fraternity within her own home circle. Her husband's brothers and sisters are hers now, whole hers are his. Her sisters in [unclear: ular] may be resident with him in [unclear: d] in highest honor as "auntie"; and it is comforting, in the foreseen possibility of her own decease, to look forward in the assurance that her orphans may have, resident with him in the same honor as their aunt, one who perhaps has been as a second mother to them ever since they were born.

But, again, all this is destroyed, or made impossible, by the Pandora's box of permission. It keeps brothers and sisters-in-law from being brothers and sisters in reality of fact. There cannot exist between them the unreserve of intercourse which lives only in real fraternal affection as its atmosphere. For there is an invisible barrier between them and the sacred intimacy of brotherly and sisterly feeling. Thus far, though they should be in one house, they at heart are strangers, or, say, intimate friends peculiarly connected by a formality of kin. (It would introduce needless confusion here to dwell upon the point that there is no call for prohibition in the case of cousins; since they in ordinary life are not personally in the close connection out of which brother-and sisterly feelings arise.)

In this way, all the circles of near affinity are reduced into shadowy unrealities. Let us, *e.g.*, look at the case of niece-in-law, with correlative uncle-in-law, which, it would appear, is in some places waiting for the sister's precedence as the small end of the wedge. There may be many men—perhaps childless—to whom resident niece or nieces-in-law, in honor as daughter, might be a blessing as well as a pleasure, putting home in place of homelessness; and there may be not a few nieces-in-law—perhaps otherwise destitute orphans—to whom such a home would be the greatest conceivable earthly boon. Or, the connection may be desirable and much desired on both sides though there should be no such pressure of need of it on either side. But here nature's provision for enriching so many lives is abolished by permission to marry. A niece cannot inhabit as a daughter the home of a man who can be her husband. And an uncle cannot, in the early life of his nieces-in-law, under a regime of the permission place himself toward them in that kind of intercourse, of free, familiar, tender unreserve of intimacy, out of which alone the distinctively uncle-and-niece affection can arise. Similarly aunts and nephews-in-law are abolished, along with brothers and sisters-in-law on both sides. For whom? and for what? That a Herod may have a Herodias? Abolition of affinity would be a perpetual massacre of innocents, everywhere, all through every human life.

Society, while its moral quarantine is removed, loses an important element in moral civilisation. The influence of affinity is in the social system an enriching ornament and a refining strength. Through cousinhood it reaches out far beyond the first degree: as the angel's descending for man's healing into the pool made not only one central circle, but a system of expanding circle beyond circle that extended over its whole area. It counteracts a tendency of the primal family to a self-concentration, which for the community may be isolation of parts into disintegration of the whole. This more ethereal relationship, reaching outward, tends to re-union and reintegration of society, drawing the community together again, binding mankind into one, as with a new golden chain of love. And of course the whole community gains whatever affinity contributes to the inner life of its individual families, as an element of "health, and innocence, and sweet content."

A regime of permission, on the other hand, apart from its directly moral quality, is distinctly a lapse from high, true civilisation through its introducing what Röden-beck might represent as moral vulgarisation of society; if not, like the Esau "profaning" (Heb. xii. 15, 16), poisoning the social atmosphere, causing decadence of the moral bloom and beauty, the inward health and sweetness, of the life of mankind. Churches are taught of God to decry the beginnings of such profanation of a sacred thing; and to meet invasion or intrusion of it, as from the heart of a religion of the Holy One, with an "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo" (Ezek. ix., 4.)

But they need to be intelligent, [unclear: und] standing the subject, knowing the [unclear: fa] For long after the Reformatio [unclear: n] Christian peoples conformed in the marriage law to the immemorially [unclear: unmous] belief of the historical [unclear: Chris] Church. The earliest notable [unclear: depar] from this consensus of universal Christ dom was, at a time of deep [unclear: degene] from Reformation attainment [unclear: spiritua] in Holland about the beginning of [unclear: f] century, when Jews obtained the [unclear: persion] I have spoken of. And [unclear: cou] nearer to ourselves, in Britain, [unclear: al] since the opening of the present [unclear: tury], there has been incessant [unclear: tion] for a statutory change of law, primarily on the part of [unclear: wea] and powerful individuals desiring [unclear: punity] of breaking the law. Th[unclear: e] Chancellor told them in the Chamber Peers that the agitation had buil[unclear: t] foundation of lying about the [unclear: Ea] law. It has labored much in the [unclear: end] to bring men to a new interpretations God's law in Scripture. There ha[unclear: s] great expense of money and labor obtaining, laying before authoritie[unclear: s], scattering broadcast over the [unclear: enc] individual opinions regarding the [unclear: teac] of Scripture from theologians and [unclear: sc] opposed to the generally received [unclear: ctian] view. And such opinions it is difficult to obtain, so numerous perhaps to "deceive the hearts of [unclear: f] simple," who may be unable to [unclear: gu] their innocence by the principl[unclear: e] judgment, "that opinions are not to the numbered,

but weighed," or to [unclear: jus] weigh the nothingness of such [unclear: indiri] opinions, with reference to a plain [unclear: mar] of God's Word, in comparison with the evidential value as well as moral imperativeness of that remarkable unanimity of judgment which appears all through the history of the whole "Church of the Living God, the pillar and ground of the truth" (1 Tim. iii., 15).

vignette

## The Scriptural Foundation.

(2 Tim. iii. 16, 17; cp. iv. 1-4.)

A generation ago Croly said with reference to the present matter, "All national sufferings date from national vice," [unclear: and]. "The era of national prosperity is the era of reverence for family." Our fathers, with reference to the maintenance of [unclear: ceptes], laid great emphasis on the [unclear: ception] of "attainments" (cp. "[unclear: Tartions]," 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6), While [unclear: ady] to give up everything that shoul[unclear: d] disproved ("Old Scottish" Confessio[unclear: n] preface) "from the mouth of God," they held the principle at present in [unclear: stion] as an attainment which had come [unclear: wn] to them from him (Rev. xxii. 1) in the great stream of His whole Church's [unclear: tive] history and practice from her [unclear: mitive] ages. In such a case it become[unclear: s] "against the whole land" if need b[unclear: e], stand as "a defended city, and an iron [unclear: llar], and brazen walls." And to [unclear: aban] such attainment—a noble heritage [unclear: em] a glorious past—were on our part a [unclear: sse] degeneracy if indeed the principle [unclear: us] be "true and divine. But on that [unclear: aint] we are under a law of "prove all [unclear: ings]." And we now therefore go on to [unclear: sider], "What saith the Scripture?" "What is written in the law? How [unclear: dest] thou?"

That for Christians is the vital poin[unclear: t] viii. 8). And "He sent His word and healed them" is vital for all. If He have spoken for men's guidance in this matter, then so far His word is balm in Gilead. He is the physician there; and all [unclear: man] devices and laws not in accordance with that divine prescription are, as I said, but a foolish wickedness of leaning on a broken reed: as it proved when false [unclear: hets] "healed the wound of the daughter of His people slightly, saying Peace, Peace; when there was no peace."

But between men and the Bible there has risen a great cloud of witnesses, collected opinions of individuals regarding the teaching of Scripture contrary to the generally received Christian view of that teaching. And though the cloud should be destined to prove, on close consideration, only a vapor cloud of nothings, that vanishes in the light of real knowledge and solid reason,—yet in the meantime the people may be perishing for lack of knowledge: since a cloud of nothingness may for a time have some effect as of a cloud of dust, in blinding the eyes of "the simple" so as to "deceive their hearts," disabling them from seeing into God's Word for themselves, as hearing the Good Shepherd's voice. And plain people, who cannot make independent researches into subtleties of theology or obscurities of recondite scholarship, may feel as if it were presumption to "search the Scriptures for themselves where thus "many masters," experts, are beforehand with dictation.

Let it, then, be observed for their comfort, that this popery of supposed experts, or dominie-ocracy of collected scraps of individual opinion, is a tyranny which they can easily prevent or cure. For the present matter is one not properly for experts; but for plain people. It is a plain matter, for (cp 1 Cor. x., 16) the judgment of practical sense, as in a jury case addressing itself to the common reason of mankind. And in especial as for evidence—which in the present case is the essential thing—recent expert researches have not added a particle of any real significance to that which entered into the judgment in which the Christian world has hitherto been resting: while experts have variously shown that, if masters elsewhere they can here be "novices," that, as compared with old true masters of the subject, they can be fatally deficient in practical judgment as to this matter, or, comprehension of the true significance of the evidence and nature of the case.

"A volume (entitled "Opinions of the Hebrew and Greek Professors of the European Universities regarding the Legalisation of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister; with an Appendix. Marriage Law Reform Association, 21 Parliament Street, S.W., London. Printed by Samuel Goulburn, 1882") has been appealed to as proving that the Scripture argument against the measure is untenable, and has been given up by most competent authorities. These opinions are worthy of careful consideration, and they indicate a change in the prevalent view of scholars on the subject, which would have been a strong presumption in their favor if it were due to an examination of the grounds of the old view, and to these having been found inadequate. But in most of these "Opinions" and other arguments for change of the law, the question has been discussed on such a narrow issue, that what were the leading considerations with older divines and constitutional lawyers do not come into view at all,' (Free Church of Scotland Assembly, 1885: Report of Committee on the Marriage Affinity Bill. (Signed) JAMES CANDLISH, Convener.)

Thus, with reference to the New Testament evidence, there is, e.g. a parade of opinions of Greek scholars regarding Eph. v., 31, in answer to a question sent over the world: Is marriage with a deceased wife's sister

condemned in this text? But the question is a fallacy if not a sophism. The parade of opinions is a mare's nest hiding a trap for "the simple." The solemn ineptitude of answering is discreditable to professed scholarship. For (1) on our part it is not said nor imagined that Eph. v., 31, is directly a proof-text for our doctrine: *we* see that the direct reference is to quite a different point: and (2) though the reference in that text had visibly been straight to the present question, Greek scholarship would have nothing to do with settling the meaning of the text: its meaning is just as clear—or obscure—in translation as in the Greek.

Similarly with reference to the Old Testament evidence. There the opponents find their stronghold at Lev. xviii, 18, where their strong point is at the final "in her life time. To this Hebrew scholars are brought flocking as adverse witnesses like doves to the windows or eagles to the carcass. But Hebrew does not serve in place of practical sense. Thus Dr M'Caul, a very learned Hebrew, here put himself out of court by manifested extreme lack of judgment, in absurdly, in a treatise, throwing his whole strength into [unclear: pr] that the rendering of Lev. xviii, [unclear: 18] version is the right one—as if th[unclear: t] proof that marriage with a decess[unclear: d] sister is permitted in Scripture; [unclear: wh] in fact that rendering is far th[unclear: e] widely., received, in approved [unclear: vea] ancient and modern, among those hold that the said marriage is *not* committed in Scripture, that is, [unclear: ar] Christians generally. Other [unclear: He] scholars have other ways of shewin[unclear: g] they can speak not "with author[unclear: ity]" "as the Scribes."

"The title given to the [unclear: colle] of opinions as being 'on the [unclear: tural] aspect of the questi[unclear: on],' avowedly they are only as to [unclear: whe] the Levitical law and a single passa[unclear: ge] [v, 13] in the New Testament [unclear: cond] them, plainly proceeds on the [unclear: assump] that if this marriage is not forbidden these places it is not contrary to Scrip at all: and the fact that of the professed Hebrew who have given answers t[unclear: o] Dalhousie's query 29 found these onl[unclear: y] Lev. xviii, 18, taking no account of an[unclear: y] part of the law or of the grounds on which unlawfulness of the marriage in [unclear: que] is held, shews further that they assume; if it is not forbidden in that verse it [unclear: ca] have been forbidden at all. On the [unclear: na] issues which most of these Opinions [unclear: di] we really do not care to dispute. [unclear: Eva] Scripture did not forbid this marriage there are other reasons against it that is held of great weight. Nor was it [unclear: assa] that if the Levitical law did not forbi[unclear: d] the teaching of Scripture as a whole t[unclear: o] Christians showed it to be lawf[unclear: ul]; further, that the Levitical law allowe[unclear: d] simply because one particular precep[unclear: t] not prohibit it." (Free Assembly [unclear: Cor] tea's Report, p. 2.)

And plain [unclear: pe] here may take comfort from the [unclear: folle] considerations: 1. That the litt[unclear: le]-very little—that Hebrew scholarship contribute for expiscation of Lev. [unclear: xvi] can easily be learned from Englis[unclear: h] cations within reach of everyone; [unclear: 2.] it is in nowise a new discovery of [unclear: expe] but has been within reach of all [unclear: Heb] readers for, say, 3000 years; and that independently of it, a plain [unclear: ma] sense can judge for himself as to th[unclear: e] lowing:—

Positions relatively to Lev. xviii. [unclear: 18]-A reasonable explanation of it can [unclear: be] [unclear: fu]rther on) consistently with the view [unclear: at] the marriage in question is condemne[unclear: d] Scripture as incestuous. (2) Though n[unclear: o] explanation had been producible, tha[unclear: t] us would only make a difficulty of [unclear: obrity] on this text, not affecting the clea[unclear: r] of the condemnation at vers. 6-17 along [unclear: th] other evidence. (3) Meanwhile, the [unclear: native] position, of making the verse [unclear: tain] a permission of the said marriage i[unclear: s], rounds of strict logical interpretation, [unclear: nable], even to the extent of practical [unclear: rdity]—*e.g.*, as implying that the verse [unclear: tains] a permission of bigamy with [unclear: aggra] of incest. And, in fine—(4), the verse plains conclusive prohibition of the said marriage.

These positions, abundantly decisive, I [unclear: pose] to make good. But at the [unclear: sent] stage it suffices to look at the[unclear: m], plain man of sense needs only to loo[unclear: k] them in order to see that there is [unclear: thing] in clouds of adverse witness[unclear: s] need hinder him from going with [unclear: broubled] mind to the word of the faithful and true witness," and "lea[unclear: rn]-of Him" who "is meek and lowly in [unclear: art]" (Matt, xi., 27-30). But, to make [unclear: rance] doubly sure, so that not eve[unclear: n] shadow of a cloud may linger on his [unclear: d], we will now look a little into the [unclear: racter] of that production of opinions can be seen here on the threshold, [unclear: ard] Chancellor Campbell showed us the [unclear: loriousness] of the commencement o[unclear: f] practical movement in Britain. A [unclear: ter] master of relative history, the late [unclear: cipal] Cunningham of Edinburgh, wil[unclear: l] us in few words the beginning of the [unclear: logical] movement elsewhere:—

*There was no difference among the remember of the Continent, or of England, o[unclear: r] Scotland. The beginning of any doub[unclear: t] the subject was from some German [unclear: pces] desiring to marry sisters of their [unclear: res]. In order to get a justification of th[unclear: e] they asked some of the professors a[unclear: t] universities to write in defence of [unclear: it] or three of them did so, and this wa[unclear: s] origin of the discussion.*

Here is a curious foreshadowing of the [unclear: lish] ingloriousness of setting out with [unclear: th] lying about the English [unclear: law]:—Two or three professors," with referenc[unclear: e] the law of nature and of God, giving [unclear: selves] over to be special pleaders for the lust (cp. 2 Tim. iv. 4) of "wee, wee [unclear: man] lairdies "; where we perceive a far from gratifying analogy to the process of consulting professors about the matter in our own day. But the discussion may in some cases have risen above that level of its origin,—so strongly contrasted with our doctrine's historical descending from the primitive ages in the heart of all that there may have been of truth and holiness in the Church of Christ. Of late there has been, among really respectable students of Scripture, a sort of "run" against the received Christian view as to the teaching of Scripture about this matter: as not long ago there was among them a run against the authenticity and truth of the New Testament, and now there is among them a run against the Old Testament (Mat. xxi. 44). We, then, will pause for a little in contemplation of that cloud of adverse testimony; in a sample that has been laid before the readers of the (Dunedin) "Christian Outlook," by "J. H. M 'K.," Nelson.

The writer appears to be under pressure of a feeling of need of his bestowing correction and instruction on (Acts iv. 13) "unlearned and ignorant men" (Gr. *idiots*) in Otago and Southland: so that there is for them "a sweet little cherub that sits up aloft, to watch o'er the life of poor Jack." His utterance has some look of a speech that 12 years ago was addressed to the Otago and Southland Presbyterian Synod, by the mover of a resolution for which at the last not one voted. Between this collapse and the speech there had intervened a representation somewhat in the strain of what here follows:—

*EVAPORATION OF A CLOUD OF ADVERSE WITNESSES.—Has J. H. M 'K. for a moment thought of the purpose, that has to be served by such testimonies,—namely, to outweigh the solemnly deliberate judgment of churches and belief of the Christian world as a whole, regarding an essentially plain matter of God's Word? For that purpose, individual opinions ordinarily are of no weight: not even "change for Marshal Turenne"; since in such a case they are not even little marshals—very small change—but only as eccentric privates. He intimates that many more such opinions could be adduced. But though they should be countless as the sand of the sea shore, they might be valueless for that purpose, as a thousand times nothing is nothing. And if the testimonies held in reserve by him be of the quality of those now adduced by him, a thousand of them would for his cause be a thousand times worse than nothing; for they would be a thousand proofs that nothing of real weight as historical testimony is producible on that side—a multitudinously manifested failure. Let us look first at those whom he puts foremost,—three "mighties," representing respectively three Christian epochs,—primitive, Reformation, modern.*

1. "The first three"—Augustine, Luther, Chalmers,—are in reality against the view on whose behalf they are here adduced. In this connection it is an important fact with reference to everyone of them, that the church of his day, in which he was commandingly influential, held the doctrine against which he here is made a witness. Although, therefore, he had been of a contrary opinion, his opinion would fall to be regarded, not as representing the Christian mind of his epoch, but only as a somewhat unaccountable individual eccentricity. But let us look at the men themselves individually

#### AUGUSTINE

"They had evidence that this marriage was forbidden as early as the fourth century, when St. Basil the Great declared that such marriages were forbidden in the Divine law, and had not been heard of in the Christian Church up till that time" (Prof. Dr Candlish, in Scottish Free Church Assembly, 1885.) N.B., that Augustine flourished in the generation immediately after Basil.

in effect opposes the view for which he here is made a witness. This he does here in the witness-box, in the very words of the testimony produced from him, on Lev. xviii., 18. The view he there gives of this text is, that what is prohibited is, not bigamy—since (he reasons) bigamy was tolerated under the Old Testament—but, bigamy in which the wives are sisters as (he adds) in Jacob's case. That view of Lev. xviii., 18 is conventional among those who believe that the marriage in question is forbidden in Scripture; and Augustine's holding that view only goes to show, that relatively to the marriage he believed with the whole church of his time. In the judgment of charity J. H. M 'K. does not in the least understand the fragment of "the doctor of grace" he here produces; as (one would think) he must have understood it if he had any real comprehension of the subject. So, intending murder, he begins with suicide.

LUTHER was, along with Melancthon, implicated in a scandal about permitting bigamy in one case, which had nothing to do with our present matter. But with reference to this matter he did, early in his career (A.D. 1522) express the opinion for which he now is made a witness by those of J. H. M 'K.'s mind. They omit to mention the fact, often insisted on for their learning that Luther subsequently abandoned that early opinion, and settled into the doctrine of his own German church and of the Christian world in general! Proof of the fact was published more than three centuries ago by Gerhard

In his great work, "Loci Theologici," vol vii p 374. My copy was published at Geneva (!) two years after his death A.D. 1637.

"the most learned of the heroes of Lutheran orthodoxy, and the best loved on account of personal goodness" (Herzog, Encycl.). In the judgment of charity J. H. M 'K. is ignorant of this fact, so notorious, about his witness. But if he be, has he a moral right to address the public as one who knows what he says and whereof he affirms—yea, who is "a Daniel come to judgment" on "ignorant men."

CHALMERS—*vidi tantum*—from the use made of his name, might be supposed to have all his life time been a foremost champion propagandist of permissionism, as in "the Ten Years' Conflict" he led the Evangelicals in defence of the Church's freedom into her disruption from the State. The whole and sole fact is, a passing note of his in a diary,

Posthumously published under the title "Daily Scripture Readings."

which he may have had no thought of ever publishing. In that diary the note is virtually contradicted in an almost immediately following note, on Lev xx. 19, where he approves the principle set forth in our Confession, xxiv., 4, of equivalence of affinity to consanguinity in this relation. And the very hinge of the note itself is a silliness, of inference from the final "in her life time" (see further on) which presumably would here be impossible on the part of a Chalmers with his vast practical sense—if (in private devotional Bible" reading) he had looked a little below the surface of what he here glances at in passing. But in the present connection the main fact regarding him is, that through all his public life he was a professed and pledged adherent of the doctrine against which he is here is made a witness.

Cp. Dr A. Cameron's pamphlet on the marriage affinity question on occasion of the discussion of it in the Victoria Presbyterian Assembly, 1873. In that discussion another distinguished pupil and fervid admirer of Chalmers said that hitherto, on the strength of the great man's *obiter dictum* on Lev. xviii, 18, he had been prejudiced against the Confessional doctrine, but that now, having been placed under necessity of really studying the matter as a judge, he felt constrained by Scripture evidence to maintain it as a doctrine of God's word. Neither of these two witnesses gave any real information about the interesting point, as to an apparent self-contradiction in Chalmers' personal relation to the matter in that private note on Lev. xviii., 18, as compared with, on the other hand, his note on Lev. II, 19 and his whole public career. Nor have I, though exceptionally well placed in respect of access to sources of information, ever seen or heard of any real explanation of the seeming inconsistency. (No one can imagine that in Chalmers' case it could be more than seeming.) The following is suggested only as a side-light of illustration on lev. xviii., 18.

Some hold that, consistently with the view that the marriage in question is condemned in Scripture for mankind generally, Lev. xviii., 18, may be a permission of it to Old Testament Jews, like (Mat. xix., 9) the Mosaic permission of divorce. They point to the fact that ver. 18, on the outer border of the code (vers. 6-17) at its close, is in a transition to things distinctively Jewish which follow; and to the circumstance that this verse itself has the expression for honorable union, "take a wife," which nowhere occurs in the preceding code. The suggestion thus is, that vers. 6-17 record the natural law of incest, and that what ver. 18 records may be a local and temporary so-far suspension of that law—cp. the seventh day of the fourth commandment. That Chalmers reasoned thus, I am not warranted in affirming. But he might thus reason: which shows that, even on the strictest rule of law logic, his note on Lev. xviii., 18 is really irrelevant in the historical question here.

J.H. M'K.'s implication is that Chalmers is a first-class witness against our doctrine.

The historical fact is that he was a life-long [*unclear*: fessor] of our doctrine. In course of that life, he several times, with solemnity as of a vow to God and man, publicly declared his allegiance to "the whole doctrine" of the Westminster Confession, while he never manifested dissatisfaction with this one of its doctrines, and was far from the baseness that can live on the wages of a Confession while in reality at heart opposed to its teaching. The reasonable presumption from what otherwise is known of his relation to the matter is, that he never carefully studied it; in which case Lev. xviii, 18 might be a crux to him, as it has been to many who nevertheless hold the doctrine of our Confession as really Scriptural.

The misrepresentation of Augustine is "desperately" audacious. It is to be hoped that the original perpetrator of it did not know what he was doing, though he was able somehow to find the passage, and translate it. Otherwise, he must have calculated on ignorant stupidity of readers, to lead them through mare's nest into trap. We do not need to suppose that this colonial reproduction of the shoddy is under influence of such calculation relatively to our antipodean intelligence. J. H. M 'K. may have been entrapped himself. The misrepresentation of Luther, persisted in after exposure so long published, is (to use Lord Chancellor Campbell's expression) "very disgraceful." The use made of Chalmers' name is a good sample case of a story of "Three black crows"—while the delusion has an effect of imposture. Such things in the long run bring their own punishment, of exposure, and damage to the cause which employs them (Prov. xxvi., 27).

2. His remaining witnesses are manifestly of no real weight for the present purpose. None of them has any such greatness as to make his opinion an authority in this relation, of a feather's weight against the judgment of historical Churches and the Christian world. It is true that J. H. M 'K.'s collection is not nearly so good as it might be. He seems to be dependent on some old miscellany of scraps, now in large measure out of date. Some

of the names never were of any significance in such a question as the present; though, being on some other account "in the air," they may have served a partisan purpose as "tubs to amuse the whales," a generation ago among "the (very) simple." But let us look at the testimonies now relied on for the instruction of our "great future nation" of New Zealand.

DR. CUMMING ("apocalyptic") was at one time a good deal heard of as a popular interpreter of unfulfilled prophecy; but who ever heard or thought of him as an authority in a question regarding God's law in Scripture? And in all respects he now is long antiquated as an exploded balloon. The excellent MR JOHN BRIGHT, great in politics, thus at one time had "a name to conjure with" among those who did not perceive, that as an authority in interpretation of Old Testament Scripture he of course was nothing. He once declined high political office on the Scriptural plea, "I dwell among mine own people." Is it not a posthumous cruelty, like putting a fool's cap on a memorial statue, here to place him as a pope, dogmatising on Lev. xviii. 18 against Christendom—not, *contra mundum*, like Athanasius the Great. Even our own G.O.M., campaigning through Midlothian with his head among the stars, was made to feel that man has limitations when he interpreted "the land o' the leal"—making it mean Scotland, whereas it really means the heavenly country (of "*the just* made perfect"). Mr Gladstone is weighty when he throws his great powers into writing a famous "Essay on the Divorce Bill;" for there he handles the matter on grounds of moral and political reason, where he is a passed master. But to bring in Mr Bright as a great authority in Old Testament interpretation is really farcical, as if a member of the Vatican Council had appealed against it to Mazzini or Kossuth. MAX MULLER! (Saul among the prophets) is no doubt a great master in his way: but surely not in this way, of dogmatising about Leviticus xviii. 18. The bizarrerie of so placing him seems a companion at the opposite extreme to that of so placing Mr Bright. Learned Dr M'CAUL we saw putting himself out of court by manifest want of sense here. So does good DR ROBERT MOFFAT, in dogmatising about Lev. xviii. 18, that the only conceivable opinion is, the one he now holds—and the Christian world has always rejected. We thus have no argumentative need of the invidiousness of pressing against this missionary hero the point that here might be made on the ground, that he had long resided in a notoriously bad school of Old Testament criticism, namely heathen Africa, of mournful memory through a Christian bishop's perversion by a naturalistic Zulu. DR EADIE, in his day a professional Greek New Testament scholar, here only echoes—long ago—what had previously been said, and answered, a hundred times. These, along with "the first three," are J. H. M 'K.'s only witnesses!

*"These be thy gods, O Israel?" For his present purpose they really are valueless,—not worth a wooden calf, to say nothing of a golden one. But for our doctrine they serve a good purpose, of illustrating evaporation of a cloud of adverse witnesses.*

"To the law and to the testimony"—at last! Let us hope that, after wilderness wanderings, we here may find a Canaan. (The wilderness is a way into the land of promised rest.)

NEW TESTAMENT.—At the opening (Mark vi, 17-28), a prophet, at the cost of his life, rebukes a king, who is ostentatious in professed allegiance to the Old Testament "law," for incest in having his brother's wife. It is only on the ground of that law (Mat. xi, 13) that the Baptist would utter such a rebuke: so that here a prophet bids us look to the Old Testament for God's law of incest and that with reference to the same degree of nearness of kin as a wife's sister. "To have a wife" is New Testament language for marriage. The brother was at this time divorced from Herodias. Herod's connection with her thus was no adultery, but distinctly incest—connective with near of kin. And it is to be noted that the only two cases of incest in the New Testament are cases of affinity, not of consanguinity. For now we observe, further, as to the second of them,—

When (1 Cor. v., 1) the new dispensation was fairly under weigh, the apache of the Gentiles, with extraordinary severity, rebuked a first class Christian Church for tolerating in her communication one guilty of incest in having his father's wife. If (2 Cor. vii., 12) that father was alive, there may in this case have been aggravation of adultery; and in any case the crime involved "fornication," as "the greater includes the less." But it is not ordinary fornication nor adultery that was "not so much as named among the Gentiles"—far from it. On the other hand, among the Gentiles in Paul's view—those of the Græco-Roman world—connection of near of kin was regarded with deep horror; as Paul's Corinthians may have seen in dramatic representations of the Greek heroic age: where great calamities visit peoples, strike down kings, and follow princely houses through generations, on account of this unnaturalness. Further,

This Apostolic rebuke has in it an implication of *a fortiori*—"much more"—the thing is criminal for Christians, who have light of revelation (cp. Rom. ii., 1, etc.), than for heathens, who have only nature's light: From which it follows that the natural law of marriage is declared in the Old Testament; since only in the Old Testament the Christian light here presupposed can have existed A.D. 59 (2 Tim. iii., 15-17.) And scholarship here notes that Paul, at some cost of solecism in Greek, imports the very expression "father's wife" from the Old Testament law of incest, Lev. xviii., 8. Finally:—

Christ, too, with reference to the law of marriage, refers back to the Old Testament. His withdrawal (Mat. xix. 3, etc.) of the Mosaic permission of divorce was the opposite of abrogating the Old Testament declaration

of nature's law. The permission was (ver. 9), for an evanescent purpose, a veil on the face of nature's law. And now the incarnate Lawgiver, removing the veil, brought back into clear view that primal constitution of the family as it is by creation of God: into whose mouth are put the words of the first Adam, according to a Scriptural manner in quoting words of man inspired of God. The Saviour's immediate purpose was, to show the native indissolubleness of marriage,

I have elsewhere ("The Sabbath Question) spoken of "provincial" laws of nature Extinguished from "imperial" (cp. Mat. il 30). In the case of the former the Law-[unclear: ver](P eut. xxv., 5) possesses a dispensing power: which is in the discretion of His moral sovereignty, and, in infinite wisdom, is exercised with a merciful consideration of [unclear: man] conditions. And though there should is no suspension of the law, there may (Mat. xii 7 in cases—*e.g.*, of necessity and mercy be departure from the letter of the law in obedience to the spirit of it.

as involved in the essential capture of the marriage bond, represented by the Creator's word through the first of married men, "one flesh." The permanent exception to the rule of indisrableness lies outside of our present question. The indissolubleness itself is indirectly connected with that question as bringing into view a [unclear: red] separateness of family from every other kind of unity: such that (cp. Heb. xii 15, 16) to make any other union "sparing up" within it is a "defiling" "profanation." It also is connected with [unclear: r] subject directly, because it is through the unique oneness of husband and wife that, within the sacred circle of their family his relatives are in a real sense [unclear: bers], and hers his. Affinity thus is real in man's constitution, so that nature says of it, "What God hath joined together let not man take asunder." Family is the true "integer"—and integrating root—of human kind.

In the North American Review for December, 1890, Mr Gladstone stated that "the future of America, in its highest features, virtually depends on the incidents of marriage," that "the solidity and health of the social body depends upon the soundness of the unit," and that "that unit is the family."

It is of vast importance for mankind that the true essential nature of the constitution—unique in the universe—should be known, for prevention of all violation of its native sacredness. And one of the great services of Bible religion to humanity—to social philosophy and morality—is its having brought the true native character of that union distinctly into view, enshrined in the solemnities of this religion, and shining at the very heart of its whole revelation, not only of law, but of saving grace and truth.

The union has a physical basis; but it is not a merely physical union, like that of animals. It is essentially, in accordance with the distinctively rational nature of man's constitution, moral or spiritual—union of souls. And to show this is (Eph. v. 22-33) a very important practical effect of the "great mystery" of this religion, in making marriage an emblem of the redeemed soul's union with God, the union of Jehovah with His covenant people, of Christ with the Church (see Is. Iv. 4, Rev. xxi. 2, 9; cp. Canticles). This does not make marriage a sacrament, as Romanism would make it. Sacraments belong only to the new creation of grace, while family (see "in all," Heb. xiii. 4) belongs to the old creation of nature: so that the marriage of heathens can be lawful and honorable; although, seeing that the union is essentially of souls, "Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers" is, as the Confession reminds us,

It seems incredible that this season a professed adherent of the Confession, educated for the ministry of its doctrine, should here have found an argument for the Church's abandoning her Confessional doctrine of marriage!

an obvious dictate of Christian expediency. But—*e.g.*, in the sacrament of initiation under both Testaments—the family appears in this religion as having a great spiritual office (cp. Gen. xvii. 8, Acts iii. 39): such that, *e.g.*, (1 Cor. vii. 14) through family children are brought into the life of new creation,—as Christ said, "of such is the kingdom of heaven."

In adults that new true life must have difficulty in subsisting where the primal constitution of our social nature is "profaned" in the sanctuary of its being, defiled in the fountain. Christians are under special obligation of their professed religion, not only to themselves conserve the family constitution, "pure and entire," so honoring God the Creator in Christ the Redeemer; but also to bear witness regarding it, as rooted in the true law of nature, for the information of all mankind, whom it vitally concerns to be right in relation to it. And the Christian obligation to faithfulness in that witness-bearing, as affecting the church's purity and the nation's whole well-being in well-doing, is greatly deepened by the fact as to this matter, that it "concerns the king": the Bible, the Bible religion, is dishonored by departure—especially if it be by a church—from that law, of marriage and of incest, to which we are directed in the New Testament (Eph. ii. 20) by prophet and apostle, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.

OLD TESTAMENT.—It is a common mistake to imagine that our opposition to the marriage now in question is founded only on Lev. xviii., 6-18. It has foundations deep and wide in the whole revealed constitution of the family and of man as a social being; and also,

"Professors Watkins, of Durham, and Wellhausen, of Greifswald, while holding that the Levitical law did

not prohibit the marriage in question, yet believe on other grounds that it ought not to be legalised" (Free Assembly Committee's report, p. 6.) These were among the Professors called as witnesses against the received view.

in constitutions and customs of heathen mankind who, not having the law, are in this matter a law unto themselves. But experience of heathen mankind shews—in the case of this law as of the moral law—that we have great need of a light above nature on what in a sense is in our nature. And the New Testament bids us look to the Old for the supernatural revelation we thus need. Consequently, we very willingly meet our opponents at the bar of that old Scripture to which they propose to restrict us: "Thou hast appealed unto Caesar—unto Caesar shalt thou go."

At this point there might be raised the whole question of the bearing of Old Testament revelation on the matter of affinity as bar to marriage. For instance, the Mosaic permission of divorce may be alleged as proof that marriage is one of the things relatively to which the Lord of nature might, for reasons approving themselves to His wisdom, more or less suspend the law of nature, even through a whole epoch of social history; and that consequently (1) toleration of marriage with a sister-in-law (Jacob's case) in the patriarchal age does not exclude prohibition of it in "the law" as "given by Moses," and (2) a supposed permission of it at Lev. xviii., 18 would not exclude the supposition of its being prohibited by the law of nature at vers. 6-17, but might only imply that here, too, as in the permission of divorce, there was a so far suspension of the law of nature in the case of Old Testament Jews. But here and now to dwell on such wide issues as thus come into view might be to distract attention from the main direct line of Scripture proof regarding the law at present in question.

It may help to deepen interest in that proof, while illustrating the divine wisdom of the Old Testament constitution in laying a marriage law at the foundation of the nation's life, if, in addition to Mr. Gladstone's weighty words already quoted, I now quote a few words regarding the vast importance of the family constitution from two other distinguished authorities, an American divine and an Australian judge, both with reference to facilities for divorce in some American States, occasioning a new movement of thought regarding family ever the civilised world:—

*"Whatever," says Sir Alfred Stepher, "may be said regarding divorce extensive it appears to be universally conceded that in the great Commonwealth of America, or several of its States and Territories, there is a latitudinarianism in the laws on that subject, and a laxity in their administration, fatal eventually to the institution of marriage; whether we regard its holy character, or the mutual obligations, religious and moral, which it imposes. It is not denied that on the observance of these depend the laws which bind families [unclear: ther,] and sustain, the social fabric" Cont. Rev., June, 1891).*

"The Christian sentiment," says the Rev. Dr Dike, "of the United States indicted [unclear: very] for its disregard of the family, and [unclear: ounced] Mormon polygamy with great real. But it has been slow to discover the insidious character of the licentiousness that [unclear: rupts] life in city and country, or to perceive the risks of loose marriage and divorce systems, or to look seriously at the widely [unclear: valent] vice that is repeating in some of [unclear: ar] older States the story of the decrease of the French family" (Cont. Rev., November 1893.)

That constitution, which is the nation's heart of life, is now assailed in its first line of defence—the prohibition in our question.

We restrict ourselves to Leviticus xviii., 6-18, where it is in the old Scripture that the great act of divine legislation as to the matter is recorded. And we begin with observing a fact on the face of that record, namely, that the whole commonality has a vital interest in the matter. While it is only individuals that can perpetrate the action here prohibited, yet here the law is addressed to a nation, with accompanying references to other nations, in such wise as to show that the nation is entitled to guard its own life against the crimes here condemned, and, with its own life, has to answer for them, even to nature, as well as to nature's God. And first in the preamble (vers. 3-5) God says to a nation—

*After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I king you, shall ye not do; neither shall ye I walk in their ordinances. Ye shall do my judgments and keep mine ordinances: I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them (cp. the "promise" of long life and prosperity in the family commandment—the fifth)*

Whereupon there follows (vers. 6-18) a code of laws regarding incest, that is, intercourse within prohibited degrees of nearness, described as "uncovering nakedness." After which, with reference to such things, of which some other samples (vers. 19-23) are specified, the Lawgiver, still to that nation, utters warnings and threatenings (vers. 24-28) essentially more terrible than were the Decalogic thunderings and lightnings:—

*Defile not yourselves with these things: for with all these things the nations are defiled which I cast out before you; and the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth forth her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these*

*abominations: neither any of your own nation, nor any stranger that sojourneth among you. . . . That the land spue not you out also, as it spued out the nations that were before you.*

Let us now consider the bearing of verses 6-18 on our present question. Regarding this, I submit three propositions:

i. Like the Decalogue, this is on the face of it, with a tinge of Hebrew or Old Testament coloring, a natural law. It presents no aspect of being merely ceremonial or only for Old Testament Jews, but every appearance of being for men as men—for mankind generally. Thus:—1. As to theme or sphere of the legislation, verse 6—cp. "Love God and thy neighbor." "Nearness of kin" is not peculiar to Jews in Palestine, but (cp. verse 26) is a condition common to all peoples everywhere. And as to the "these things" at verse 24 we observe (1) that, with one doubtful exception

Doubtful, because the horrible crime there specified may have been associated with certain impurities accompanying high excitement of heathen religion (cp. Mic. vi. 7).

(verse 31), the things referred to are in every case offences against nature in the intercourse of sexes; (2) that (verses 7-18) in almost all the cases the abominable unnaturalness is in respect of nearness of kin; and (3), that with reference to these there is no word of "marriage" or not "marriage,"—but only of that "nearness," which is no specialty of any people, as marriage laws may be.

So,—2. As to the specifications in the detailed precepts—cp. the Ten Words. These bear only on the common condition of mankind on earth. If—cp. Ex. ii. 17—the manner of the appearance of woman here,

"In regard to marriage, there are two general principles that seem to be maintained very emphatically in the New Testament: the one is, the inviolability of the marriage union; and the other the equality of the sexes in the eye of Christian precept:" (Free Assembly Committee's Report, p. 5).

as if only for illustration of what properly concerns the man, be a tinge of Old Testament coloring, it has extended to far beyond the Israel and Canaan of that olden time. As for the substance of the matter, there is nothing distinctively Jewish in whatever of characterisation is implied in the description "uncovering nakedness."

Natively and literally, the reference may be to only what in human intercourse has place among all peoples. But in Scripture use the expression is nowhere found describing the intercourse where it is contemplated as lawful or simply natural. It occurs very rarely in Scripture excepting here. Here it is the only expression for the thing in question, and it is found all through the code, alike (ver. 6) in the general intimation of the subject and (vers. 7-18) in every one of the detailed specifications. It is illustrated by what may be called the marginal expressions, "defile," "abomination," "confusion" which is revolting pollution (Lev. xx. 12; cp. xviii. 23). And in Scriptural use and wont it invariably—even in metaphor—has an implication of vile unnaturalness that is (in the words of Hebrew Professor Douglas) "disgusting and disgraceful," "degrading and corrupting," in the thing it speaks of. The marginal illustration is as it were crowned with terror by what (cp. Rom. viii. 20-22) is said of the very land on whose face men are thus vile—that it is polluted by them, and as if accursed for their sake, while casting them out as unbearably loathsome to even dead nature. The expression has an unpleasant baldness in its literalism that is absent from the ordinary Bible expression for human intercourse. And presumably it is chosen and set apart on account of that unpleasantness, for meet representation of a revolting moral character in the thing it represents in Scripture.

ii. The manner of declaring the law here is, through cases disclosing principles or rules. The Decalogue is a complete circle, defined by a boundary line of (ten) dots around one centre (love). Here, we have segments of several circles; every segment shewing the direction of a bounding line or, enabling us to find a radius and [*unclear: cent*] and so to complete a round. A radius and centre which enable us to complete a round in the given direction of a bounding line are thereby shewn to be, for that area, the alone true radius and centre. And here, the cases of incest that are specified enable us, through working out various circles, to form a complete law of incest, meeting all the cases that can arise,—on the supposition that the specified cases embody principles, or rules, to be applied to the unspecified cases, so as to place these on the table of prohibited degrees. And the supposition itself is established by the fact, of its alone enabling us to accomplish that completeness. It is established by this fact, because to give a law for incest is (ver. 6) the avowed purpose of the code, while a law that does not enable us to know what are the crimes in its domain fails to accomplish the purpose of a criminal law.

The process of in that way working out a table of prohibited degrees may, in Beza or Gerhard, seem confusingly intricate; as may Newton's mathematical process in astronomy. But the result is clear; and the clear completeness of the result is proof of the supposition that leads to it on a way of solid reasoning:—Here we have the alone true radius and centre, witness the completed round. Theory is Greek for "vision." Newton's gravitation supposition (Gr. "hypothesis") was shown to be the alone true theory of the mechanical universe by accounting far its facts, explaining them as a system, enabling us to see them (with reason's "inward eye") as a connected whole; while old astronomical hypotheses-of Epicycles and Vortices—were refuted by failing to

account for the facts: shewn to be false explanations by not explaining So here: while the supposition—that the law is declared through cases indicating rules or principles—is shewn to be true by leading to a real view of the passage every other supposition is shewn to be false by giving no real view of the passage: thus proving itself to be (cp Rev. iii, 7) a thief's key that will not fit the lock, or (Jn. x, 1) a robber's crow bar that breaks the door.

"Among the Professors' opinions [unclear: coltd] by the Marriage Law Reform [unclear: Assolation] there is one especially which shew[unclear: s] far the principle of regarding every marriage as legitimate that is not expressly [unclear: dden] in Leviticus would carry us. D[unclear: r] de Yong, Professor of Hebrew in Utrech[unclear: t], 'Not prohibited marriages are,—with [unclear: her's] brother's wife, of an uncle with a [unclear: ce] of nephew and niece [here, says the [unclear: ort], is something unintelligible—through [unclear: print] or mistranslation?', with a wife's [unclear: ter] after the death of the wife.' Even thi[unclear: s] not perfectly consistent; for if Professor de [unclear: ag] will not even extend the prohibitio[unclear: n] a father's brother's wife to a mother's mother's wife, what does he make of the absence of all prohibition of marriage [unclear: th] a daughter, which does not occur i[unclear: n] list of either prohibited or not [unclear: prohited?"] (Free Assembly Report p. 4.—[unclear: fessor] de Yong's principle is [unclear: a] crowbar [unclear: th] breaks the door.)

Again (p. 3 of same Report),—'Professor [unclear: rell] of St. Andrews, whose statement i[unclear: s] only one that fairly deals with this [unclear: ist], holds the principle that marriage is [unclear: rred] by [the woman—the Report throws 'having been married to any one of which (*sic*) the above closeness of relation be averred.' Opinions, etc., p. 74. But the principle is clearly inadequate to [unclear: re] all the specified cases; for in ver. 17 Marriage with a wife's daughter or grand-[unclear: hter] is forbidden" (Professor Birrell's [unclear: ciple] is a key that fits not the lock).

For instance, the unspecified cases of a [unclear: an's] daughter, and of his grandmother, [unclear: re] met (only) by supposing that specified [unclear: ses] disclose a rule, namely, that [unclear: marri] unlawful between all who are ([unclear: reted] perpendicularly, so to speak) [unclear: desded] from the same father or mother. [unclear: ain], (collaterally) unspecified cases with reference to men are met by specified cases of women in the same degree of nearnes[unclear: s], the principle that what is prohibitor[unclear: y] the one side is prohibitory on the othe[unclear: r] parity of reason. Yet again, an specified case of relationship through marriage may be met through specified [unclear: ess] of that relationship (vers. 15-17) o[unclear: n] rule or principle that, as bar to marriage on account of nearness of kin, [unclear: faity] is equivalent to consanguinity. [unclear: d] the supposition, which in this way explains the passage, giving a real view of it, consequently has the passage for its proof; as the facts of the mechanical system prove the gravitation theory which accounts for them. The supposition, on the other hand, that the unspecified cases are not to be thus met—through principles appearing in specified cases—is refuted by the fact, that this would make it impossible to form a complete law of incest out of Lev. xviii. 6-18: since it thus would imply that the the divine legislation fails in its purpose, to be a directory for human life in man's fundamentally vital social relation.

In particular as to the case of a deceased wife's sister. A particular case may be established on the ground of more than one principle disclosed in the code (as a dot may be on the bounding line of several circles), and here in connection with the distinct evidence of cases at verses 15 to 18 the principle of the equivalence of affinity to consanguinity is proved by its alone accounting for the following facts in the code as a whole,—1. Here are cases of affinity, as many as of consanguinity; 2. The two classes are not grouped separately, like sheep and goats, as if essentially differing in the present relation, but are brought forward indiscriminately, like men and women on their way to church; and, 3. The physical description and moral characterisation of the action are the same for the affinity cases as for the consanguinity case.—Either the affinity here counts for something real, or it does not. It can count for nothing real here except on the supposition, that here it is made equivalent to consanguinity. The contrary supposition, making explanation of the code impossible, is a key that fits not the lock or a crowbar that breaks the door. It leads to what is shewn to be a false view by being no view. It makes the whole passage unintelligible: throwing into meaning-lessness of chaotic inconsequence, as of a mere incoherent heap of details without life or being as a whole, a most memorably great historical act of—like the giving of the moral law—professedly divine legislation, which in practical effect, as directing human life in its root mundane relation, has been, and is, fundamental in creating and sustaining the distinctive social life, not only of God's new kingdom ever since the exodus, but, all through the Christian centuries, of the new and only true moral civilisation of mankind.

iii. The supposed stronghold at Lev. xviii. 18, and strong point at the final "in her life time," so far from proving permission of the marriage in question, really proves prohibition of it. The contribution (which was above referred to) of Hebrew scholarship towards the elucidation of this text is the suggestion of (marg.) "a woman (or wife) to another," as alternative rendering, instead of the generally received rendering in our version, "a wife to her sister" (quixotically battled for by Dr M'Caul). The suggested rendering is in accordance with a Hebrew idiom. But here it somewhat strains Hebrew grammar, while there is in the text no justifying

necessity, of "exigency of the place," for any strain on language. The generally received rendering, which is in full accordance with both idiom and grammar, gives an exegetically "good meaning," that is, a meaning in accordance with the scope of the whole passage. My argument here will proceed on this unstrained obvious construction of the language.

(1) That the verse does not permit the marriage in question, appears as follows:—1. The inference at the final "in her lifetime,"—of permission after her decease from prohibition before it,—is, though thoughtlessly accepted by able men, really silly: as if (to use a common illustration) "in the days of thy youth," with reference to remembering one's Creator, were made to imply permission to forget Him afterwards! 2. On the view that ver. 18 permits the marriage in question, it will follow that the verse at the same time permits bigamy if the wives be not sisters,—while on our view of vers 6-17 the marriage of a deceased's wife's sister will be incest. 3. The opposition view places ver. 18 in opposition to the whole preceding legislation, vers. 6-17, particularly vers. 15-17, in its principle of the equivalence of affinity to consanguinity. And 4. All this violence, so far from being called for by anything within ver. 18 itself, really is repelled by that verse, in its body, soul, and spirit. We thus are led on to further observe,

(2) That the verse forbids the marriage—There are several explanations of i[unclear: t] his view. Any plausible or passable explanation will suffice to meet the point of question here. Yea, as we observed, though there should be no producible explanation, that for us would only make a difficulty, such as often occurs, incumbering belief of an otherwise sufficiency evidenced truth. I restrict myself to the explanation which appears to me [unclear: bes] namely, that propounded by Augustan and many others—making the [unclear: prohibi] here to be, not of bigamy simply, but of bigamy in which the wives are sisters so that the reason of prohibition in this case is the incest in it. 1. This gives an exegetically "good meaning," [unclear: nam] "If you will have two wives, see that they be not sisters. That would be [unclear: inc] under this law." 2. It is in keeping with relative Old Testament history, where, in fact, though simple bigamy be not permitted or sanctioned, it does not appear as forbidden. 3. It places vers[unclear: e] on the line of verses 6-17, prolonge[unclear: d] a completion of the code. This completion, in express declaration of what is implied at verses 15-17, may (though thus far involving repetition), have been deemed necessary or desirable for the purpose of preventing the Jews from imagining that for them the example of "their father Jacob" (Jn. iv, 12) was a precedent, exempting them, in the case of two sisters, from the principle of the equivalence of affinity to consanguinity-4. And especially (in proof of a "good meaning" exegetically), it saves the dignity, sustains the majestic seriousness, of the culminating utterance of a momentous code, by giving to the final "in her life time," instead of the trivialty of meaning that results from the aforesaid silliness of inference

It is not logically inconceivable tha[unclear: t] above suggested) there should in this case be exemption for Old Testament Jew\* as there must have been exemption in a stronger caste for the original household of our first parents. My contention is, of various grounds, that here, in point of fact there is not exemption, but the opposite

a soul of meaning full [unclear: faru] with an all but tragic depth of [unclear: tendern] "pity, and terror."

The life long "vexation" (cp 1, Sam xv, 35) it males to be, not the comparative [unclear: ness] of "worry,"—discomfort and [unclear: tion] incidental to bigamy even wher[unclear: e], not prohibited, it was not disgraceful those implicated in it—; but, the far [unclear: nder] pain—with woful shame (see xix 4 ch, I Sam iv, 21, 2 Sam xiii, [unclear: 12], xix, 23, xx, 6)—to "a mother i[unclear: n] or a Hebrew wife, arising out o[unclear: f] here, "to uncover her nakedne[unclear: ss]" first wife's): a connection vile in [unclear: unalness], forced upon her, inextricably [unclear: hout] life, to dishonor her marriage pollute her household and defile he[unclear: r] in and through the two who by nature [unclear: er] nearest, turning that very nearnes[unclear: s] perpetuity of abominable "profanati[unclear: on]" (iii, 15,16) of the innermost shrine o[unclear: f] natural relationship to each other [unclear: and]

correspondingly,—5, while at the op[unclear: en]-of the sentence, where it is a "wife" second) that is spoken of, the [unclear: expres]-employed ("take a wife") is ordinary [unclear: aism] for entering into marriage,—as (is her (injured?) sister (the firs[unclear: t] (comes on the field of vision, and our [unclear: d] eye is turned full on her, then, [unclear: th] expressly pointed reference to her [unclear: ings] (of outraged "honor"—Heb xii, in person and right?) there is resume[unclear: d] the code (vers. 6-17) the branding [unclear: ssion] "uncover nakedness" significant of "defilement," "abomination," polluting "confusion."

What thus becomes disclosed is, at the base of the family constitution, a strong guard on woman, in her most sacred feelings and rights, where (especially in a crude inchoate condition of moral civilisation) she is by nature most peculiarly helpless in exposure to most cruel irremediable wrong. It has been suggested similarly, that the Mosaic permission of divorce may have been intended for a guard on woman's helplessness: opening a way of escape from what, in the "hardness" of that old time (Mat. xiv., 9), and her comparative lowness of condition, might be a position of dreadful suffering and even peril. In this way there slimes out at ver. 18, on the face of Israel's Lawgiver (Ps. ciii., 13-14) a divinely humane considerateness, like that appearing in His

guard on helplessness,—of widow and orphan, slave and stranger—at the base of the national constitution, Ex. xxi—xxiii.—"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, O ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." (Ps. ii., 10-13.)

vignette

Printed at the Oamaru Mail Office, Tyne Street, Oamaru.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE APOLOGETIC SERIES.—Three independent works—they combine in representation of the view that *proof of Christianity is constituted by the whole historical appearance of this religion among mankind*. The central substance of the representation is in "*The Apology of the Christian Religion historically regarded*" with reference to supernatural Revelation and Redemption. This in effect is a commentary on the external evidence:—(1) *Indirect external* evidence, furnished by the success of this religion, to the effect of a new moral creation of mankind, as appearing in the second century; and (2) *Direct external* evidence, constituted by miracle in works and words of Christ and His Apostles, and of Moses and the Prophets. The following two companion works are in completion of the representation, respectively by way of logical foundation and of corroborative illustration to that central substance in "*The Apology*."

I. *Logical Foundation*.—"The Revelation and the Record," now published, is occupied (under the head of revelation, with *supernaturalism*, as involved in the system of things (e.g.) free-will and the fact of religion), as implied in the internal evidence of Christianity and the Bible, and as operative in the inspiration of Scripture; (2) under the head of Record, with proof of *the New Testament canon*—the New Testament Scriptures generally, the Gospels is especial, *Mark* in particular.

II. *Corroborative Illustration*, from the manner in which this matter (of proof of Bible religion), addressing itself to all men, has been dealt with by Christ and His Apostles, and by their followers in post-apostolic times, primitive and modern. This is exhibited in the forthcoming work, now ready, "*Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics*," of which the contents are as follows:—

Book I. "*Apologetics in New Testament History*." Chap. 1st: In the Ministry of Christ—1. His introduction to apology; 2. His apologetic practice—(1) appeal to prophecy, (2) to miracle, (3) His personal testimony. Chap. 2nd: In the Apostolic Ministry—1. General aspect, with a reference to Christ's resurrection; 2. Definite belief in miracle in the middle apostolic age; 3. Apologetics in Pauline practice and Petrine prescription.

Book II. "*Apologetics in its Two Post-Apostolic Periods*." Chap. 1st: Primitive Period of Apologetics.—(1) The apologetic situation; (2) The Apologists and their witnessing Church; (3) Retrospect of the period. Chap. 2nd; Modern Period of Apologetics—(1) Bearing on early Reformation and preceding "ages of faith"; (2) Movement within the new apologetic period; (3) The existing apologetic situation—the New Testament; (4—*Supplementary*) Latest phase—the Old Testament question (with copious notes and appendix, exhibiting the literary history of this question).

THE APOLOGY, &c. (Price, 10s 6d).—A powerful and original statement of the external evidence (PROF. CANDLISH, D.D., in *The Modern Church*).—His book does indeed reach the magnificent claim which its title makes for it. Fresh and original it cannot help being. It is also sustained and powerful, an apology of the noblest kind (*Expository Times*).—(With reference to the author's description of it as "a layman's book"),—This it is in the best sense, and only the best sense (*New York Evangelist*).

THE REVELATION, &c. (Price, 7s 6d).—Every page of this volume bears the mark of competent knowledge and accurate thought. Taken altogether, the three volumes will unquestionably serve the end, and be to us an apology for the Christian religion that touches almost every assailed or assailable point, and is yet strong and convincing (*Expository Times*).—This book gives us the thoughts of a strong theologian, who has studied many questions deeply, and is able to hold his own with most opponents (*Critical Review*),

STUDIES IN &c.—This vol. is in the publisher's hands on its way to publication (price 7s 6d).

OTHER WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS, with introduction and commentary, 2 vols., crown 8vo., price 2s each (Handbook series).—Remarkably good and complete (*Church Bells*).—An excellent manual (*Literary Churchman*).—A marvel of compact thought and criticism. . . . This really great work on Exodus. . . . Every sentence is weighty, striking, and suggestive. The introduction is, up to date, the finest and fullest essay on the Second Book of Moses (*Brighouse Gazette*).—A marvellous repertory of information. . . . To our judgment it is the ablest and most compendious exposition of the Book of Exodus ever published in this country (*Methodist New Connexion Mogszine*).—It (the Introduction) is one of the best digests of modern thought and research on the exodus that we have seen. The notes which follow on the text are full and suggestive (*London Quarterly Review*).—The intro [unclear: ions] are brilliant samples of severe [unclear: contion] along with winsome vivacity of [unclear: le] The exposition is throughout [unclear: emitly] sound and searching, while the [unclear: exer] prescribed to students are drawn up with [unclear: h] skill of an expert (*Christion Lend*)—As Bible class manual it is simply

splendid [*unclear: er*] *Magazine*).

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS (with Introduction and notes), crown 8vo., price 1s 6[*unclear: d*] first of the Handbook series, now in 2n[*unclear: d*] of 5,000).—As much solid learning and [*unclear: estive*] thought as is rarely found in books [*unclear: e*] or four times its size. His introduction admirably discusses such questions as &c. . . . His notes are the outgrowth of a keen and searching analysis, a depth of spiritual intuition, and fine expository powers which invest them with the highest worth (*Bartist Magazine*).—Sound, fresh, vigorous, readable, and learned, it opens up the Epistle in a way which makes its meaning plain to the commonest capacity (*Free Church of Scotland Record*).—If the rest of the books (Handbook series—Dods and Whyte) should show equal condensation of thought, the result will be beyond all praise (Sword and Trowel).

The above works are published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE: Text-book for Youth—12th thousand: paper covers, 6d; cloth, 1s.

"We have pleasure in calling the attention of ministers and teachers of Bible classes to the [*unclear: able*] text-book of Christian doctrine recently published by Mr Elliot (Edinburgh). I[*unclear: n*] comprehensiveness of its plan, the precision of its statements, and the fulness and apposi[*unclear: te*] of its Scripture proofs, it seems to us to be far superior to any work of the kind with [*unclear: ch*] we are acquainted."—(Signed) ROB, S. CANDLISH, D.D., Edinburgh; JOHN ROBSON, D.D., [*unclear: gow*] WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, D.D., New College, Edinburgh; JAMES BEGG, D.D., [*unclear: Edin*]; ANDREW THOMSON, D.D., Edinburgh; JULIUS WOOD, D.D., Dumfriés.

Pamphlets to be had from the author on order with price prepaid. alquhidder, Rob Roy, &c., Lecture to the Gaelic Society of Dunedin. Price, 1s. The Land Question. With special reference to New Zealand and Old Scotland; two lectures for the relief of destitution in Lewes, A.D, 1883. PRICE .. .. ONE SHILLING. Regarding Evolution. previous question of Science; substance of a paper read to the New Zealand Institute. PRICE .. .. ONE SHILLING. Immanuelism. Doctrine of the Person of Christ (ready a considerable time ago, is waiting for its turn of publication in the Dods and Whyte series of Handbooks).

Life on Lone St. Kilda

By Alex. Michael.

("Dinornis.")

*Reprinted from Otago Witness, issues December 23, 1893, to January 25, 1894.*

## St. Kilda from the South, and Boreray.

Dunedin Printed at the Otago Daily Times Office, High Street. MDCCXCIV

### Life on Lone St. Kilda

*By Alex. Michael.*

("Dinornis.")

*(Socially Written for the Witness.)*

### Life on Lone St. Kilda

*The following is reprinted from the Otago Witness, Dunedin, appearing in weekly issues December 23, 1893, to January 25, 1894.*

The writer of the following notes never [*unclear: yed,*], save in imagination, the pleasure of [*unclear: ip*] to St. Kilda. This fact he hopes nee[*unclear: d*] debar him from recounting what of in [*unclear: st*] he knows about the place and its [*unclear: ple*]. Among all the 6000 islands said t[*unclear: o*] round the coast of Britain, St. Kilda i[*unclear: s*] one, being inhabited, of which least is [*unclear: rally*] known, very many well-informed [*unclear: ins*], as well as ill-informed ones, being [*unclear: te*] unaware of the fact of its existence. [*unclear: ugh*] only distant from Glasgow abou[*unclear: t*] miles as the crow flies, it is yet, [*unclear: practi*] a long way further off from the [*unclear: main*] than is this colony of New Zeala[*unclear: nd*] this comes to be so, and what the [*unclear: diffities*] of the islanders in their efforts to [*unclear: ke*] communication with outsiders [*unclear: some*] amount to, I will detail later. At the [*unclear: sent*] time regular means of intercourse [*unclear: th*] the outer world can hardly be said to [*unclear: ist*] In early times but few travellers ever [*unclear: nd*] their way to the out-of-the-world [*unclear: le*] island. No one ever went there unless [*unclear: th*] some definite purpose in view; for [*unclear: get*] to St. Kilda used to be a matter of [*unclear: at*] difficulty, even danger.

Happily, [unclear: ever], several early visitors to, and [unclear: sorners] on, the island, impressed with the [unclear: liar] aspects of life there, took a great [unclear: al] of pains to put on record what they [unclear: ard] and saw. Some of those who long [unclear: ice] enjoyed the hospitality of the [unclear: islanrs] recorded their impressions in [unclear: magtives] and books, and these, when hands ca[unclear: n] laid upon them, form very interesting [unclear: ing] indeed.

Within the last few years St. Kilda has been put within reach of the average tourist [unclear: tseer], who now takes advantage of the [unclear: sional] steamers sailing from Oban and the Clyde to pay it a flying visit. Flying visit it needs must be, for no shipmaster cares to trust the anchorage at St. Kilda during an hour more than can possibly be helped. Whatever the cause of its visit may be, whether business or pleasure, no vessel, as a rule, remains more than three or four hours at the island. The skipper who has goods to deliver gets them over the ship's side and on shore as rapidly as possible. All unloading has to be done by means of boats, the coast being entirely rocky. Even in what would pass for calm weather it is not unusual for boats to be swamped, and valuable goods thus lost in these treacherous Atlantic waves, which seldom sink to rest about the island. Those who journey thither for pleasure solely must make the best they can of the few available hours. Getting ashore with the first boat, they have scarcely time to strike up even the most rudimentary acquaintanceship with the Gaelic-speaking natives before the anchor is up and the vessel again ready to sail away. Thus the modern voyager, with the advantage of getting easily to the island, loses by having too soon to quit it again; one chief consequence of this being that recent accounts, though interesting, are rather superficial, and apt to consist of repetition. Having for many years taken a lively interest in the island and its folk, I lately bethought me of putting not a few but a great many rough notes in some sort of order, and these notes the editor has requested me to straighten up a bit for publication in the Witness.

I neither offer a connected narrative nor a formal history of St. Kilda; my information has been got irregularly, from many and varied sources—some of it from those who have seen the island and those who dwell upon it; some of it from old newspapers, magazines, and books; and some parts from various recent newspapers, &c. My notes are very likely to be thought somewhat discursive, but I believe, with reason, that my facts will bear investigation. As to my fancies, each reader is free to endorse or to dissent from them as he or she thinks fit.

The best accounts of St. Kilda are naturally those given by travellers who have lived for more or less prolonged periods on the island itself. It will be at once apparent that only from such can we look to receive full and accurate descriptions of the everyday lives, and of the legendary history and traditions of the islanders. Very little of what is best worth knowing about any community is to be learnt in a day or two's time; the seeker after such knowledge must share the life that he would delineate. The first, and in many respects the most comprehensive, account of St. Kilda ever written was contributed in 1698 to the proceedings of the Royal Society of England by Martin Martin, a native of Skye and a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Leyden. Martin had made several attempts to visit the island, but was unsuccessful until, as he himself says, "the Laird of MacLeod heartily recommending the care of the inhabitants of St. Kilda to Mr John Campbell, minister of Harries, he went to St. Kilda, and I cheerfully embraced the occasion; and accordingly we embarked at Esay, in Harries, May 29, 1697, the wind at S.E." They set sail with a gentle breeze, but had got only a short distance away when a storm burst upon them and threatened to swamp the cockleshell which held them. They would have returned had that been possible, but it was not, and finally they drifted with wind and tide far to the north of their intended destination. When at last they were able to see about them, one of the boatmen "detected several tribes of the fowls of St. Kilda flying, holding their course southerly of us, which (to some of our men) was a demonstration we had lost our course by the violence of the flood and wind, both concurring to carry us northerly, though we steered by our compass right west." The St. Kildans, it seems, used to trust to the flight of the sea-fowl as to a compass while at sea during thick weather, Martin and his friends found the fowls to be so reliable as pilots that shortly they came in sight of the Isle Boreray, lying about three leagues to the north of St. Kilda. This sight delighted the whole of them, and the boatmen being "refreshed with [unclear: vict] lowering mast and sail, rowed to a [unclear: mind] While they were tugging at the oars [unclear: th] "blackcoats" kept plying them [unclear: with] vitæ to such an extent that [unclear: when] arrived at Boreray scarce one of them able to manage cable or anchor.

After a short rest at Boreray, [unclear: which] inhabited, they pushed on for St. Kilda's Martin and his comrades approached coast, the islanders walked and [unclear: ran] the extreme edge of the cliff off which [unclear: ch] boat was being rowed. They did this kept shouting down to the visitors [unclear: rs] while without the least concern; [unclear: b] strangers were fain to turn their eyes [unclear: s] fearing to see someone presently fall [unclear: over] rocks into the sea—a calamity, [unclear: how] which did not come to pass. They [unclear: la] in safety, though to reach the island; voyagers had journeyed during two days nights in an open boat amid wild [unclear: ly] pestuous waves, and they only managed get ashore at the imminent hazard their lives. Martin remained for [unclear: some] with the islanders, noting their ways [unclear: of] their customs, and

superstitions. This did, not for the St. Kildans alone, but for Western islanders generally; and if [unclear: he] somewhat over-credulous sometimes, [unclear: ye] is not without good reason that he has [unclear: been] called the Herodotus of these isles.

## St. Kilda from the South, and Boreray.

Coming down to later times, we find [unclear: a] fanciful "History of St. Kilda," [unclear: written] the Rev. Kenneth Macaulay, grand-uncle the great historian. Wilson's "[unclear: Vou] Round Scotland" is said to contain a "[unclear: high] interesting account of St. Kilda." Of [unclear: sec] other books something similar may b[unclear: e] but unfortunately it has also to be [unclear: a] nowadays very few of these books ar[unclear: e] to be met with. In recent times, so fa[unclear: r] am aware, no description of St. Kilda been published in book form. Among the [unclear: mentary] accounts that have appeared [unclear: ing] the last 20 years, the best is that of a Sands, who twice visited the island and [unclear: red] the life of its inhabitants for many [unclear: ths]. His descriptions were published [unclear: ambers's] Journal, and he was at the time [unclear: led] to do substantial service to his poor worthy hosts, the most noticeable gift he [unclear: ned] for them being a large seaworth[unclear: y] a thing they had for long been wi[unclear: th]-Mr Sands also published, in the [unclear: trated] London News, I think, a set o[unclear: f] interesting sketches of St. Kilda an[unclear: d], of its folk. The literature of this [unclear: y] little islet is by no means either n[unclear: ificant] in bulk or uninteresting in [unclear: kind]; it is to be hoped that some one qualifie[unclear: d] do it will yet write the history of St. [unclear: s] as it ought to be, and deserves to be, [unclear: ten]. In the meantime these rambling [unclear: ters] of mine may be found not [unclear: alto] lacking in interest by those readers of Otago Witness who care to peruse them; as Martin Martin wrote in the preface of book:—"Men are generally fond enough [unclear: velty] not to suffer anything represented [unclear: er] that plausible invitation to [unclear: passoticed]. A description of some remote [unclear: er] in the Indies shall be sure to [unclear: d] us high amusement, while a [unclear: and] things much nearer to us might [unclear: age] our thoughts to better purpose, the knowledge of them serve to promote true interest and the history of nature. [unclear: a] piece of weakness and folly to value [unclear: gs] merely on account of their distan[unclear: ce]: men have travelled far in search of [unclear: ign] plants and animals, and continued [unclear: ngers] to the productions of their own [unclear: ate], The following relation therefore I [unclear: ate] will not prove unprofitable or [unclear: displeas] unless the advantages of truth and [unclear: unted] simplicity should prejudice it in the [unclear: ion] of such as are more trifling and [unclear: ous] than solid and judicious." After [unclear: ch] slightly pedantic reflection it may b[unclear: e] for us to proceed to tell something [unclear: ut] the place the name of which figures in title of this paper.

[unclear: I] have many a time been asked, "Where is island of St. Kilda?" and I am aware [unclear: t] many well-informed folk here and [unclear: else] are ignorant of the fact of there bein[unclear: g] a place on the map of Britain. Fro[unclear: m] maps indeed it is often altogether abse[unclear: nt] same at anyrate is familiar enough to [unclear: dinites] from its namesake on the Fl[unclear: at] place, however, about which I have [unclear: thing] to tell is a lonely little island lying far out in the North Atlantic Ocean—the most westerly of all the Western isles of Scotland. The folk who live on it are of purely Celtic stock and speak Gaelic only, with this exception, that within the last few years the youngsters have been getting lessons in English from the Rev. Mr Fiddes, a minister of the Free Church now resident on the island. The inhabitants number less than 100, and in this age, wherein quantity of population is too often more highly thought of than is quality, I fear that the place and its people are likely to be set down by many as of no consequence one way or another. Yet, though seemingly insignificant, it by no means follows that St. Kilda is without claims on our sympathy and interest.

"Scarce spied amidst the west sea foam," this rocky islet rises out of the waters of the Atlantic about 49 miles from Harris in the outer Hebrides. It is simply a volcanic rock, very precipitous, very sterile, very small; and it lies a very long way remote from what is known as the path of progress. It is about three miles long and two miles broad, and its highest peak towers 1300ft above the sea. It has no semblance of a harbour; the island is somewhat crescent-shaped, and in a deep bay there are two or three places only where in fair weather it is possible to land from boats. The wild, forceful waves of the North Atlantic beat almost ceaselessly against its massy cliffs. Often enough vessels having occasion to call find on approaching that even to land a barrel would be impossible, so they must sheer off and stand out to sea again. Too often also have noble ships whose crews had no wish to make the acquaintance of the St. Kildans been dashed to pieces upon its rocks. But there is sunshine as well as storm at St. Kilda. For weeks at a time the waves may roll gently on the shore, while sky and sea rival each other in the glory of their ever-changing tints. It is easy to forget, then, how from the heavens the lightning is wont to dart, the thunder to roll and roar, and the relentless tempest to dash these waters, now so calm, in murderous fury against the resistant rock.

On the north-east and south-west coasts enormous precipices a thousand feet in height rise sheer from the

ocean. These wall-like cliffs are resorted to by myriads of sea-fowl—puffins, cormorants, auks, guillemots, solan-geese, fulmar-petrels, and many other species of birds. These birds are hunted by the St. Kildans for the sake of their oil, feathers, and flesh; the most valuable amongst them being the solan-geese, or *gannet*, fulmar, and puffin. A few miles to the north-east of St. Kilda is the island already mentioned, called Boreray upon which solan-geese congregate in vast numbers. Puffins also in incredible numbers visit Boreray to lay their eggs and hatch them out. Boreray is without human denizens except when parties of the islanders go there to capture the birds. In the vicinity there are also many isolated rocks, called "stacks," each covered with fulmars, solan-geese, &c., in their seasons.

## Birds of St. Kilda—Great Auk. now extinct.

It may be thought that I give too much notice to these birds, but let it be remembered that they are of more relative importance to the St. Kildan than are sheep and cattle to the New Zealander and Australian. In the clear, pure waters of the Atlantic about the island there is abundance of many kinds of fish, some of them still known to the islanders by curious and old-fashioned names. Chief among them are the cod, ling, mackerel, conger, brazier, turbot, graylord, saith, and herring. It might well be that, surrounded thus by an ocean full of fish, the St. Kildans would draw endless food supplies from its depths; but when there is nothing of a harbour for boats, the regular pursuit of fishing is out of the question. When they do fish they use parboiled limpets and fowl flesh as bait. The St. Kildan, however, is little of a fisherman, and looks to other sources for his household supplies. He farms a little in a rude way, growing a few bushels of stunted oats and rye annually. He is a bit of a sheepfarmer too, though a modern specialist in mutton and wool would look askance at his goat-like sheep as they scamper wildly amongst the rocks, fending for themselves most of the time. As his main source of food and general supplies, however, he looks to the rocks—that is, to the birds which frequent the rocks. To talk of sea-fowl at St. Kilda is to talk "shop."

"Swift," in his "Tale of a Tub," says Dr MacCulloch, "describes a land of feathers, and perhaps he drew the hint from St. Kilda. The air here is full of [unclear: feather] animals, the sea is covered with the [unclear: m], houses are ornamented with the [unclear: m], ground is speckled by them like a [unclear: fr] mead in May. The place is paved with [unclear: fea] the very dunghills are made of feather [unclear: s] ploughed land seems as if it had bee [unclear: n] with feathers, and the inhabitants look [unclear: b] they had been all tarred and feathered [unclear: d] their hair is full of feathers and their [unclear: cl] are covered with feathers. The wome [unclear: n] like feathered Mercurys, for their shoe [unclear: s] made of a *gannet's* skin; everythin [unclear: g] of feathers, and the smell pursued us [unclear: ov] the islands, for the captain had a sackful i [unclear: n] cabin." Like other folk, the St. [unclear: Kilda] greatly influenced by their surrounding. Their struggle with circumstances is [unclear: con] and keen and may reasonably be [unclear: except] sharpen their wits, and yet they are [unclear: s] sharp race. Their boundaries are s [unclear: o]—they are so "cribbed, cabined, and confined"—that it is only right first to [unclear: in] what they are likely to be before [unclear: fi] fault with them for being what the [unclear: y] It is true the St. Kildans are a [unclear: riously] unprogressive race—they are a [unclear: rible] long way "behind the times," whic [unclear: h] just one chief reason why I turne [unclear: d] attention to them years ago. Wha [unclear: t] pressed me then was the fact that, [unclear: de] their hard surroundings, they were [unclear: ecid] quite as happy as the average elsewhere. [unclear: E] St. Kilda been a fertile isle instead of a [unclear: ve] hard and barren rock its inhabitants [unclear: would] very likely have been sottish and [unclear: malig] suspicious of strangers, and distrustfu [unclear: l] each other. There would have been [unclear: cla] and masses and a goodly show of the [unclear: mise] incidental to such a state of affairs. A [unclear: s] happens, the St. Kildans are very free from such tendencies. They are [unclear: simple-mind] to a degree, generous with what they have courteous to strangers, and their hospitality is bounded only by the limit of their [unclear: men] Their means consist chiefly of the [unclear: birds] I have named, for Nature supplies the islanders with very little besides the [unclear: wildfoul] which come in such vast flocks to the rocks. To catch these or to steal their eggs is no trifling occupation. To the adult male St. Kildan it means dangling during long days at the end of a rope that may not be over-strong; it means the possibility of his his being smashed to atoms upon the hundreds of feet of jagged rock below, or having his skull cracked by fragments falling from above.

Many of the islanders exhibit with [unclear: pride] such assortments of bumps as would [unclear: charm] the heart of the most exacting phrenologist. Accidents used to be much more numerous than they are now—a change for the better

## Cragmen taking young Fulmars.

no doubt due to the better quality of the ropes now in use. At the time of Martin's visit there were but three ropes on the island, each rope being 24 fathoms in length; they were either knit together and lengthened by tying the one to the other, or used separately, as occasion required. The strength of these ropes depended mainly upon the long bands of salted cowhide with which they were bound round. The cowhide, in addition to the strength it gave the rope, protected the hemp very efficiently from the cutting action of sharp rocky edges. The leather was cut exactly in the same way as bootlaces are sometimes cut by one handy with the knife—viz, in the form of a continuous strip from one piece of hide. These were good ropes, but in still earlier times very inferior ones were in use—some of them consisting only of twisted *straw*! Small wonder that fatal accidents were of frequent occurrence. The ropes were communal property, and were not to be used without the general consent. By the drawing of lots they always determined when, where, and by whom the ropes were to be used. The resultant haul of birds or eggs was impartially divided among all, those who stayed at home taking an equal share with those who did the work. Their system was communism pure and simple, and it has worked so well in their case that only within the last year or two has there been any desire shown to alter the primitive arrangement. The islanders nowadays see and hear a great deal more of the outer world than ever their forefathers did. Ideas, old enough to us, are to them new and seductive. Some of the more ardent among them are of the mind that by striking out for themselves they can do better than by the old method of share and share alike. Perhaps, though, when they have had sufficient experience of the middleman in commerce they will wish themselves back in the old track again. To share and share alike both in plenty and scarcity is surely a truer method of "levelling-up" than is ever likely to be seen in our communities, wherein we too often see only poverty and degradation at one end of the "social" chain and opulence and degradation at the other.

Of any manner of gain, apart from the equal dole, there has never been much to look for on the island. During their whole history communal interests have been sufficient to unite them in all manner of necessary endeavour. Upon the island, as elsewhere the ability to do well what most needs doing is the best attribute of man or woman. The work itself may be mechanical enough—at any rate it is necessary—and necessity at St. Kilda is at least the mother of industry if not of invention.

The present race of St. Kildans are [*unclear*: descen] from the people of Lewis, Harris, Uis[*unclear*: t] Skye, but it is not known when thes[*unclear*: e] migrated to the island. Still, it i[*unclear*: s] obvious that they are a drifted [*unclear*: frag] of the Celtic-Irish race which still [*unclear*: pe] the Western Isles and the Highlands o[*unclear*: f] the land. Upon the island there are—or [*unclear*: were] short time since—only six family [*unclear*: na] these being: Gillies, Fergusson. [*unclear*: Macdonald] Mackinnon, MacQaeen, and [*unclear*: MacCrim]. The population fluctuates from a littl[*unclear*: e] to a little under 80. At the beginnin[*unclear*: g] this century 120 persons found [*unclear*: a] upon St. Kilda; earlier still the rude [*unclear*: o] of the times set the number of [*unclear*: h] beings down at 200. There used als[*unclear*: o] ponies and cattle on the island, bu[*unclear*: t] their only domestic animals havin[*unclear*: g] value are sheep. These find sufficien[*unclear*: t] as they roam at large throughout the [*unclear*: is]. They are not common property, bu[*unclear*: t] owned by individuals, whose right t[*unclear*: o] them is adjudged by the agent of Th[*unclear*: e] leod. A great many of the sheep an[*unclear*: d] are lost over the cliffs, numbers being [*unclear*: his] over the precipices during the winter every year.

About a twelvemonth since, the [*unclear*: minis] of St. Kilda visited Glasgow on a [*unclear*: miss] behoof of the islanders. Among other [*unclear*: th] he was very wishful to carry back wit[*unclear*: h] a supply of *wire fencing*, one o[*unclear*: f] numerous products of civilizatio[*unclear*: n] hitherto seen on St. Kilda, and by [*unclear*: mea] which he hoped to save many of the [*unclear*: sheep].

Among other things that be hoped [*unclear*: ask] take home with him was a small [*unclear*: por] forge, by the aid of which he wished to [*unclear*: t] the islanders the art of Tubal Cai[*unclear*: n] showing vividly the difficulties of lif[*unclear*: e] the island, it may be mentioned tha[*unclear*: t] nearest smithy is almost 100 miles [*unclear*: av]. They have an anvil upon which a pin [*unclear*: may] drawn out or sharpened; but anything [*unclear*: be] that—the boring of a hole in an iron [*unclear*: p] or the making of a bolt with screw an[*unclear*: d] involves a delay of from nine to twelve month. Another thing that the reverend [*unclear*: gentleman] hoped to make the St. Kildans happy [*unclear*: with] was the gift of a wheelbarrow! [*unclear*: Wh] barrows are almost prehistoric in the island; in fact, there never was but [*unclear*: c] the place, and it went to pieces more than years ago. Mr Fiddes also hoped to b[*unclear*: e] to take with him to the island a light [*unclear*: cart] a couple of horses, a plough, harrows, &[*unclear*: c] means of which he hoped to facilitate [*unclear*: a] cultural operations, a branch of [*unclear*: indust] hitherto carried on upon very primitiv[*unclear*: e] in St. Kilda. Up to the present all the fetching and carrying has been done b[*unclear*: y] of bags and "creels" and "shanks" [*unclear*: mare] Upon the subject of their agriculture I [*unclear*: all] touch later on. I should like before [*unclear*: ing] farther to give some notion of the physical and mental characteristics of the [*unclear*: ple] of St. Kilda. I give warning that I [*unclear*: ve] no terrible or naughty things to tell [*unclear*: out] them. They never made a lite busines[*unclear*: s] murder and pillage as did some section[*unclear*: s] long past days of the Western Islanders.

They have always been noted as a well-[unclear: haved] race. Their piety, sobriety, [unclear: indus] politeness, and hospitality are beyond [unclear: roach]. It is quite true that they use a [unclear: tle] whisky upon certain festive [unclear: occations]; but, of course, that finds its wa[unclear: y] nature to the head of the Celt. It is [unclear: te] true, also, that their piety runs [unclear: some-hat] to fanaticism, but this is by no means [unclear: sual] with those whose lives are spent in [unclear: iation]. As an instance of fanaticism, I [unclear: my] describe an incident that occurred about [unclear: ght] or nine years ago, at a time when there was a dearth of the necessaries of life on the [unclear: nd]. This particular incident well [unclear: strates] their unswerving notions of [unclear: bbath] observance even in cases where [unclear: their] strict views might very likely cause [unclear: rious] material loss to the entire [unclear: community].

A steamer, sent with a liberal supply of [unclear: od], seed-corn, and so on, chanced to arrive the bay on a Sunday afternoon. The [unclear: chorage] at St. Kilda being so bad the [unclear: captain], knowing that a storm might sprin[unclear: g] at any moment, made haste to get the [unclear: ings] ashore, but the St. Kildans wouldn't have that. They needed the supplies sore[unclear: ly]; rather than outrage their Sabbatarian prejudices, they'd risk losing the stores. A message was sent aboard that the unloading must not commence till 12 o'clock had [unclear: zuck]. In vain the captain remonstrated, [unclear: claring] that if a gale came on he [unclear: might] not be able to land the goods for [unclear: weeks]-not, indeed, at all, for there was no allowance for delay in delivery, and the [unclear: vessel] would have to return to the Clyde if the weather grew stormy. The islanders [unclear: were] inexorable—they would take the risk [unclear: given] though they were starving. Luckily the weather kept fine, and the things were ultimately got ashore without mishap. Another episode occurred in connection with a pinnacle in which a shipwrecked [unclear: crew] had reached St. Kilda. The boat was [unclear: o] low in the sides that the sailors set about putting a foot depth of canvas round [unclear: it] to keep out the water. With indifferent judgment, they began their task upon a Sunday, a thing which both astonished and displeased the islanders, who snatched the [unclear: tools] away from their guests and did not [unclear: return] them until the Monday morning.

Physically, the St. Kildans are a handsome and muscular race. In early times popular rumour credited them with double the strength of ordinary men. They themselves have traditions of extraordinarily strong ancestors, and they point out various huge boulders which they say were carried to the spots they now occupy by their champions of the early days. Shakespeare says "Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits," and this, spoken of the St. Kildans, is as true as anything could be. They are a thoroughly stay-at-home and unsophisticated race, with hearts as kind as simple and with such an abundance of human sympathy about them as proves that no one need tramp the world in search of goodness. Those of the islanders who have been at Harris, Lewis, or Uist regale the stay-at-homes with tales of the wonders seen in those places. Many of them have never been farther away than Boreray. In many remote parts of the Western Isles extremely crude notions of geography still prevail. In Skye, not so very long ago, when the natives travelled they thought of only two points of the compass—one pointing to Glasgow, which was synonymous with south, the other to Inverness, denoting north. A Skyeman proceeding on a journey met an acquaintance on the pier of embarkation, who accosted him with the query, "You'll be for south to-day, Tonal MacTonal?" "No, Ronald MacTonal, I'm going further than south—I'm going to Perth to-day." Hazy ideas of locality such as the above story exemplify are still the rule at St. Kilda. Until lately they had for long no boat in which it would have been safe to venture away from the coast. Then they were bound, formerly by custom and latterly by a written agreement, to barter their produce with the proprietor of the island, and thus, as they had nothing to sell, they had the less inducement to go roving. They cannot, unless they take to the sea, travel far from their own doors; and as to live tolerably they must plod industriously, they have little time for tripping. Upon special occasions they make voyages to the large islands before named, but of what lies beyond them they have no real conception. As in many inland parts of Great Britain there are still to be found individuals who have never seen the sea, so amongst the St. Kildans are to be found those who have never seen the mainland. It is plain therefore that many things common enough elsewhere would appear to them to be great marvels. One of them having made what he thought a prodigious journey into the south part of the isle of Skye, and seeing across a narrow sea the coast of Inverness-shire, inquired if that was the border of England! On another occasion a St. Kildan landing on the isle of Harris asked who was the proprietor of those lands? He was told that The MacLeod owned those lands—a fact which raised the laird in his esteem greatly. A short time afterwards this same man, standing upon a hill in the isle of Skye, in which he had travelled a few miles, fancied he saw before him a great part of the world. When told that MacLeod owned those lands also, he lifted up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and cried out, "Oh, Mighty Prince! who art master of such vast territory," with such droll emphasis that the saying, in its original Gaelic, was long repeated in the neighbourhood in derision of anyone expressing such inflated notions.

Shortly before Martin's visit a boat's crew had voyaged to that part of the mainland opposite Skye. In the course of this journey they saw many things which greatly surprised them. They were amazed when they saw rich hangings covering a thick wall of stone and lime, and condemned it as vain and superfluous. The

MacLeod's lady wore what seemed to them so strange a Lowland dress that their vocabulary contained no words by means of which to describe it. A newspaper description of the dresses of a present-day wedding party would be as Greek to them. They admired glass windows hugely, and a looking-glass seemed to them a prodigy. St. Kilda is entirely without trees or shrubs, and one of the party having got into a thicket of scrubby trees, and being impeded by the branches, called out in distress that the "trees were holding him back." At another time a party of the islanders, visiting Skye, were so interested by the sight of a plantation of small trees that they took some of them up by the roots, intending to carry them home—a scheme which had to be abandoned owing to the roughness of the roads and the tenderness of the islanders' feet; for although they are first-rate climbers they are but indifferent walkers. Among other stories, it is recorded of a party of them that, seeing a pony for the first time, they were greatly puzzled to make out what kind of *bird* it was. On another occasion, in Harris, the vision of a man with a wooden leg caused an astounding sensation!

During Martin's visit he and the minister were constantly attended by a number of the men, who wondered at and admired everything said or done by the pair. Above everything else, at that early day, writing was most wonderful to them; they could not conceive how it was possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of his mind in such black characters upon white [unclear: p] Martin says: "After they had with [unclear: ad-tion] argued upon this subject, I tol[unclear: d] that within the compass of two years o[unclear: r] if they pleased, they might easily be [unclear: ta] to read and write, but they were not o[unclear: f] opinion that either of them could be [unclear: attain] at least by them, in an age."

The key to St. Kildan peculiarity i[unclear: s] extreme isolation of the place and its [unclear: peo]. It is necessary to remember that—to kee[unclear: p] hold of the key, so to speak. The [unclear: acci] of their remoteness renders it certai[unclear: n] they will have many ways of doin[unclear: g] thinking so essentially different fro[unclear: m] own as to make them well worthy o[unclear: f] than passing notice. A score or tw[unclear: o] miles nearer to the mainland and St. [unclear: K] would have long since lost all feature[unclear: s] interest save those still common to [unclear: t] whole of the Western isles. Fo[unclear: r] generations the only link connecting i[unclear: t] the outer world was the yearly and [unclear: s] times half-yearly visit of its owner's [unclear: ste] who came to collect the rent and barter commodities with the islanders. The islan[unclear: d] for hundreds of years been part of th[unclear: e] of the MacLeods of Skye, and all alon[unclear: g] to the present time, the rent has been [unclear: p] in goods, not money; for that is one o[unclear: f] things they have probably been better without. Sometimes, indeed often, no rented [unclear: c] be paid because of there being no [unclear: super] produce on the island with which to pa[unclear: y]. They usually were able, however, t[unclear: o] over to the steward enough to make it [unclear: would] his while to undertake the voyage.

In early times it was usual for [unclear: T] MacLeod to bestow whatever revenue [unclear: c] be got from St. Kilda upon some [unclear: favoured] one of his numerous dependents. [unclear: Th] steward, upon his return from the yearly voyage, paid over to the chief a [unclear: protion] of the goods thus obtained. [unclear: T] steward's voyage was made in summer, [unclear: a] one of the first proceedings of the [unclear: island] was to hand over to him and his [unclear: ret] often consisting of 50 or 60 persons, all the milk on the island. In other ways they were treated right royally, abundance of all the best products being literally [unclear: lavished] upon them. In those days it was quite a customary thing for the steward to [unclear: cary] with him from Skye all the weaklings and invalids from his own district to be [unclear: recru] with the good cheer of St. Kilda. [unclear: Th] practice, as well as some others by means of which the islanders were fleeced in [unclear: by] times, is now discontinued.

The steward—or the "factor," as he [unclear: was] more usually called—and hie little vessel, [unclear: the] factor's smack," were objects of very [unclear: great] importance to the St. Kildans. Th[unclear: e]

## St. Kildans Catching Birds with Rod Snares.

ship was the sole and only Direct Liner joining the island to the rest of the big world outside. The rent, when there was any—and very often there was not—took the form of feathers, oil, wool, cloth, rye, oats, &c. Of course, the amount due varied with the number of families on the island. Matters in connection with the payment of rent are more commonplace now, but formerly many strange customs were in vogue. The only regular visitors to St. Kilda were the steward and his boat's crew. The steward was the direct envoy of the Laird, and thus embodied in his own person all powers of administration. All disputes were referred to him, and his verdict was final, except in rare cases, when by consent of both steward and Islanders the matter was laid before the Laird himself.

# Birds of St. Kilda—The Puffin.

In the very primitive semi-democracy of St. Kilda officialism was almost non-existent; yet it was necessary to appoint one of their number to settle with the steward the serious business of barter values. The MacLeod very early waived all claims in regard to rent, but gave to the steward the right to collect whatever he could get in return for the duties he performed for the islanders. These duties were to settle whatever disputes arose in the island, and to perform the ceremonies connected with baptism and marriage—there being then no minister on St. Kilda. In return for such performances he and his followers were hospitably maintained by the natives while on the island, and when they left they carried with them a liberal share of St. Kildan products. The deputy of the islanders was known as "the officer," and to the boldest cragsman amongst them it is usual to give this post, which, of course certain material advantages attached to and disadvantages as well. The fold passage, quoted from Martin, will give an idea of some of the disadvantages. There are many isolated rocks about St. Kilda, it is to them that reference is made:—

*The officer, by virtue of his placid obliged through a point of honour to b first that lands in the lesser isles whence they carry their fowls and not without some trouble, too. This of honour exposes him to frequent danger, perhaps it may not be unpleasant to as I have seen it practised, and it is. When they come as near to the rock as they think may consist with the safety of the which is not a little tossed by the raging sea, those whose turn it is are employed poles to keep off the boat, which is in danger in regard of the violence of the beating upon the rock, and they are to the opportunity of the calmest wave, upon the first appearance of which the officer jumps upon the rock. If there be any danger, he ties a rope about his middle, one end of it fastened to the boat; if he landed safe, he then fixes his feet in a place and by the assistance of this rope drawn up all the crew to him, except those who turn it is to look after the boat; but if in jump out he falls into the sea—as his misfortunate is so to do sometimes—he is drawn into the boat again by that part of the rope that is fastened to it, and then the next whose turn it is must try his luck; the officer after his being supposed to be sufficiently fatigued that he is not obliged to venture his again to a second hazard upon this occasion as he is exposed to the greatest that offers upon their landing when return to the isle, where the sea often rages being obliged then by virtue of his office in the boat after the whole crew are, where he must continue employing his until the boat be either brought safe to or split upon the rocks.*

Ashore in St. Kilda itself, the duties of the "officer," at least during the visit of the steward, were of a somewhat trying kind. His chief function was to "resist, on behalf the people, all undue exactions by the steward." "He was obliged to dispute with the steward for what was due to any of them, if never to give over until he had put the steward in such a passion that he gave 'officer' at least three blows with his cudgel over the crown of his head." The strongest of these three blows with the cudgel was the utmost that was expected of the "officer," and it may well be that it was enough. In return for his self-sacrifice the "officer" received a fixed remuneration. From each family received annually an "amir" (Hebrew, about two pecks) of barley; several acres of land were also specially assigned to him. The division of the arable land and number of sheep each family had to graze were matters annually defined by the steward. It was the custom for the "officer" to present to the steward at every year a cake made of barley meal, and this had to be of a size sufficient to satisfy ten men at a time. By way of distinction it was moulded in a triangular and "furrowed twice round." In addition to this cake the "officer" was called upon to furnish the steward with mutton or beef to his dinner every Sunday at his residence on the island. When he was to leave the island, the steward gave the "officer" the blue bonnet he had worn during his stay. The steward's wife usually accompanied her husband, and it was the custom for her to give her kirtle, or address, to the wife of the "officer." An ounce of indigo dye was another item that was given to the "officer's" wife along with the kirtle. Martin adds that "notwithstanding reciprocal acts of kindness, this "officer" is allowed to go in quality of an agent to MacLeod against the steward upon ordinary occasions, if the common people have any grievance to redress." It is quite usual also for the islanders to invite the boat's crew who accompanied the officer, to attend both disputants into the boat.

MacLeod to ensure justice bein[unclear: g] Upon such occasions the messengers [unclear: rached] the chief in single file—this, in-[unclear: d] their customary way of walking at all times. It has been claimed that this habit is a result of their manner of getting about the rocks. Climbing among danger-our cliff faces and along rocky ledges they necessarily went singly, and thus the habit acquired in the most thrilling moments of their lives would doubtless tend to become constant. There is, however, another cause—and, I think, a pretty sufficient one—of the St. Kildans walking one after the other. Even up till the present day there never has been a properly made roadway, or even footpath, in St. Kilda. Tracks worn out by the constant passing to and fro of rough-shod feet are all that are to be found there. Perhaps I should make an exception now in favour of the path leading from the village to the place where boats usually land. The rev. gentleman before mentioned while in Glasgow last year informed a representative of the Glasgow Mail that something had been done to "make the roadway passable in fair weather." It seems that until he induced the islanders to fill them up with gravel, &c., it was necessary to jump from boulder to boulder over the large holes in every part of the path. The gravel for this purpose has to be carried in bags and "creels" upon the men's backs from a place a quarter of a mile away from the village. No wonder, then, that wheelbarrows would be reckoned as useful novelties in St. Kilda.

#### Sketch of sailing ship

To return for a moment to the steward, or "factor." Matters in connection with the visit of the "smack" and its crew are more commonplace now than formerly, but still the event is one of the chief episodes of the year. While the "smack" and its crew remain at St. Kilda all ordinary work is at a standstill. Everyone is bent on jollity, and the place wears the aspect of a fair. Everyone is also doing his or her best to make good bargains, which, of course, adds to rather than detracts from the general enjoyment. The homespun cloth, bales and sacks of feathers, corn, &c., make a goodly show, and the samples of mountain dew" brought by the factor are so highly appreciated that they are all *liquidated* before he leaves the island. The general hilarity is brisk while it lasts; but the departure of the "smack" is the signal which sends everyone back to the routine occupations of daily life.

Sometimes, at the end of a really good year, the St. Kildans export what must be reckoned a large amount of produce. In 1875, for instance, they sent from the island over 900 St. Kilda pints of bird oil. A St. Kilda pint is equal to five English pints, yet they receive only one shilling value for that quantity. So with the feathers, which are of a superior quality; for these the factor gives 6s a St. Kilda stone—24lb. The same rule obtains with the grain, &c.—big measures and small prices.

. . . . A hardy race,  
Whose life no cultivated grace,  
No elegance, can show.

The St. Kildans are no savages though their isle is a remote one. Nothing, I take it, is commoner than among savage races to find the women doing all the work and the men devoting all their attention to the quarrelling and loafing. In St. Kilda both men and women work industriously, even energetically. It is in the nature of things that the vast majority of workers obtain only a modicum of what they earn, but in this little island whatever its inhabitants earn they own, and this, without their knowing it perhaps, must have a great influence in lightening their toil. For many generations they have carried out, successfully too, it might almost be said, a method of communism not based upon previous scheming. Their outdoor work is almost entirely communal; that done indoor being the concern of the families engaged in it only. Every capable man and woman takes a share in the occupations of the island. In regard to outdoor work, they never do anything without having a talk about it. Even in a wee place like St. Kilda, something of the nature of a public assembly, a sort of board of works, to decide the routine of business is necessary. This parliament of theirs meets daily on working days and every man is a member of it, and occasionally, also, the women put in [unclear: a] or two, though they have not got th[unclear: e] chise there yet. They have no palave[unclear: r] so they meet in the open air in front [unclear: of] one of the cottages. I nee[unclear: d] say there is no Upper House in St. [unclear: k] When they invent one, let us hope the[unclear: y] place it on the top of Connache[unclear: r], above the sea.

The subjects to be discussed are all [unclear: str] practical—whether it is to be boat-[unclear: men] or bird-catching or ling-fishing o[unclear: r] collecting or such like tasks. There [unclear: a] written rules of discussion, and no [unclear: spea] rule members out of order if the [unclear: d] waxes over hot. They all talk loudl[unclear: y], all at once, so you may be sure it i[unclear: s] model parliament. Sometimes they [unclear: end] how-de-do by casting lots. In earlier [unclear: t] they always decided what was to b[unclear: e] and who was to do it by means of th[unclear: e] cress referred to. Nowadays, if ther[unclear: e] any considerable differences of opinio[unclear: n] take a vote, and the decision of the [unclear: may] is accepted cheerfully, and the day'[unclear: s] set about without further delay.

This daily palaver is a valuable [unclear: irr]tion] for the St. Kildans. If each [unclear: fr] kept to itself and worked by itself [unclear: th] soon all go melancholy mad. Their [unclear: d] bow-wow cheers them and helps to [unclear: d] away any tendency to brood. The [unclear: island] are much more like the ancient [unclear: herd] and flockowners who were the first [unclear: stod] of the stars than we are who live i[unclear: n] and trust to town clocks and almanac[unclear: s] the time of day and the turn of the [unclear: t]. The St. Kildans can tell the hour[unclear: s] accurately by observing the shadows [unclear: th] by various hills and rocks, as well a[unclear: s] noting the position of the sun itse[unclear: lf] the sun is obscured they measure time b[unclear: y] ebbing and flowing of the sea, thei[unclear: r] [unclear: judgement] of this matter depending upo[unclear: n] accurate knowledge of the changes o[unclear: f] moon, a part of natural science i[unclear: n] they are thoroughly versed. The [unclear: aspect] clouds, the direction of the wind, the [unclear: d] made by the sea as it beats on the [unclear: roc] all such matters are closely [unclear: conned] the islanders, whose lives very often [unclear: de] upon the trustworthiness of such knowledge.

It is a good and wholesome thing fo[unclear: r] St. Kildans that they are not tied [unclear: down] one routine occupation all the year [unclear: ro]. The kinds of labour pursued on the [unclear: i] are greatly varied, and variety, as th[unclear: e] goes, is the spice of life. Life would fearfully monotonous on St. Kilda if th[unclear: e] industry was bird-catching, but as a [unclear: ma] of fact there is plenty of change. A[unclear: t] proper seasons the crops call for attention [unclear: re]ceive, at least, what the islanders [unclear: k] necessary. In summer the sheep are [unclear: ght], and the wool taken from them by *ting*—at least that was so a few year[unclear: s] and I have not heard of a pair of *she*[unclear: ep]—never having been seen on St. Kil[unclear: da] the beginning of winter the women spi[unclear: n] threao, and during the winter the men [unclear: ve] it into cloth. At different seasons [unclear: rrent] birds are on the rocks, and many [unclear: ed] devices are followed to bring about [unclear: ir] capture. There is no lack of variet[unclear: y], no desire to shirk work.

As may be inferred, agriculture in St. [unclear: a] not wrought up to the high level of [unclear: lleoce] on which we find it elsewhe[unclear: re] islanders grow oats, barley, rye, and [unclear: toes], and think to do the best by their [unclear: s;] but they plant everything too thickl[unclear: y], the crops are half-choked before the[unclear: y] half-grown. They used, until quite [unclear: ently], a spade of very primitive form, [unclear: ch] as used to be common throughout the [unclear: hlands] and Hebrides. It had a long [unclear: dle], a strong wooden foot-peg, and the [unclear: de] was very badly shaped, being only [unclear: ble] of tossing sods, not of lifting loose [unclear: th]. The harrows they used were of wood [unclear: th] one row of wooden teeth at the front, [unclear: ber] being too scarce to allow of all the [unclear: h] being made of it. To supply this [unclear: ciency] they used to fasten a lot of *tangle* [unclear: the] thin end to the underside of the [unclear: ow], and the roots hanging loose behind [unclear: ttered] the clods after a fashion.

As the time draws on for their corn t[unclear: o] there is no keen competition betwee[unclear: n] Buckeye, or the M'Cormick, or indeed of the famous reapers and binders [unclear: ch] elsewhere strive for the farmers' [unclear: ur]. They settle the business of harvest-[unclear: mu]ch more simply in St. Kilda. The[unclear: y] not use sickles even, but just pluck the [unclear: s] and barley up by the roots, and there is [unclear: end] to the trouble. In former times they [unclear: ed] the grain in this way, not because o[unclear: f] lack of suitable cutting tools only, but [unclear: se] it suited them better for roof-[unclear: ching] when thus treated. Some of [unclear: ir] old-fashioned ways of doing things ar[unclear: e] no means lacking in smartness. The[unclear: y] put the grain through the various necessary processes and make it into bread with-an hour from the time when it was [unclear: grow]-in the field. This trick of theirs of [unclear: ing], winnowing, drying, grinding, and [unclear: ing] in an hour's time was once commo[unclear: n] the Highlands and islands. The proces[unclear: s] described in Boswell's "Journal of a Tou[unclear: r] the Hebrides." This part of the work i[unclear: s] by the women. The ears of grain ar[unclear: e] in the left hand, a flame is applied wit[unclear: h] tight, the husks and chaff blaze, and a smart tap with a stick at the proper moment frees the grains. Nowadays the oats are usually threshed with a flail, then scorched in an iron pot, or in a straw basket, containing hot stones, previous to being ground. The grinding is done by the women, who make the mills go at a great speed. These mills, called *querns*, are of the simple form familiar to everyone—two circular stones, one on the top of the other, with a handle let into the upper one, the same as are still in common use in the East, and, indeed, in modified forms, among all sorts of undeveloped folk in many parts of the world.

## Quern.

The soil of St. Kilda is not of a very high-class quality. The hills are mostly covered with black and brown earth to a depth of from a few inches to 1ft in some places. On the top there is a peat moss yielding plenty of turf, which serves for fuel. The arable land is a sloping tract near the village, and this piece of land is subdivided in ancient village-commune style among the different families. To their primitive agricultural tools

allusion has already been made. They enriched the ground with turf ashes, straw, the bones, wings, and entrails of seafowl, large quantities of the carcasses of puffins, &c., &c. The defunct puffins are said to make most excellent manure, and the things grow very well despite various drawbacks, but the odour to noses not accustomed to it is shocking.

According to Martin there used to be 2000 sheep on St. Kilda, with goat-like horns and "speckled" wool. Probably his estimate included all those owned by the islanders. Many of the sheep were and are still grazed upon the great rocks lying near St. Kilda. The isles Soa and Boreray are both grazing grounds, as well as many of the lesser islets. Of horses, they had early in the century about 20, but years ago the oldest inhabitant could only just remember seeing the last surviving pony upon the island.

The St. Kildans now live in ordinary stone-built cottages roofed with iron. These houses were built about 30 years since, but previous to that time the people lived in great huts of the same pattern as used to be common to all the Western Isles. These old houses were very substantial, though no lime was used in building them. They had double walls of stone with turf packed in between. The floors were sunk beneath the surface of the ground a little way. These huts were thatched with straw, had only apertures for doors, no windows to speak of, and the chimney did double duty by letting the smoke out and the light in. If it rained or hailed or snowed a due proportion found its way into the interior, and helped, doubtless, to increase the enjoyment of those sitting on the rude stools about the earthen hearth. The way in which the roofing was fixed can hardly be described as brilliantly clever. The thatch was held down by ropes of straw or twisted heather, to the ends of which, beneath the eaves, large stones were attached. Boswell, when he saw houses of this sort in Skye, thought that when the wind rose the stones were likely to come down and knock someone on the head.

Some of these huts had beds *in* the wall, access to which was got by way of an aperture like the mouth of a baker's oven. Cosy nests, no doubt, but not to be commended from a hygienic standpoint. Although strangers found these houses to be intolerably smoky and close, with "ancient and fishlike smells" everywhere, the islanders thought them very comfortable, being habituated to their peculiarities. The heavy thatch kept out the winter cold, and it was easy, with turf and rotten driftwood, to keep a good fire roaring on the hearth when it was needed. To shelter them from the tempestuous south-west winds all these houses had their doors opening at the northeast side.

A still more primitive type of house used to obtain in St. Kilda. This was of the beehive pattern, and was literally the same, allowing for the difference of materials, as is still used by various native African tribes. The architecture of such a house is extremely simple: first a circular pit was dug, around the mouth of this, upon the surface of the earth, a low wall of stones and turf was reared; upon this were laid the rafters or sloping supports for the thatch, which might be straw, heather, or gorse. At the peak of the roof the rafters were tied round a piece of hollow tree trunk, forming a chimney and air hole. The fire was in the middle of an earthen floor, in a depression usually, the sleepers lay around it in a radius their feet pointing inward. The door in beehive houses was a mere hole big enough for a grown man to crawl in at. It is since the last one of this class disappeared from St. Kilda, but on a fine specimen existed till about 50 years ago. The idea of digging a hole to save the trouble of building a wall is simple and ingenious, and seems to be very widely different. Such houses would probably be cooler in summer and warmer in winter, and at all times would present less surface to the wind than buildings placed upon the surface of the ground.

#### Sketch of hut

I have mentioned the seafowl as an item of the first importance in St. Kilda's economics. It is quite likely that had then been no seafowl there would likewise have been no St. Kildans. The people are there mainly because the birds are there; the other sources of supply—the few acres of corn and the fish they take occasionally—could not for long keep even the smallest population in life. A few weeks of stored grain a bad harvest would suffice to cause serious famine in the island. "The humble blessings of bread and wildfowl, of peaceful cottages and little flocks, of angling rods and hunting ropes" may be all "the riches, honours, and profits they aspire after"; unhappily they don't always secure even these for in St. Kilda, as elsewhere, dearth and famine sometimes prevail. Like much greater and more skilful farmers they have a bad year occasionally. On the principle, I suppose, that misfortunes never come singly, it now and then happens that both birds and crops fail at the same time, and there has been famine in real earnest on the island.

## A Highland Hut.

# Part of the Present Village.

When famine threatens great lands all the world soon hears of it, and something at least is done to lessen the evil. But alas for the poor St. Kildan. His ocean-bound home is not joined by submarine cable to the great land of which it forms the most remote untended fragment. When famine stalks abroad in St. Kilda the folk must suffer and wait. The same storm that destroys their crops and drives their sheep in scores over the cliffs, if long continued, effectually cuts them off from means of communication with the mainland. Even the few passing ships are useless to them at such times, for all sailors know and dread the vicinity during bad weather. During such stormy spells even the "factor's smack" remains securely in harbour, and the islanders must struggle on as well as may be. The grain and potatoes laid away for seed will be eaten; if it be summer the green crops will be plucked up and eaten also. Mr Sands was on the island once during such a dearth when everyone was on short rations, and he was able to send for and bring assistance in such a novel manner as the St. Kildan had never dreamt of before. His first experiment consisted in carving a small canoe, into the hold of which he put two bottles containing letters. The natives, with extreme incredulity as to the results, saw this little ark launched, during a favourable wind, upon February 5, 1877. On January 28 such a storm blew over St. Kilda as had never been experienced by Mr Sands before that time. The wind blew with extreme fury from the north-west, bringing with it heavy showers of sleet. The waves, as they came rolling into the bay huge and threatening, had their heads blown off and scattered as spindrift by the wind, yet Mr Sands says upon this day many of the women went to church barefooted.

Mr Sands hoped the canoe would be driven by wind and tide to Uist, and, despite the predictions of the islanders that it would be heard of no more, it was found stranded on a sandbank at Poolewe, in Rosshire, by a gentleman, who posted the letters. Five days before launching the canoe, Mr Sands had despatched a life buoy rigged with a mast and sail, and having a bottle containing a letter lashed to it. This circular ship made a remarkable voyage, being found at Birsay, in Orkney, nine days later. The missive it carried brought about a prompt visit from the Government vessel Jackal with a supply of oatmeal and biscuits to keep the folk going in life. It need hardly be added that the St. Kildans were quite taken aback upon finding that these queer floating messengers so quickly brought them efficient aid.

Usually there is plenty to eat on the island. The quality of the viands may not be excessively fine, yet, with strong [*unclear*: hurge] for a sauce, even roasted solan-goos[*unclear*: e] puffin may become at least eatable. [*unclear*: Ro] puffin is said to taste like kippered [*unclear*: hering] with a flavour of dogfish. The St. [*unclear*: Kild] eat them at any rate, and I daresay other people would do so also if they had to. The island cookery is ultra plain, but apart from that I fear it would take a very great [*unclear*: cont] to turn a solan-geese into a dainty.

One great good thing which I doub[*unclear*: t] has a powerful effect on their appetites is that they go direct to Nature to supply their needs. The birds they pursue are not to be got without hardihood and daring. Pickled puffin or solan-geese may not be superlative delicacies in themselves, but we may be sure that they are vastly more palatable to the man who risked his lift to get them than to the same man had he bought them over a counter.

Upon St. Kilda there is to this day a cad conspicuous lack of household furniture. Many of the articles reckoned to be indispensable in even the humblest homes elsewhere are to the islanders unknown. The reason for this state of things is given in the [*unclear*: provert:] "What the eye does not see, the heart does not desire." The islanders have had very few opportunities of seeing or using house-hold furniture, or of having it brought to them even had they wished for it. No factor ever attempted to supply external wants and necessities as are embodied in the forms of house furniture generally. The floors, with the exception of a few recently made of wood, are all composed of beaten earth only, and there are no sanitary arrangements worth mentioning. Now that steam communication more frequent than it used to be, the want of furniture shows a tendency to be supplied. Thanks to the efforts of the present clergyman the houses are being put in better condition; he has caused them to be white washed upon the outside, and the wood-lining of the floors, and other improvements in his work. This gentleman seems determined to improve the social state of the St. Kildans in those regards in which it most needs improving; he has already effected [*unclear*: ac] much that he may be safely credited with the will and ability to accomplish a great deal more. Whether the islanders will be much benefited by being brought into closer contact with the outer world is, of course, a matter which time alone can decide. That they have been bettered by the care and energy expended upon them by their present pastor is beyond dispute. Still, it is not a trifling matter to dissipate unenlightened, happy, and ignorant contentment. By working for the community first and for themselves in a secondary degree the islanders have done very well in the past; whether, by striking just each for himself, they will do much better in the future is a point open to very grave

doubt. For progress, as we understand it, competition may be absolutely and [unclear: sentially] necessary; but the dregs of our progress are a vast mass of hopeless, helpless misery, and as the islanders, or a few of [unclear: em], seem desirous of imitating ordinary industrial methods it is reasonable to expect that from such methods similar results will follow in St. Kilda as elsewhere.

Upon such a barren little rock as St. Kilda there is no room for a serious contest for the possession of the loaves and fishes; and, without going any farther into the matter, the opinion may be ventured that the loss of the island to its present inhabitants would be the most likely result of such a contest.

The free, natural communism which has for so long regulated their social existence does not prevent the St. Kildans from doing a little trading of an independent sort when they have the chance. Now that steamers more frequently visit them they see a good deal more of Sassenach folk and Sassenach gold (perhaps silver would be a more correct word) than they used to. When such a vessel puts into the bay, and the all-devouring British tourist steps ashore, he is met with a kindly enough welcome from the natives, who always turn out for this purpose. He is also met by most of the married women, who bring with them selections of goods in the shape of stockings, dried puffins, eggs, &c., for disposal. If the tourist is a sensible being gifted with a little tact he has a pleasant hour or two with his out-of-the-way hosts; if instead of being sensible the tourist is stupid and tactless, he may spend a very unpleasant hour on St. Kilda indeed. An experience of this kind is what came to a shipload of excursionists who went to the island expecting to carry on some very high jinks with the islanders. The affair took place a few years since, and the root of the trouble was a misunderstanding about a marriage.

## The Villagers "turn out" to Welcome Strangers.

It seems that a handsome young woman, known as the Queen of St. Kilda, had promised her hand in marriage to a probably deserving but entirely commonplace islander, a widower, and the wedding might have gone off all right if the persons concerned had been left to themselves. With a strange mixture of perverted generosity and vulgar stupidity, a large number of people put their heads together and, for a time at least, spoilt this matrimonial intention. They meant well, it is true, yet their interference was of such a glaringly ill-advised kind that it is no wonder their scheme went to smash. It seems that the young lady's father was against the match; some would have it because she was of too much value at his own fireside to be parted with. As the father was ruling elder of St. Kilda and a man of strong character as well, the young couple were content to wait for his assent to their union. On the mainland, however, some of those who took an interest in the islanders, having heard of the difficulty, concluded to go to the rescue. Under the directions of a too-enterprising excursion agent, an expedition on a large scale was organised to swoop down upon the lone island. It is no more than charitable to believe that the whole thing was done in haste. Those who did go were not more foolish than many who remained at home, judging by the "gifts" sent in, designed by their senders for the Queen of St. Kilda and her proposed consort. When the steamer Clydesdale left the Clyde she had on board a clergyman, a lot of wedding rings, a number of amateur photographers, a crowd of misguided people, and about 7cwt of wedding presents. Good taste and judgment were represented by the presence of such articles as an American organ, a silver teapot, and a magnificent bridescake for the queen. For the lady also a bridal dress and veil were sent, and with them a wedding suit for her intended consort. All things reckoned necessary for a wedding feast on a great scale were there, and the fact that everything had to be carried away again, even to the huge pork pie, is very creditable to the islanders. The boxes were never opened, else the St. Kildans would have gazed upon many things upon which their eyes had never before rested. What may be designated the mercenary part of the intended gifts included such articles as boxes of pills, corn cures, hair restorers, cough syrups, ointments, magic cleansers, &c. For general distribution there were a couple of dozen microscopes, three dozen pairs of spectacles, feeding bottles, paint boxes, balls, and many other things of an equally ill-advised sort.

When the visitors were finally convinced that their mission was a failure, they retired somewhat sulkily, taking with the bridal finery the American organ, the pork pie, and the patent medicines. They did not want a Sassenach minister to come and marry them, one of the islanders said, and they had an equal objection to make sport for the Philistines in any form. The furniture, a quantity of which was included among the wedding gifts, was re-embarked with all the other things. No one uttered or seemed to feel a regret to see them go, except an islander named Macdonald, who expressed a covetous regret that "on account of so many fine presents it was a pity the wedding did not come off." I am ashamed of that Macdonald, and thankful that the excursionists were from over the Border. The party was organised in Sunderland.

In addition to being a valuable [unclear: grazing] place for their sheep, the St. Kildan[unclear: s] [unclear: ture] upon Boreray an enormous number of puffins. Every year a party of young [unclear: w] are landed there and left for about [unclear: three] weeks, during which time they do nothing but slay puffins and pluck the feathers from their bodies. The puffins are not by any means easily caught; they nest in holes borrowed in the

turf, and when disturbed i[*unclear*: n] severe bites. Half-wild dogs are employed to drive them from the holes, most of the birds being caught in snares made o[*unclear*: f] hair carefully set for the purpose they remain on Boreray the girls live in [*unclear*: rule] stone houses of peculiar build. One of [*unclear*: th] (the others vary only in size, not form) is about 14ft long and 6ft wide inside; the doorway is 2½ft high, and those entering must do so on hands and knees. The hearth, is just inside the door, and above it the [*unclear*: roof] is about 6½ft high. The house is entirely composed of slabs and blocks of stone; round the hearth is a stone seat, and the [*unclear*: rst] of the floor is raised a foot higher, and is used as a bed. Here, with entire absence of comfort, the girls work hard as long as there are any puffins to catch. Towards the end of their term the girls' fingers become so sore from much plucking that they have to use their teeth with which to draw the pinion and tail feathers. Some of the cleverest girls will catch 500 or 600 puffins in a long day—a good record, surely. What I spare waking time they have they spend in reading their Gaelic Bibles—they know no English; but it is not to be wondered at that they often fall asleep at their work from sheer exhaustion.

The puffin is a fierce little bird in self-defence or in defence of its eggs or young. It has a deadly and cunning foe in the raven, which constantly invades its nesting place and devours both eggs and young birds. When the parent puffin arrives in time it once pounces furiously upon the raven. If the latter allows the strong-beaked puffin to fasten on its neck its doom is sealed—the puffin drops with its enemy right down into the sea, and holds it beneath the surface till it is drowned. Often enough it is the other way about, and the raven comes off the victor.

At Boreray, when the birds are there in greatest numbers, some curious sights are to be seen. The air is darkened by the myriads of sea-fowl, and the crews of boats approaching the island cannot escape having their clothes bespattered liberally with the excrement of the birds. The gannets, which nest there in great numbers, are much given to thieving, their methods of stealing reminding one very forcibly of the cunning displayed by rooks when similarly employed. When a [*unclear*: gannet] steals a quantity of grass from its neighbour's nest, it scuttles off with it in a direction away from its own nest, then, returning, tries to thus deceive its fellows into the belief that it got the stuff honestly. The birds are merciless to such delinquents when detected, and the offending gannet is [*unclear*: con] dropped lifeless into the sea. The banders on approaching any of the rocks [*unclear*: sed] to reckon it an omen of good luck for themselves when they were able to pick up a gannet which had lost its life in this way.

In regard to some of the birds the St. Kildans had to use much judgment in choosing the right moment to visit the various rocks, for if they delayed a day too long the young birds had taken wing and were beyond reach for the time. I can scarcely give space for extended reference to the various birds but some description of the chief of them all in importance—the gannet, or solan-goose—may not prove amiss. Martin describes it as equalling in size a common goose, but much larger of wing; extended, he says, the wings measured from tip to tip 72in; from the tip of the bill to the extremity of the foot 34in long; and to the end of the tail, 39in. Its bill is long, straight, of a dark colour, and a little crooked at the point; behind the eyes the skin of the side of the head is bare of feathers. The eyes are hazel-coloured. It has four toes, and the feet and legs are black as far as they are bare. The plumage is like that of the common goose; the old ones are white all over except the extreme tips of the wings, which are black, and the top of the head, which is yellow—as some think, from the effects of age. The young birds are of a brown colour, turning white after they are a year old. The egg is somewhat smaller than a land goose, pointed at each end, and has a thick shell and a small yolk.

## Birds of St. Kilda—The Solan-goose.

The islanders were, and still are, fond of drinking the contents of the eggs raw, having from experience, as Martin very pedantically puts it, "found it very pectorial and cephalic." The male and female birds take regular turns at hatching. When one returns from fishing, it carries five or six herrings in its gorget, all entire and undigested. Upon its arrival at the nest the hatching fowl puts its beak in the fisher's mouth and pulls out the fish as with a pincers, accompanying the process with a good deal of noise.

## Birds of St. Kilda—The Guillemot.

Previous to the arrival of the main army of solan geese the islanders declare that they send spies, who go touring about the island until they are satisfied that all is well, when they fly off, and in a few days the whole tribe is seen coming. They make an open nest with grass, and keep adding to it till the young fowl is ready to fly. They are said never to pluck grass except upon windy days, the reason possibly being that the surface of the sea is disturbed, thus preventing the birds from clearly perceiving their prey. Often, exhausted by the unusual

labour of grass-pulling, they fall asleep, and are easily knocked on the head by the islanders.

The gannet feeds chiefly on herring and mackerel, diving from a great height perpendicularly on its prey. English fish-hooks used often to be found in the stomachs of both young and old solan-geese at a time when such hooks were not used within 20 leagues of St. Kilda. Either the fish broke away with the hooks and swam to St. Kilda, or the birds captured them, hooks and all, and carried them thither.

Of all the wild fowl of St. Kilda, the most remarkable was the great auk. It became extinct upwards of 70 years ago, the last one seen alive having been taken in the sea at St. Kilda in 1821. It used to be a common bird, but being entirely unable to fly, it fell an easy prey to man's cupidity and love of destruction. Its wings, though finely formed, were only 6in long, while the bird itself was about a yard in length. Its means of "scuttling" being so small, it is no wonder the bird is now numbered with the things that were. Its eggs are great rarities, highly prized by collectors. Sixty-one eggs are known to exist in collections. In 1888 an egg of the great auk was sold at auction in London for the sum of 160gs. The eggs of almost the whole of the species of sea-fowl are spotted or mottled; if white or of pure colour they would be conspicuous, and thus be easily seen by predatory birds and eaten. A visit to the local natural history museum will serve to show that this is so. The egg here roughly figured is that of the guillemot.

#### Sketch of bird egg

When, a number of years since, an act creating a close season for sea-fowl was passed in the British Parliament, St. Kilda had to be excepted from its operation. It is somewhat of a satire upon ourselves, with all our cumbrous precautions towards the preservation of law and order, that in St. Kilda there is neither policeman nor magistrate, yet there we have as law-abiding and orderly a set of folk as one will find anywhere in the British Empire. When such a thing is necessary to be done the islanders play the role of policemen themselves. Martin relates how "there was a cock-boat some years ago came from a ship for water, being favoured by a perfect calm. This was at the isle Soa. The men discovered a prodigious number of eggs upon the rocks, which tempted them to venture near the place, and very soon they had secured a great quantity; one of the seamen was industrious enough to put them into his breeches, which he took off for that purpose. Some of the St. Kildans, who happened to be in the isle that day, were spectators of the diversion, and were offended at it being done without their consent; they at once devised an expedient which at once robbed the seamen of their eggs and the breeches." The expedient consisted in dropping small boulders from above in close proximity to the heads of the marauders, who were so terrified that they quickly made off, leaving both breeches and eggs. The tarpaulin breeches were treasured as great curiosities, for at that time the islanders, still wore the belted plaid.

At the present time the St. Kildans wear clothes made from their own blue and grey, homespun cloth. In general appearance they closely resemble the fisher folk of the mainland coasts. When the art of weaving first became known to them I cannot tell; indeed, it is probably one of those matters impossible now to determine. From a sidelight thrown upon it by Martin, however, it is reasonable to infer that woven cloth began to be worn as clothing by the islanders less than 200 years ago. Martin states that sheepskins had been generally worn shortly before his visit, and that he saw several inhabitants who had formerly used them. The belted plaid costume, which succeeded the sheepskins, was made up of a short doublet reaching to the waist; about that a double plait of plaid, both ends being joined together with the leg bone of a fulmar. This plaid reached to the knee only, and above the waist it was girt with a leather belt. I suppose the Highland dress of our time is a development of this old barbarous costume.

Until quite recently, a few of the islanders used woolly sheepskin caps, rudiments of their discarded sheepskin clothing. While engaged bird catching—and, indeed, at the most of times—the islanders prefer to go barefooted. They wear common heavy boots now, but up to quite recently they wore Highland brogans of curious and primitive make. The leather was made from the hides of the ponies they used to have on the island. To tan the skins they used bark from tree trunks found under the turf. There is not the vestige of a live tree or shrub on St. Kilda. The brogans were made inside out and turned afterwards; they were sewn with thongs of sheepskin and were *straight*, fitting either foot. Jackets are rarely worn by the men and boys of St. Kilda except on Sundays; but they greatly affect the comfortable garment described by its name, the sleeved waistcoat; very commonly, too, they go bareheaded as well as barefooted.

The wives and daughters of St. Kilda dress in gowns made of the same heavy, blue stuff that clothes their husbands and fathers. About their waists on high days they tie coloured sashes, and for head covering turkey-red handkerchiefs are in great demand, and are far more highly [unclear: ought] of than would be the latest Parisian [unclear: net]. Their heavy tweed dresses and plaids could hardly be other than somewhat [unclear: couth], and so those who have seen them describe them as appearing; but this by no [unclear: means] applies to the wearers themselves, who always have been noted for the vigorous [unclear: health] they possess, and also for their liberal [unclear: hare] of physical beauty, which is as noticeable now as it was when Martin favourably compared them with the great ladies of his own time. One of the most unlikely things in the way of a shoe used to be common on St. Kilda. It consisted of the head and neck of a solan-geese, which was cut so

that the crown of the head did duty as a heel, while the skin of the neck was drawn tightly over the foot. This must have been a droll substitute for a shoe, and yet it is not long since this curious foot-gear ceased to be worn. The women alone used such shoes. A pair of such shoes would do duty for three or four days only. Long since, the islanders sewed with strips of feather instead of thread. Both men and women formerly used certain small bones of the fulmar petrel with which to fasten their clothes. Some of the women still use pins made from large fishhooks with which to fasten their gowns at the neck; to fasten their plaids some of them use brooches made from those old copper pennies which may still occasionally be met with. Upon their heads the elder women wear snowy-white caps, and about their necks kerchiefs to match. Minor articles of clothing—such as stockings—they make entirely from the wool of their own sheep. They card, spin, and knit more of such things than they need, so that when strangers visit them they have surplus stock to sell. The islanders' environment is still somewhat primitive, but, in some degree at least, civilisation has come to them lately in the form of pins, needles, thread, and *buttons*.

## St Kildan Fowlers at Work—(From an Old Print.)

The thread for their cloth, &c., is all spun by the women, and the cloth is woven by the men, who work early and late during the winter at the primitive looms. It is a strange circumstance that the reeds of their looms are made from sub-tropical or tropical canes which drift from America to St. Kilda with the Gulf Stream. Some of the canes are large. Mr Sands saw several taken from the sea, one being several inches in diameter.

Until quite recently such boats as the St. Kildans owned could hardly be described as seaworthy. They were used for visiting Boreray and the lesser rocks during the bird-catching seasons; but for a 50-mile voyage, say to Harris or Uist, they were quite unfit. As there are no harbours at any of their rocky hunting grounds, there is great danger in approaching them; but to this I have already alluded. It is usually necessary to jump into the sea at some favourable spot and scramble ashore anyhow. Two men are left in the boat to see to its safety. The lower parts of the cliffs are searched from below, the men climbing far up among the jagged projections, and returning laden with slaughtered geese or fulmars, whichever is being pursued. The old fulmar petrels are caught in summer as they sit upon their eggs, a noose attached to the end of a rod being slipped over their heads. In August the young fulmars are easily caught, being still unable to fly. They do not like to be caught, however, and resist by spitting their evil-smelling oil in the men's faces.

Getting at the fulmars from above is really a terrible occupation. The men work in pairs. One with a rope fastened about his body slips over the edge of the precipice, and, clinging with hands and (shoeless) feet, works his way down, down, till he is lost to sight, busy all the while collecting his unwilling victims. The other man remains above attending to the rope, and ready to haul up if called upon. They use good hempen ropes now, but a few years since they were still using their old ropes, some of hemp, but others of horsehair, and still others of *straw*. In use the rope is often attached to a strong iron peg driven into the brow of the cliff, but this is not always the case. Sometimes it is merely held by one or more of the islanders on the brink, who shift their position according to the directions shouted up from below. Even though the cliffs be slippery and wet, the islanders move about upon the extreme edge with the most amazing unconcern. Without a thought of any danger they advance to the utmost verge of their enormous precipices and hold lively converse with those of their number who are busy below. The danger of their trade is very apparent to strangers looking on, but they themselves are oblivious to them.

As they work, now and then large stones become loosened and bound with terrific violence from rock to rock till they reach the sea. As before-mentioned, resultant bumps are numerous, yet serious casualties are few. Their skulls, I daresay, get accustomed to that sort of thing.

Sketch of woman at the edge of a cliff

After working along the face of the cliffs for a sufficient time, the men often free themselves from their ropes and climb by steep and perilous paths to the summit. At certain spots among the cliffs there are grassy slopes, to the bottoms of which the men bring the birds. From thence the young women carry them to the top. Some of the girls carry 200lb weight up these almost perpendicular paths. They bring cheese and oaten cakes to eat, and in little tubs with bottoms of raw sheepskin they carry ewe milk to drink. Upon this humble fare they subsist while performing such tasks as would quickly prostrate almost any ordinary man. So healthy and physically well developed are they that they consider such burdens to be nothing out of the common. After bringing such a load they merely pause for a few minutes to recover their [*unclear*: reathing]; then start off again with as [*unclear*: little] concern as though their message was [*unclear*: ut] to fetch a loaf of bread.

The islanders are as slow to adopt new [*unclear*: eases] as to adopt new ideas. Their mode of living entails

plenty of hard exercise, but leaves very little time or inclination for [unclear: ssipation], even of the mildest kind. It may well be thought that rough, coarse food, [unclear: mosure] to cold and wet, and the insanitary houses in which they till recently lived, would all tend to foster disease. Yet, [unclear: pite] these and various other possible [unclear: causes], the adult population of St. Kilda is [unclear: gularly] free from congenital or other [unclear: disesses]. They have some queer remedies of their own—home-made ones, so to speak, perhaps their freedom from disease results in great degree from the terribly drastic [unclear: eeding]-out process which exterminates so [unclear: many] of the infants soon after birth. Very [unclear: law] of the children born on the island [unclear: survive] more than a few days. In great cities it is common, as we know, for two children [unclear: ut] of every three to die before reaching the [unclear: age] of five years. It is sad to think that of those who so early die the greater number have only lived a few years of misery. In [unclear: it] Kilda, if statistics of infant [unclear: morality] were collected, a much higher death [unclear: rate] than that of any large city would be [unclear: fund] to prevail.

The disease that carries off the St. Kildan [unclear: bies] is called "nine-day fits," and doctors [unclear: differ] greatly as to the cause of it. Some [unclear: y] that it arises from the mothers living on seafowl; others that it is due to weakening of the blood from long-continued [unclear: intermar-age]; others that the infants are smothered with peat smoke; while some aver that improper feeding is the true cause. Whatever the cause of it, the fact remains that only a few of the children grow up to be men and women. Soon after birth they are seized with convulsions and lockjaw, and death quickly follows. It must be a sad thing for the mothers of St. Kilda to know that their children have many more chances to die than to live. The mother's heart is the same everywhere, and the terrible pathos of the struggle of life against death is not less at St. Kilda than elsewhere. Earnest [unclear: endeavours] to avert the fate that ever threatens native-born children are not wanting. It is [unclear: not] unusual for married women to make [unclear: eg] and perilous voyages, mostly in open [unclear: oats], to Uist or Harris, so that their children may be born away from St. Kilda. The [unclear: actual] distance may not be very great—50 or 60 miles perhaps—but the difficulties are [unclear: immense], and the dangers very real and great. The voyager may have to remain away for 10 or 12 months without receiving or being able to send either message or letter during the whole time. The chance of a passage back must be patiently awaited, and while the St. Kildan is waiting for the opportunity to return to her home—50 miles away—another traveller may leave London, reach Australia or New Zealand, spend a few months there, and, returning at leisure, find the poor St. Kildan still waiting. There is surely something of the truly heroic in the maternal devotion of the island mother.

## Birds of St. Kilda—The Little Auk.

Those who survive childhood enjoy a wonderful immunity from sickness, and, apart from accidents, usually live to old age. Both sexes look strong and healthy, have bright eyes, teeth like new ivory, are tough and hardy, capable of long-continued exertion, and among them, while weather-beaten faces are common, care-worn faces are few. Considering their general freedom from disease, it is singular that an epidemic all their own has periodically raged in St. Kilda during hundreds of years. This "trouble," as the islanders call it, takes the form of a very severe cold, affecting the head and throat chiefly—it being, in fact, influenza of an aggravated type. It attacks young and old alike—from the nursling in the cradle to the patriarch in the ingle. Martin, who visited St. Kilda at the end of the seventeenth century, described how "they contract a cough as often as any strangers land and stay for any time among them, and it continues for eight or ten days." Since Martin's time many visitors have made mention of the "stranger's cold," as it has come to be called. In 1860 a Government vessel, the Porcupine, called at St. Kilda, with the usual curious result that a few days afterwards the entire population, young and old, were prostrated by a severe attack of "the trouble." In 1877 an Austrian ship was cast away near St. Kilda, and the captain and crew for some time shared the hospitality of the islanders. No one had been ill on the island for six months before this event, yet in a few days they were all down with the "stranger's cold." No matter where the vessel comes from—the Clyde, London, the Orkneys, Skye—the "stranger's cold" invariably results. The St. Kildans themselves say that if the vessel is from Harris or Uist, the attack is more severe than if caused by a ship from distant parts. This, however, may be an exaggeration, as the St. Kildans greatly affect to look down upon the folk from the big islands. Harris they usually describe as being a poor place—dirty, shabby, and the people greedy, and so on. Mothers in Harris threaten to send their children, when naughty, to St. Kilda. The Harris folk call the St. Kildans "*gougan*"—a Gaelic name for young solan-geese.

Dr Samuel Johnson, when he and Boswell voyaged among the Hebrides, attempted to throw ridicule upon the "stranger's cold" as being a mere imaginary figment. Many explanations have been offered, but few of them are of any value, and some are quite foolish. Some think that the wind which blows the vessel also blows

the disease to the island; but the mischief is as great from a steamboat as from a sailing vessel. Others find a sufficient reason in the exposure to which the inlanders subject themselves when they ran into the water to greet new arrivals and help them ashore. If the St. Kildans were mashers of the knob-sucking type this might do; but it is sadly foolish when said of those whose lives are a series of exposures to all sorts of weather. Long since, when chance visitors were very rare, and the "factor's smack" was the only vessel calling frequently at St. Kilda, when the "factor" brought them their usual supplies he invariably brought the influenza with the other things.

A medical man, Dr Parsons, who lately took up the subject, maintains that the strangers bring the trouble with them in the shape of disease germs to which they themselves are inured, but which are new to the dwellers in out-of-the-way islands. This view I am inclined to adopt myself. I think we are at any rate justified in believing that disease germs do pass hither and thither, and that fatal epidemics often are caused by their growth and development. Whatever the cause of it, the "stranger's cold" at St. Kilda, though milder, is quite as tangible and real as the recent scourge of influenza from which the whole world suffered so terribly.

Until recently the St. Kildans used no salt either in the cooking or preservation of their provisions. All over the island are little stone houses called claets, pyramidal in form, and built entirely of slabs of stone. In these the provisions are stored for winter use. The island is dotted all over with these odd buildings. They are used for the safe keeping of hay as well as of food. They [unclear: salt] large numbers of sea-fowl nowadays, as well as some mutton; formerly they merely [unclear: slit] the birds down the back, cleaned them, and dried them in the sun previous to sowing them away. Martin describes how they preserved the eggs in claets by scattering the burnt ashes of turf under and about them, this simple process, so long as moisture was kept away, being sufficient to keep them fresh for seven or eight months.

One of the strangest articles of food ever evolved on St. Kilda has been known for centuries as "giben." Giben was a pudding like mass of fowl fat stuffed into the stomach of the solan-goose, sometimes having added to it other substances, sometimes not. It was eaten primarily as a relish, or much as we eat butter, but its virtues did not end at that. It was accounted a sovereign remedy for many ailments—a sort of cure all to be always kept at hand. Cases of cancer, fistula, green wounds, &c., according to the islanders, were formerly cured by the use of giben. To sick and weakly persons the giben was given in "brochan," a variety of thick oatmeal gruel. It was also reckoned to be the best remedy for the "Stranger's cold." The St. Kildans have less faith in this greasy nostrum now, and since salt has become a regular article of use, diseases such as scurvy, due to its absence, have long ceased to be known on the island.

There are a few herbs, some of them of a useful kind for curative purposes, that have long been known on St. Kilda. The common dock, millefoil, scurvy-grass, silver-weed, plaintain, sage, sorrel, chickweed, all-hall, sea-pink, and tormentil are about all. The lichen growing on the rocks was credited with a "drying and healing" property, and the roots of tormentil were used for tanning leather. They used to make a kind of ale from nettle roots, the juice of which they "put in a dish with a little barley-meal dough; these sowens—*i.e.*, flummery—being blended together produce yeast, which puts their wort into a ferment and makes good ale, which, when drunk plentifully of, generally disposes them to dance merrily." Of several of the herbs mentioned above the St. Kildans had no knowledge of the medical value supposed to belong to them. Among the Hebrideans generally, however, these herbs were held in great repute for the cure of various diseases. There were no doctors, which, according to Lord Molesworth, was "the very reason why they enjoy such good health." When any [unclear: e] was ill among them some one or another of a very singular and primitive set of remedies was resorted to to effect a cure. To cure pleurisy, for instance, they laid the patient on a warm hearth, with the affected [unclear: de] downwards, and they thought this an [unclear: fallible] method of getting rid of the [unclear: sease]. Of course the hearth *was* warm, the fires being, in every instance, made on the ground; there were no ranges, grates, or [unclear: stoves] on the islands. To cure jaundice, the patient, with his back uncovered, was made to lie face downward on the ground; then, when he least expected anything of the sort, [unclear: a] pail of cold water was thrown on his [unclear: ack], the shock thus given driving the diseases away. A variation upon the above consisted in "suddenly touching the [unclear: eventh] vertebra of the patient with a [unclear: red-] iron, which makes him furiously run out of doors, still supposing the hot iron is on his [unclear: ack], till the pain be abated, which happens [unclear: very] speedily, and the patient recovers soon after." Certain stones, the touch of which was supposed to remove diseases, were also [unclear: in] general use; fanning the face of the [unclear: valid] with the leaves of a Bible was another [unclear: are] applicable, I dare say, to any kind of [unclear: ness]. In the one case the evil of the disease passed from the sufferer to the stone; [unclear: in] the other the virtue of the sacred writing passed out of the book into the invalid. In [unclear: xth] these cases there may be recognised ideas which re-occur in many widely-[unclear: parated] parts of the world.

If, as has lately been suggested, St. Kilda should be bought and turned into a [unclear: sani-ium] or convalescent retreat, cures of a different and better sort will be seen upon it. For such a purpose the island could [unclear: arcely] be excelled by any available spot within sufficiently easy reach of the [unclear: main-nd].

With almost 50 miles of ocean between it and the coasts of the outer Hebrides, the natural of St. Kilda could hardly be other than pure. Upon the island, too, there are many springs of pure water; some of these [unclear: ue] from the rocks, some from the peat [unclear: ss] at the top of the island. Of one of the [unclear: tter] it is said that its waters wash clothes as well without soap as other water does with it. The springs used for drinking from are said to yield water unrivalled for quality any where in the Hebrides.

Even on remote St. Kilda strange old [unclear: customs] have slowly given way to modern common place ones. The present minister of the island has done a good deal to [unclear: liven] the year's routine by the inauguration of such little episodes as soirees, lectures, and so on. At the New Year season [unclear: he] treats the whole population, young and [unclear: aid,] in relays, to seasonable entertainments in the manse. There are Christmas trees, with toys for every one of the youngsters, and a magic lantern by means of which all are amused and instructed. The chief social episode of the year follows upon the successful getting in of the harvest. Then each family has its love feast, shared in by all the nearest of kin. The tables are covered with the best of everything produced on the island. While the good things are being disposed of the elders of the party recite legends of the past, and tell of the great deeds of bravery and skill done by their ancestors in bygone times. Thus the unwritten traditional history of the island is handed down from sire to son, slightly blended, no doubt, with additions emanating from the inventive Celtic brains of each generation of islanders.

From among the many strange secular customs now or lately followed by the islanders it is here only possible to pick a few. One of the most curious customs formerly in vogue at St. Kilda was imposed upon every bachelor who aspired to become a Benedict. Somewhat south from the village, in the face of the cliffs, is a remarkable rock known as the "Mistress Stone." It is a perpendicular rock about 140ft high, and so smooth in appearance from the sea that it has been likened to a door. Upon the lintel of this door every bachelor wooer was, by ancient usage, obliged in honour to give a specimen of his prowess, and so prove himself worthy of the love of his mistress; and this is how he did it.

He had to stand on his left foot, having the one half of his sole over the rock, and then to draw the right foot further out to the *left*, and in this posture, bowing, he put *both his fists* further out to the *right foot*. If he didn't succeed in doing this strange feat he was very likely to fall down and break his neck. If he did succeed he had acquired a reputation of the most desirable kind and was ever after accounted worthy of the best wife in the world.

This may seem a rash, useless, and absurd custom, but a moment's reflection will suffice to show that it was not altogether so. A man by performing this dangerous gymnastic feat proved himself capable of skilful rock-climbing. As he could, therefore, be sure of obtaining enough birds for the support of a household, he might be allowed to marry and become the father of a family. Besides, I believe it is the case that a rope was attached to the waist of the aspirant, so that he could only appear foolish if he failed.

Throughout the Western Isles and the Highlands the laird used to have a pretty busy finger in the social pie. But in St. Kilda the laird was very rarely seen, and many generations of the islanders have lived and passed away without ever having set eyes upon "The MacLeod."

At the present time the chief occupies merely the position of a landlord; formerly it was quite different, and the chief was less lord of the soil than head and lawgiver of the great, many-branched family that found a living on it. He had certain rights over the soil, it is true, for he claimed a portion of the produce, but in many of the smaller islands this claim was never strictly enforced. "The bond which united him to his people rested mainly on a kindly interchange of many good offices. This was regulated by customs, all of which recognised the difficulty of life in those places, and the fact that in times of special need existence could only be preserved in the islands by the help of the chief. If, for instance, a plague killed off the cattle, then the chief re-stocked the island. If old age or infirmity rendered any of the islanders incapable of self-support, the chief was bound to receive these into his family. But if the chief himself became too poor to live in fitting style, his needs were relieved by the islanders, who, as a matter of course, subscribed for this purpose, each according to his means."

If twins were born to any of the islanders, one was always taken into the household of the chief. The rearing of two children at one time would have been too great a strain on the resources of a Hebridean household. An instance is mentioned in a chronicle of the sixteenth century of a chief who had, at one time, 16 such retainers. So far the customary disposal of twins benefited the tenant; but, on the other hand, if two lambs or two calves were born at a birth, one was strictly the property of the chief.

There are many other things that I have omitted all notice of, having found it quite impossible to give a full account of the customs of the place in such a paper as this. Formerly, on some of the smaller populated islands, they used to have a visit from a tailor once a year, and perhaps from a blacksmith two or three times. But St. Kilda lay too remote for such visits, and never enjoyed the benefit of any such.

Even among those who have lived there there is no agreement come to regarding the significance of customs which were until recently commonly observed in the Hebrid Isles. There can, however, be very little doubt that the ancient religion of all these islands really was a phase of Druidism. It has been contended, not

without reason, that the Druids found in these remote islands and in the north of Ireland their last stronghold. It is undeniable that in the folklore of these islands we find such a mass of [unclear: heathen] customs, all so evidently belonging to each other, that we are impelled to the belief of their being the wreckage, so to speak, of a faith declined and dead ages since. [unclear: Off-course], we know in a way the story of [unclear: f] Catholic Christianity was introduced to the Western Isles, but the extreme remoteness of St. Kilda accounts for the fact that priests from Iona took a long time to reach it. When they did reach it, their influence slightly leavened the primitive heathenism of the people. In St. Kilda and some of the other isles Druidism held its place into the eighteenth century. The last priest of [unclear: Baa] was dead and gone long before then, but the strange and superstitious customs [unclear: traceable] to heathen teaching and authority still remained. To this day the empty [unclear: mimicry] of certain of these customs attests how deeply rooted they had become. On Midsummer Day it was, and probably still is, the custom for boys, especially in the far north of Scotland, to raise bonfires and make [unclear: p-tence] of passing through the fire to Moloch. I have helped to make such fires myself, and jumped over them, too, little dreaming of the time when the victims were forced *into the fire* and consumed in its flames. Where is the land that has not known sun-worship! Where the land that does not show traces, greater or less, of its rites? Thousands of years ago in Eastern lands men worshipped the great luminary of day. In the East many do so still. The earlier races who occupied our own British isles were undoubtedly [unclear: y] and fire worshippers, whose ritual included the sacrifice by burning of victims both bestial and human. Call them Druids, or what you will, the chief thing about them [unclear: in] what they taught, what they did, and it is evident from what is known that for ages their hold on the people was complete and unshaken. They cunningly contrived to make it impossible for anyone to be independent of them. Fire, the marvellous and indispensable servant of man, was the exclusive monopoly of the priesthood. No one save the priest durst give—no one durst take from any but the priest—a burning brand to kindle the domestic fire, or indeed for any purpose. Without the sanction of the priest pots could not boil, nor birds be roasted. It was taught also that fire lost its sacredness after a time, and needed to be renewed. Throughout the north of Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebrides, every fire, for whatever purpose used, was extinguished on a certain day annually, after the harvest had been got in. Then a strange ceremony was gone through. Few things, I believe, are easier done than producing fire [unclear: y] robbing two sticks together. But easy [unclear: ways] become common, and common things [unclear: s] to be despised. So to prevent that [unclear: liability] which the proverb says begets [unclear: tempt], these heathen priests devised an [unclear: inous] and difficult method of producing [unclear: cred] flame. When every fire had been [unclear: tinguished], 81 married men were selected [unclear: d] aid in making what was known as "forced fire." Two great planks were used, and nine [unclear: n] at a time vigorously rubbed one plank [unclear: on] the other until fire was produced. The [unclear: w] fire was looked upon as most sacred, and [unclear: accounted] of the greatest virtue in curing [unclear: ague] in man or murrain in cattle.

If the priest had received all his dues, [unclear: on] each family was supplied with a burning [unclear: and], and soon all the fires would blaze [unclear: again], not to be allowed to die out till next "forced fire" day. That was the method common to the Western Isles. It could not have been carried out to the letter in St. Kilda, for there never was such a number of [unclear: rried] men in it at any time. But the [unclear: general] procedure was probably the same. If plague or murrain were about, pots of [unclear: water] were first put upon the new fires and their contents sprinkled upon the human beings or beasts affected. Let us hope they did not make it boiling hot. In Hanover [unclear: aring] the present century this superstition has been resuscitated as an alleged remedy for plague.

The annually produced "forced fire" was [unclear: ust] used for sacrificial purposes. The fires of [unclear: sacrifice] were kindled by the priests themselves, and by a different procedure to that which I have just described. These [unclear: sacrificial] fires blazed on various holy days [unclear: throughout] the year. The 1st of May, when the corn and other crops were beginning to grow; Midsummer Day, when the crops were [unclear: ripening;] and the 1st of November—Feast of the Moon—by which time the harvest had been gathered in, probably marked the three great seasons of the Druid year.

On May Day, still called by the heathen [unclear: same] Beltam, meaning the "Fire or Feast of Bel," great twin fires were kindled, and victims meant for sacrifice later were made [unclear: o] pass between these fires. These preliminary toasts were meant, I believe, for purification—to render the victim fit for killing on the altar. When we speak of a [unclear: man] being "between two fires," we utter a saying born of this terrible old custom.

On Midsummer Day the islanders, holding flaming brands in their right hands, marched in procession three times round their crops, their cattle, and their homes. This triple [unclear: tour], with or without fire, was used in connection with almost every act of their daily [unclear: life]. "In the early ages the Druid priests might often be seen heading a long procession of worshippers winding three times round the altar, the direction being always from east to west, following the sun's course." Many centuries later, when a boat put to sea it began its

voyage by making these three turns; if a welcome stranger visited one of the islands the inhabitants passed three times round their guest, saluting and blessing him as they went; a flaming brand was carried three times round a woman after child-bearing; three times round the child daily until it was christened, and on many other occasions besides. This superstition is by no means extinct—if I mistake not it even lives, in changed form, to-day in Dunedin.

There were other superstitions in plenty, some of them probably of Scandinavian origin. The gathering of kelp used to be a common industry in the Western Isles. The sea-ware thrown up by the winter storms was dragged ashore, dried, and burnt, the resultant ash, containing soda, being used as a fertiliser for the cultivated land. At the beginning of winter the islanders went in a body to the seashore and performed certain rites with the intention of securing a good [unclear: kolp] harvest. "One of their number waded into the sea holding aloft a cup of ale, and calling 'Shony, Shony, I give you this cup of ale hoping you will be so kind as to send us plenty of sea-ware.'" After this he poured the ale into the sea and returned to land. Then all went to the church (they had adopted the semblance of Romanism at least), where there was a candle burning on the altar. All stood silent for a while, until at a given signal the candle was extinguished. This done, the people moved back into the open air, where they spent the rest of the night drinking their ale and making merry.

It is doubtful whether this sea deity, called Shony, was a belonging of Norse or Irish paganism. The islanders themselves didn't know, and neither do I. They believed in magical stones, magical plants, magical processes; in the evil eye, in second sight, in fairies, taiscks, and brownies, and whole hosts of wonders that are only empty words to us.

Martin mentions that during his visit he observed traces of a confused, indefinite belief in a sort of spiritualism or Nature worship. Some of the islanders were of the opinion that spirits became embodied, and took up their quarters in rocks, hills, or wherever else they listed. At that time they placed the faces of their dead towards the east when they buried them, and bewailed their relations excessively. Upon these occasions they made doleful songs, which they called laments. Last century, upon hearing of the death of MacLeod, they abandoned their houses and mourned during two days in the open air. Previous to an interment they used to kill a cow or a sheep, unless it was in the spring, when the ceremony was, on account of the cattle being poor and lean, deferred till they became fat.

They seem to have been when Martin visited them in a state of transition from Roman Catholicism to Presbyterianism. There were three chapels on the island, all oriented, and one of them—which, by the way, was *thatched*—contained an altar and brazen crucifix, and the latter, Martin says, they held in great reverence. It was only used upon great occasions, such as marriages, the swearing of decisions and oaths, and other public ceremonies. Those entering the bonds of matrimony placed each a hand upon the crucifix while they made their vows, and this ceremonial was reckoned very binding. It may, however, be said that among such an earnest, sincere, and simple-minded people promises deliberately made would be faithfully carried out without the aid of such adventitious accessories. It may be noted in passing that St. Kildan marriage rings used to be made of worsted. For a long time back the islanders have professed Presbyterianism, and are ultra-orthodox and extreme in their views, and this to an extent which may be described as more characteristic of the earlier rather than the later years of the present century.

I have told about some of the things that St. Kilda has, and need hardly allude to the many things that are unknown there. St. Kilda has no harbours, railways, submarine cables, electric telegraphs, or postal services; letters may, and often do, take months to reach it. I know of one instance in which a letter took *10 months* to reach St. Kilda from Harris, *50 miles away*, and this instance is by no means a solitary one. Let those who growl at the New Zealand mail services think of that. The St. Kildans have no shops in which to buy things they mainly don't want and are much better without. Until quite lately coined money was unknown as a representative of wealth on the island. A few coins might have been found in their possession, but they were valued as curiosities only. There are neither pawnbrokers nor publicans, nor city councillors nor mayors in St. Kilda. They have no newspapers, no police force, no police courts with unending lists of hopeless drunks or other varieties of persistent evildoers; there are no streets, and outside the houses they have no lamps or lanterns. If a stranger visits them and has occasion to pass from one house to another on a dark night they give him a burning peat stuck on the end of a stick to light him on his way.

Without further cataloguing, I ma[unclear: y] that the island has very few—beyon[unclear: d] church and a school—of the great [unclear: public] privileges or services usually thought o[unclear: f] inseparable from civilisation. But if [unclear: t] St. Kildans are worse off than their neighbours, I have not been able to make it ou[unclear: t] being due to the absence of these [unclear: great] public privileges. They are poor, it is true, and the nature of their surroundings [unclear: makes] it unlikely that they can ever become [unclear: rick]. Yet, isolated and cramped as they are, they are not so poor as thousands of the workers in the great hives of industry. [unclear: Famine] may, and does occasionally, threaten then, but does not stalk forever in this lone [unclear: little] isle as it does in our great, busy Manchester and Glasgows and Londons. Misfortune may overtake them,

but not more likely they than others. They may be robbed as others may be, but are not fleeced of the products of their industry in the systematic way approved in our industrial communities. Yet life is essentially hard in St. Kilda. There are no soft-lived sinners on it. [unclear: Tell] must be unremitting to ward off want. Circumstanced as they are, it is wonderful that they so well manage to keep body and soul together. They can hardly be looked to to produce any Burns, or Byrons, or Scotts; the racial energies of the little group are too directly bent on getting both ends to meet to bother about the problems which harass the outer world.

It is hardly necessary to draw attention further to the disabilities of the St. Kildans. That their surroundings are hard and unsympathetic can scarcely be reckoned an evil in itself. We do not usually find progressive peoples inhabiting favoured climes, nor does true progress spring from easy conditions of life. That is a fruit of the bard struggle with Nature when Nature wears an endless frown on her face. Life in St. Kilda has always been such a struggle, and as an outcome of it we may well look for some show of progress—some advance made and secured. Yet those who know the St. Kildans may easily assert of them that they are not a progressive community; that in many ways their lives are barbarous and rude; that they are most conservative of many things which need radical alteration; that they too often shut their eyes and put their fingers in their ears; and so on for a few pages if might be. The St. Kildan—if he had read Thoreau—would very likely retort that he "stepped to the music which he heard," and refuse to have any discussion on the subject. He would still go on [unclear: king] the wool from his sheep. Instead of [unclear: pig] it, and doing a lot of other things [unclear: if] a most reprehensible kind. He loves t[unclear: o] as his fathers did not because he reasons [unclear: at] his ancestors did well, but simply [unclear: be-se] he does not reason at all. It is quite [unclear: inly] true that these poor islanders are as each under the influence of their environment as is any race anywhere. Their live[unclear: s] moulded and coloured by their surroundings just as are the lives of their fellow [unclear: eatures] in every part of the world. The St. Kildans for hundreds of years have been [unclear: ling], from the cradle to the grave, in a [unclear: ttle] eddy far out of the main current of the [unclear: stream] of life, which has rushed on almost [unclear: t] of their hearing, and quite out of their [unclear: ight]. To be so shut out from a share in the general life of the world is to be deprived of the kind of friction that makes intelligence and keeps it bright.

To me the St. Kildans seem to be the [unclear: em-diment] of a contradiction. They enjoy [unclear: s] which, for material well-being, will [unclear: compare] with the general run anywhere. S[unclear: o] that is well for the islanders, but man cannot live by bread alone. The possibility of intelligent growth being wanting, what [unclear: e] there is matters nothing. Now I greatly [unclear: ar] that the St. Kildans, though they are [unclear: od] and well-behaved folk, are really [unclear: becoming] less intelligent as time rolls by. It is not a question of merely getting an existence. Viewed only from an economical [unclear: andpoint], it is easy to believe that the [unclear: island] may long continue to support a fair population. The birds will still congregate there when every islander now alive is dead [unclear: and] gone. But there is another important [unclear: factor] in the arrested development of St. Kilda that must not be overlooked. This is [unclear: the] constant occurrence of intermarriage. I have mentioned that there are only six or seven family names in the island. In [unclear: vary-ng] degree all are inter-related, and isolated as they are, intermarriage is inevitable. Though [unclear: e] white teeth, bright eyes, and sturdy, alert [unclear: becomes] of the islanders form proof positive that they are not without some share of [unclear: Nature's] favour, yet we must take note [unclear: that] the population is actually dwindling. It is now about 130 years since the fits which [unclear: carry] off the babies became noticeable. The [unclear: il] has greatly increased since then. [unclear: By-nd] by the surviving fragment of population say become too small to make life a success [unclear: on] the island. Successful economics are [unclear: ly] possible to an increasing population. [unclear: The] more folk the more use they are, or [unclear: ght] to be, to each other. The whole [unclear: subject] of intermarriage and its results is, however, a matter for specialists to decide upon. I certainly think we may set it down as being a bar to intelligent progress. Indeed, if we were to trace the history of the St. Kildans we would probably find that they have lost racial energy rather than increased it. Centuries back the island contained 200 inhabitants, now only about 80 find a living upon it. In these early days they had three ropes only, and one boat. They settled by lot who would go and use them, but the birds caught were divided equally among all. At present they have better boats and ropes, and many advantages that their forefathers never knew. Yet the island does not now support one-half as many as it formerly did.

Viewed thus, from a biological standpoint, we may safely prophesy that before long St. Kilda will be once again an uninhabited rock. Mother Nature, who knows all things, both good and evil, has decreed that the race whose borders are too well kept must die. She will not tolerate these close alliances. She favours those races which go forth boldly and freely to compete and intermingle with their world neighbours, and who at home make the industrious, learned, and intelligent equally welcome wherever they come from. The poor St. Kildans are hospitable and kindly, but their little isle offers no inducement to immigrants. Those who go go for curiosity's sake only. The likelihood is that at no distant date the population will have so decreased that the survivors will of necessity have to emigrate. It has, indeed, already been suggested that they should do so. A

few short years and the native-born St. Kildan may be as extinct as the dodo, and the island itself given over entirely to puffins, cormorants, and solan-geese. The fulmar will, mayhap, yet lay its eggs on the hearthstones of those who now live by its slaughter. The few ruined cottages and the curious clactan—these and scattered patches of degenerate cereals mixed with weeds will mark for long the village site of St. Kilda. The antiquary of the future will sometimes venture to cross the sea, and dig and poke about the spot which served many generations of St. Kildans for a home. There he will unearth curious-shaped, rusty bits of iron, half or wholly rotten fragments of rope, bits of primitive looms, broken pots of iron and clay, and fragments of basket work; and upon these treasures he will deliver learned discourse anent the strange and barbarous ways of life of the one-time inhabitants of St. Kilda.

Printed at the Otago Daily Times Office, High Street, Dunedin.

Puffin on a tree branch

Front Cover

The Orators of Ireland. A Lecture Delivered at Auckland, New Zealand, under the auspices of The Irish National Federation,

By W. J. Napier,

*Barrister-at-Law, New Zealand; Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Fiji; Law Adviser of the Government of Tonga; Treasurer of the Irish National Federation, (Auckland Branch); Author of "Jottings in Samoa;" "Land Law Reform;" "The Foreign and Domestic Policy of England;" "The Point Resolution Land Commission;" "Letters to the People on the Political Situation;" "Speeches of a Parliamentary Candidate" "The Vindication of Liberalism" "The Mission of the New Zealand Democracy" &c.*

Auckland W. Wilkinson, Printer, 177 Queen St. 1894.

The following Lecture was delivered in St. James' Hall, Auckland, to a very large audience. The President of the Federation was in the Chair.

## The Orators of Ireland.

Mr. Napier, who was received with great applause, said.—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

The theme upon which I venture to address you this evening is one which is calculated to evoke the warmest feelings of the Irish heart, and to recall some of the most sorrowful and withal inspiring episodes in the tragic history of the Emerald Isle. For to fitly discourse of the Orators of Ireland would be to speak of the real life of Ireland, to feel the pulsations of her heart, her passions, her joys, her griefs, her pride, her valour, her humiliations, her hopes and despair, her constancy to ideals, in a word it would be to pourtray the national organism as it existed through centuries of time, and to tell the story of its existence. D'Alembert, the French philosopher, says that "the prodigies worked by eloquence in the hands of a single man upon an entire nation are perhaps the most shining testimony of the superiority of one man over another," and surely never was a nation more influenced by the magic wand of the orator than Ireland. For many hundreds of years the Irish were compelled to rely upon oral speech as their only means of receiving both religious and political instruction, and newspapers were almost unknown, while books when they were not proscribed by alien laws were, because of their great cost, entirely out of the reach of the masses of the people. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Irish people revered the power of eloquent speech, and rallied round the pulpit, and the forum of the orator, with a fervour and enthusiasm which has never been surpassed. In ancient history there are similar instances of the great influence possessed by orators in moulding the national life of a people. The intellectual Greek citizens received their culture by oral speech from the philosophers in the sacred groves of the Academy, and by witnessing the dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles upon the civic stage. The philippics of Demosthenes almost unaided kept liberty alive in Athens for a generation, while in Rome the fame of the orator out-shone that of the greatest warriors. Tacitus, speaking in one of his dialogues of the reputation enjoyed by a distinguished public speaker in Koine, says, "Look through the circle of the fine arts, survey the whole compass of the sciences, and tell me in what branch can the Professors acquire a name to vie with the celebrity of a groat and powerful orator. He is the model which every parent recommends to his children. The provinces resound with his praise. Foreign nations court his friendship. The powerful orator has no occasion to solicit preferment, the offices of praetor and consul stand open to him;" In Ireland, too, it might be truly said that though she has had no offices of praetor and consul, or their modern equivalents, to offer to her eloquent sons, yet her applause and affections have been most generously lavished in every age upon her gifted orators, and their names are cherished with a love which is enhanced rather than diminished by time. There are many of the class of *laudatores temporisacti* who think that Ireland has had a golden age of oratory, and that outside of a certain sharply defined period no brilliant speak has been produced. With this view I am unable to agree. It is true that, the stirring events at the

end of the eighteenth and beginning of the present century called forth in Ireland a galaxy of orators, whose names have worthily become illustrious, but even the most brilliant performances of that period have certainly been equalled at later times, and there are men now living in Ireland, and some of them representing her in the Imperial [*unclear*: Senace], whose speeches, either for forceful reasoning or brilliant declamation or invective, could not be excelled by the choicest examples of the eloquence of past generations. (Cheers.) To even glance instructively at the long roll of Ireland's mighty orators, whose fame is embalmed in the history of their country, would be a task that would require more time than even a series of lectures would occupy. I must, therefore, content myself with a cursory review of some of the most famous in modern times, and endeavour by some short extracts from their speeches to illustrate their magic power over their fellow-men.

There can be no doubt that eloquent speech finds its most congenial nursery amidst free peoples, and that in despotically governed countries the art of oratory, if it exist at all, is stunted and blighted by the absence of those arenas for its cultivation which exist among nations where the seat of power is with the general body of the people. Though this is so as a general rule, there are instances where some of the most oppressed nations have produced brilliant orators, even in the periods of their deepest adversity, and assuredly Ireland is one of these, for though subjected to the iron rule of an intolerant bureaucracy, for nearly a hundred years since the extinction of her Parliament, there has never been in the history of any country in a similar period such a host of men who have achieved world-wide fame by their capacity for brilliant oratorical speech. Indeed, the greatest embarrassment of one who essays to treat of Ireland's orators, is to find a starting-point chronologically, and to make a selection of names, But I think that on this occasion I cannot do amiss if I take as the commencement of my period that glorious year when Ireland's complete legislative independence was declared and made manifest, viz. 1782, nor, I venture to say, shall I incur your censure if the first of Ireland's orators of whom I shall speak is the founder and sponsor of that independence—the eloquent, illustrious, and never to be forgotten Henry Grattan. (Applause.)

Henry Grattan was born in Dublin, on the 3rd of July, 1746. His father, James Grattan, was for many years Recorder of Dublin, and was one of the representatives of that city in Parliament from 1761 to 1766. His mother was a daughter of Chief Justice Marlay, and was of Norman descent. Grattan received his early education first from a teacher named Ball, in Great Ship Street, Dublin, and subsequently from a Mr. Young, in Abbey Street. He entered Trinity College in 1763, and was a fellow student and intimate of many young men who afterwards attained to great eminence in the State. In 1767 he became a law student at the Middle Temple, London, and while reading, or rather, as it was in those days, "eating" his way to the Bar, he used to frequent the House of Lords, and listen to the speeches of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who was at that time electrifying the country with his eloquence. At this time Grattan became intensely poetical, and he was accustomed to ramble through Windsor Forest on moonlight nights composing sonnets. He devoted also many laborious hours to practising extempore speaking. This habit sometimes led to ludicrous results. It is related that his landlady in London wrote to Grattan's friends requesting that they should remove him, and look after him, as she believed he was wrong in his mind, owing to the fact that he was always rambling about the garden and shouting out to some imaginary person, whom he called "Mr. Speaker." (Laughter.) Mr. Justice Day records an anecdote of Grattan at this period of a somewhat amusing character. He says Grattan was wandering one moonlight night in Windsor Forest, when he encountered a gibbet. He stopped before it and began in eloquent tones to apostrophise the gruesome instrument, when suddenly he was startled by being tapped upon his shoulder by a prosaic pedestrian, who inquired "How the devil did you get down?" (Laughter). One of the circumstances in Grattan's life which probably had most to do with moulding his character, and shaping his career, was his acquaintance with Henry Flood, whom he met at the house of his sister, Mrs. Bushe, in Kilkenny. Flood was at this time probably the most famous man in Ireland, being the greatest Parliamentary leader that had appeared, up till that time, in Irish history. He was the champion of Irish legislative independence, and there can be no doubt that it was his great reputation that first roused Grattan to devote himself assiduously to the study of politics. Grattan entered Parliament in 1775, as member for the Borough of Charlemont, which was a pocket borough of Lord Charlemont. At this time Flood was moderating his opposition to the Government, and preparing to take office. From the moment of his entrance into the Irish House of Commons, Grattan began seriously to meditate upon the best means of rendering the Irish Parliament independent of the British Government. The Volunteers had arisen about 1777, and were becoming a highly efficient and disciplined force. In 1779 Grattan moved an amendment to the Address-in-Reply, in favour of free-trade, and a motion couched in more positive terms on the same subject by Hussey Burgh, was unanimously adopted. On the 19th of April, 1780, Grattan moved his celebrated "Declaration of Irish Right," in a speech which dazzled and aroused the whole country. He immediately became the idol of the people. The nation responded to his call for a national spirit. On February the 15th, 1782, the Volunteers held their historic meeting at Dungannon, when a resolution drafted by Grattan was passed as follows:—"Resolved, that a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom is unconstitutional, illegal, and a

grievance." (Cheers.) They also passed at this meeting another resolution, to the following effect:—"Resolved, that we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as well as ourselves; that we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland." (Cheers.) The great epoch-making day,—the 16th of April, 1782,—found Grattan full of enthusiasm for his appointed task, but physically debilitated through three years of overwork and excitement. He moved his resolutions affirming the Independence of the Irish Parliament, in a speech which even the patriot's enemies acknowledged was distinguished "for its fire, sublimity, and immense reach of thought." Lord Charlemont said, in reference to it, "If ever spirit could be said to act independent of body, it was on that occasion." Grattan's resolutions were carried by a large majority, and were subsequently meekly accepted by the English Ministry, led by Mr. Fox. At the time he accomplished this great revolution in the political status of Ireland, Grattan was only 36 years old, and his fame had spread throughout the length and breadth of Europe. In return for his services to the cause of Ireland, Parliament voted him a grant of £100,000, but though a man of the most modest means he declined the proffered gift. Later on, however, he was prevailed upon to accept one-half the amount. Grattan's eloquence was peculiarly of the kind to rouse a nation to revolutionary ardour. His oratory has been described as "a combination of cloud, whirlwind, and flame" but nevertheless his speeches lack not the qualities of the finished and persuasive debater. Lord Brougham says, "No orator of his age is his equal in the easy and copious flow of most profound, sagacious, and liberal principles, enunciated in terse and striking, but most appropriate language." All critics agree that Grattan's speeches *exhibit* a spirit of tolerance and humanitarianism which was rarely found in that age. His soul was thoroughly catholic, and he never displayed any insular prejudice, though surpassed by none in his patriotism. Sir James Mackintosh said of him, in the House of Commons, "When the illustrious dead are gathered into one tomb all national distinctions fade away, and not even the illustrious names of Burke and Wellington are more certainly historical, or more sure to be remembered by posterity, than that of Grattan." The year of the insurrection, 1798, found Grattan a physically broken man, and his health was always precarious for the remaining years of his life. When, after the quelling of the insurrection, the English Ministers prepared to accomplish the destruction of Ireland's legislative independence, Grattan's spirit was once more aroused. The circumstances under which he delivered his last speech against the Union are worthy of being told, as a marvellous instance of patriotic devotion. Upon the return of Grattan from the Isle of Wight, in 1799, he was urged to again enter the Irish House of Commons, and though extremely ill he consented to expend his rapidly diminishing bodily strength in his country's service. Mrs. Henrietta Grattan says, in his "Life and Times:" "Unable to bear the noise, we avoided hotels, and went to Mr. Austen's, in Dublin, to await the election, which, the Sheriff being friendly, was managed after 12 o'clock on the night of the 15th of January, 1800, the last session of the Dublin Parliament. At five o'clock in the morning, Mr. Tighe arrived on horseback in Dublin, and we heard loud knocking. Grattan was ill in bed, and said, "Why will they not let me die in peace?" He grew quite wild. I told him he must go to the House, and helped him downstairs, when he went into the parlour and loaded his pistols, for he apprehended assassination by the Union party. We wrapped a blanket round him, in the Sedan chair, and I stood at the door, uncertain whether I should ever see him again. Mr. McCan said that Grattan's friends had determined to come forward if he was attacked." I said, "My husband cannot die better than in defence of his country." (Applause.) The amendment of Sir L. Parsons was then being debated in the House. At 7 o'clock in the morning Grattan entered. He could scarcely walk, and was supported on either side. Ministers were not aware that the writ could have been returned. The House and galleries were breathless, and a thrilling sensation, a low murmur, pervaded the whole assembly, as this emaciated figure, sick in mind and body,—the founder, 18 years before, of Ireland's independence,—now came forward, almost in his last moments, to defend or fall with his country. His friends crowded round to assist. Bowes Daly, seeing he had his hat on mentioned it. "Don't mind me," said Grattan, "I know what to do." He was dressed, this soldier of '82, in the Volunteer uniform—blue, with red cuffs and collar. He had placed his cocked hat square to the front, till he advanced half way up the floor. He then stopped, and looked round the House, as one prepared for battle, then approached the table, took off his hat, took the oath and his seat, and as Mr. Egan sat down Grattan rose, and obtaining permission to speak sitting, to the astonishment of everyone spoke for upwards of two hours, going through the whole question." (Applause.) The following brief extract from this great speech will illustrate the eloquence, logical power and acumen, which characterised it throughout:—"The one great capital, fundamental cause of Irish discontent is the interposition of the Parliament of Great Britain in the legislative regulation of Ireland, the interference of that or any other Parliament, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. The Minister denies, in the face of the two nations, a public fact, registered and recorded, and he dis-claims the final adjustment of 1782. The Parliament of Ireland has, ever since its emancipation, concurred with England on the subject of war, but before their concurrence was barren, *since* it has been productive. In 1783 they voted a sum for British seamen, and on the apprehension of a war with Spain, in 1790, they voted another, and in the present war a third. So much more

beneficial are the wild offerings of liberty than the squeezings, and eviscerations, and excruciations of power. Ireland considers the British Empire a great Western Barrier against invasion from other countries. She hears the ocean protesting against separation, but she hears the sea likewise protesting against union. She follows, therefore, her physical destination, and obeys the dispensations of Providence, when she protects, like that sea, against the two situations, both equally unnatural—separation and union,—but then she feels her constitution to be her great stake in the empire, and the empire the great security of her constitution. We give our strength to this Western barrier, for the security of our liberty, but if British Ministers should do that very mischief which we apprehend from the foreigner, namely, take away the constitution, they take away with that our interest in the British dominions, and thus withdraw at once a great pillar of liberty and empire. That constitution has been the inheritance of this country for 600 years The constitution the minister destroys is the condition of our connection. He destroys one of the pillars of the British Empire—the habitation of Irish loyalty. I say of her loyalty as well as of her liberty, her temple of fame as of freedom, where she had seated herself, as she vainly thought, in modest security and a long repose. Well, the minister has destroyed the constitution. To destroy is easy. The edifices of the mind, like the fabrics of marble, require an age to build, but ask only minutes to precipitate; and as the fall of both is of no time, so neither is it a business of any strength. A pickaxe and a common labourer will do the one—a little lawyer, a little pimp, and a wicked minister the other. . . . I have done with the pile which the minister batters, I come to the babel which he builds, and as he throws down without a principle, so does he construct without a foundation. This fabric he calls a Union. It is no Union, for it excludes the Catholics. It is an extinction of the constitution, and an exclusion of the people. He has overlooked the people, as he has overlooked the sea. I affirm that the blessings procured by the Irish Parliament in the last 20 years are greater than all the blessings afforded by British Parliaments to Ireland for the last century, greater even than the mischiefs inflicted on Ireland by the British Parliament. He—the minister—his budget with corruption crammed, proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country, to proclaim an utter and blank incapacity to make laws for your own people, and to register the proclamation in an act which inflicts on this ancient nation an eternal disability, and he accompanies these monstrous proposals by undisguised terror and unqualified bribery. The Constitution may, for a time, be lost, but liberty may repair her golden beams; and with redoubled heart animate the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead—

*Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet  
Is crimson in thy lips, and in thy cheeks;  
And death's pale flag-is not advanced there."*

(Loud cheers.)

How prophetic do those words of the illustrious patriot now seem to us, after the lapse of 93 years, and while the Imperial Parliament is struggling to restore to Ireland her plundered liberties. Grattan well knew that the instinct of nationality among his fellow-countrymen was invincible, and would not permit to die the aspiration for the restoration of their independent Parliament. Sinking into the grave he cheered the hearts and animated the hopes of Irishmen of succeeding generations, by those emphatic words with which he apostrophised Ireland—"Thou art not conquered!" and after over 70 years of unparalleled oppression since the voice of Grattan was stilled in death, after nearly one hundred Coercion Acts have been employed to crush the spirit and extinguish the hopes of the Irish people—they stand to-day within measurable distance of final victory as fresh and undaunted as they were in 1782, exulting that the hour of their liberation is at hand, and that in the womb of time a great future awaits redeemed and regenerated Ireland. (Cheers.) Grattan died in London, whither he had gone to present the Catholic petition for emancipation. He was buried with the greatest honours in "West-minster Abbey.

The next illustrious son of Erin of whom I shall treat is Richard Brinsley Sheridan—(applause)—who has achieved immortality no less by his oratory than by his literary and dramatic genius. Sheridan's father was a teacher of elocution, and at one time was manager of Drury Lane Theatre in London. He published a work on elocution, which was dedicated to Lord Bute, and which procured for the writer a pension of £200 a year. He also published "The Life and Writings of Dean Swift," and a pronouncing dictionary. Sheridan's mother was a novelist of some note. He received his education at the celebrated public school of Harrow. His tutor, Dr. Parr, thus writes of him:—"I saw in him vestiges of a superior intellect. His eye, his countenance, his general manner were striking. His answers to any common question were prompt and acute. We knew the esteem and even admiration which all his school-fellows felt for him. I had much talk with him about his apple-loft, for the supply of which all the gardens in the neighbourhood were taxed, and some of the lower boys were required to furnish it. I threatened, but without asperity, to trace the depredators through his associates up to their leader. He with perfect good humour set me at defiance, and I never could bring the charge home me to him. I often

praised him as a lad of great talents—often exhorted him to use them well—but my exhortations were fruitless." This testimony of his teacher proves Sheridan to have been one of those geniuses which ripen slowly, and that as a youth he had that careless yet happy disposition which has so often characterised many of his countrymen. Sheridan exercised a strange fascination over all with whom he was associated, both relations and strangers. His sister writes of him, "I admired, I almost adored him. I would most willingly have sacrificed my life for him." In 1774 Sheridan wrote the immortal comedy of "The Rivals," which was brought out, in 1775, at Covent Garden. Subsequently he wrote the "School for Scandal," "The Duenna," and many other dramas well known at the present day. Sheridan at this time had achieved some social prominence by his wit and powers of conversation. Through Lord John Townsend he became acquainted with Mr. Fox, who declared him to be the wittiest man he had ever known. He was introduced to Burke, and was elected a member of the splendid Whig Club known as Brooks's. He was returned to the House of Commons for Stafford, in October, 1780, and made his maiden speech on the 20th of November following. The report of this speech says: "He was heard with particular attention, the House being uncommonly still while he was speaking." In 1782 Sheridan was made a member of the Government, taking the portfolio of Secretary of the Treasury. When the impeachment of Warren Hastings, for his conduct in India, was undertaken in 1787, the charge relating to the spoliation of the Begum Princesses of Oude was allotted to Sheridan. His speech was delivered on the 7th of February, 1787, and occupied five and a-half hours. Mr. Burke declared it to be "the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there was any record or tradition." Mr. Fox said, "All that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun," and Mr. Pitt admitted "that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient or modern times, and possessed everything that genius or art could furnish to agitate and control the human mind." (Applause.) The following extract will give some idea of the richness and power of his speech:—"Had a stranger at this time gone into the Province of Oude, ignorant of what had happened since the death of Suja Dowla, that man who, with a savage heart, had still great lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, had still with a cultivating hand preserved to his country the riches which it had derived from benignant skies and a prolific soil; if this stranger, ignorant of all that had happened in the short interval, and observing the wide and general devastation, and all the horrors of the scene—of plains unclad and brown—of vegetation burnt up and extinguished—of villages depopulated and in ruin, of temples unroofed and perishing, of reservoirs broken down and dry—they would naturally inquire what war has thus laid waste the fertile fields of this once beautiful and opulent country? What civil dissensions have happened, thus to tear asunder and separate the happy societies that once possessed these villages? What disputed succession, what religious rage has with unholy violence demolished these temples, and disturbed fervent but unobtruding piety in the exercise of its duties? What merciless enemy has thus spread the horrors of fire and sword? What severe visitation of Providence has dried up the fountain, and taken from the face of the earth every vestige of verdure? Or, rather, what monsters have stalked over the country, tainting and poisoning with pestiferous breath, what the voracious appetite could not devour? To such questions, what must be the answer? No wars have ravaged these lands and depopulated these villages—no civil discords have been felt—no disputed succession—no religious rage—no merciless enemy—no affliction of Providence which, while it scourged for the moment, cut off the sources of resuscitation—no voracious and poisoning monsters: no, all this has been accomplished by the friendship, generosity, and kindness of the English nation. They have embraced us with their protecting arms, and lo! those are the fruits of our alliance. What, then! shall we be told that, under such circumstances, the exasperated feelings of a whole people, thus goaded and spurred on to clamour and resistance, were excited by the poor and feeble influence of the Begums? When we hear the description of the paroxysm of fever and delirium into which despair had thrown the natives, when on the banks of the polluted Ganges, panting for death, they tore more widely open the lips of their gaping wounds to accelerate their dissolution; and while their blood was issuing, presented their ghastly eyes to heaven breathing their last and fervent prayer, that the dry earth might not be suffered to drink their blood, but that it might rise up to the throne of God, and rouse the eternal Providence to avenge the wrongs of their country. Will it be said that these were brought about by the incantations of these Begums in their secluded Zenana? or that they could inspire this enthusiasm and this despair into the breast of a people who felt no grievance, and had suffered no torture? What motive then could have such influence in their bosom? What motive? That which nature, the common parent, plants in the bosom of man, and which, though it may be less active in the Indian than in the Englishman, is still congenial with, and makes part of his being, that feeling which tells him that man was never made to be the property of man; but that when, through pride or insolence of power, one human creature dares to tyrannise over another; it is a power usurped, and resistance is a duty; that feeling which tells him that all power is delegated for the good, not for the injury of the people; and that when it is converted from its original purpose the compact is broken, and the right is to be resumed. That principle that resistance to power usurped is not merely a duty which he owes to himself and to his neighbour, but a duty which he owes to his God, in asserting and maintaining the rank which he gave him in the Creation! to that common God, who, where he

gives *the form of man*, whatever may be the complexion, gives also *the feelings and the rights of man*,—that principle which neither the rudeness of ignorance can stifle nor the enervation of refinement extinguish—that principle which makes it base for a man to *suffer* when he ought to *act*, which tending to preserve to the species the original designations of Providence, spurns at the arrogant distinctions of man, and vindicates the independent qualities of his race." (Loud cheers.) He concludes his first speech against Hastings in these words: "We cannot behold the workings of the hearts, the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud and yet tremulous joy of the millions whom our vote of this night will for ever save from the cruelty of corrupted power; but though we cannot directly see the effect, is not the true enjoyment of your benevolence increased by the blessing being conferred unseen? Will not the omnipotence of Britain be demonstrated to the wonder of nations by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, and saving by its fiat distant millions from destruction? And will the blessings of the people thus saved dissipate in empty air? No! If I may dare to use the figure, we shall constitute heaven itself our proxy to receive for us the blessings of their pious gratitude and the prayers of their thanksgiving. It is with confidence, therefore, sir, that I move you on this change that Warren Hastings be impeached." (Applause.) In Sheridan's subsequent speech against Hastings, in the second charge, he thus scornfully contemns the plea of State necessity which had been set up: "State necessity. No, my Lords, that Imperial tyrant State necessity is yet a generous despot; bold is his demeanour, rapid his decisions, and terrible his grasp. But what he does, my Lords, he dares avow, and avowing scorns any other justification than the great motive that placed the iron sceptre in his hands. But a quibbling, pilfering, prevaricating State necessity that tries to skulk behind the skirts of justice; a State necessity that tries to steal a pitiful justification from whispered accusations and fabricated rumours: no, my Lords, that is no State necessity: tear off the mask and you see the coarse, vulgar avarice, you see speculation lurking under the gaudy disguise, and adding the guilt of libelling the public honour to its own private fraud." Sheridan, after a life in which he had drunk deeply of the cup of pleasure, died in comparative poverty, in London, on the 7th July, 1816, and was buried in Poet's Corner, in Westminster Abbey. The funeral was attended by an unprecedented array of distinguished men (The pall bearers were the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Lauderdale, Earl Musgrave, the Bishop of London, Lord Holland, and Lord Spencer. Among the mourners were H.R.H. the Duke of York, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, the Duke of Argyle, and a brilliant array of Marquises, Earls, and distinguished commoners. After the funeral, Tom Moore, the Irish poet, published the following verses:—

*Oh, it sickens the heart to see bosoms so hollow,  
And friendships so false in the great and high-born,  
To think what a long line of titles may follow,  
The relics of him who died friendless and lorn;*

*How proud they can press to the funeral array,  
Of him whom they shunned in his sickness and sorrow;  
How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,  
Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow.*

*Was this, then, the fate of that high-gifted man,  
The pride of the palace, the bower, and the hall;  
The orator, dramatist, minstrel, who ran  
Through each mode of the lyre, and was master of all:*

*Whose mind was an essence compounded, with art,  
From the finest and best of all other men's powers;  
Who rul'd like a wizard the world of the heart,  
And could call up its sunshine or draw down its showers.*

*Whose humour, as gay as the firefly's light,  
Play'd round ev'ry subject, and shone as it played;  
Whose wit in the combat, as gentle as bright,  
Ne'er carried a heart-stain away on its blade.*

*Whose eloquence, brightening whatever it tried,  
Whether reason, or fancy, the gay or the grave,  
Was as rapid, as deep, and as brilliant a tide  
As ever bore freedom aloft on its wave.*

(Applause.)

Of all the great Sons of Ireland who in the field or forum have achieved distinction for themselves, and added lustre to their country, there is none more illustrious, nor who as a subject for the biographer or historian is more fascinating and picturesque than that incorrupt-able patriot, and prince of forensic orators, John Philpot Curran. (Cheers.) His early life, and rapid rise to the most exalted station, read like a romance. Curran was born in the little village of Newmarket, in the County of Cork, and was the son of a peasant, whose intelligence secured for him the post of seneschal on the manor of his landlord. The seneschal had the power, from the lord of the manor, of adjusting disputes among the tenantry, to the extent of forty shillings. His mother, whose maiden name was Philpot, though uneducated, was a woman of great natural shrewdness and native wit, and to the last day of her life was almost adored by her gifted son. When she died he placed on her tomb, in Newmarket, this inscription: "Here lies the body of Sarah Curran. She was marked by many years, many talents, many virtues, few failings, no crime. This frail memorial was placed here by a son whom she loved:" Curran's life might have been passed in obscurity, and Ireland and the world would have been immeasurably poorer had it not been for the kindness and perspicacity of a parson, the Rev. Mr. Boyse, who recognised the rough jewel of Curran's genius, and determined it should pass under the hand of the educational lapidary. I had better let Curran tell, in his own words, the story of how Mr. Boyse first took him by the hand. He says: "I was then a little ragged apprentice to every kind of idleness and mischief, all day studying whatever was eccentric in those older, and half the night practising it for the amusement of those who were younger than myself. Heaven only knows where it would have ended, but, as my mother said, I was born to be a great man. One morning I was playing at marbles in the village ball alley, with a light heart and a lighter pocket. The gibe and the jest and the plunder went gaily round; those who won laughed, and those who lost cheated; when suddenly there appeared amongst us a stranger of a very venerable and very cheerful aspect: his intrusion was not the least restraint upon our *merry* little assemblage, on the contrary, he seemed pleased and even delighted. He was a benevolent creature, and the days of infancy (after all the happiest we shall ever see), perhaps rose upon his memory. God bless him! I see his fine form at the distance of half a century, just as he stood before me in the little ball alley in the days of my childhood. His name was Boyse. He was the Rector of Newmarket. To me he took a particular fancy. I was winning, and was full of waggery, thinking everything that was eccentric, and by no means a miser of my own eccentricities: everyone was welcome to share them, and I had plenty to spare after having freighted the company. Some sweetmeats easily bribed me home with him. I learned from poor Boyse my alphabet and my grammar, and the rudiments of the classics. He taught me all he could, and then he sent me to the school at Middleton,—in short he made a man of me. I recollect it was about five and thirty years afterwards; when I had risen to some eminence at the bar and when I had a seat in Parliament, and a good house in Ely Place, on my return one day from Court I found an old gentleman seated alone in the drawing-room, his feet familiarly placed on each side of the Italian marble chimney piece, and his whole air bespeaking the consciousness of one quite at home. He turned round—it was my friend of the ball alley. I rushed instinctively into his arms. I could not help bursting into tears. Words cannot describe the scene which followed. "You are right, sir, you are right: the chimney piece is yours—the pictures are yours—the house is yours: you gave me all I have—my friend, my father." (Applause.) He dined with me, and in the evening I caught the tear glistening in his fine blue eye when he saw his poor little Jackey, the creature of his bounty, rising in the House of Commons to reply to a Right Honourable." (Applause.) Curran, upon leaving the school at Middleton, entered Trinity College, Dublin, in June, 1767. He achieved no academical success, and always spoke contemptuously of his college and its Professors. While at Trinity College, it is related, his wardrobe was so scanty that he had but one shirt, and he was often arraigned before the college authorities on the charge of wearing a *dirty shirt*. He pleaded his inability to wear a *clean one*, and cited the case of Barry Yelverton afterwards Lord Avonmore,

who also was compelled to pass through his academical course the happy possessor of a solitary linen garment. From Trinity College he proceeded to London, and succeeded in entering as a student of law at the Middle Temple. He at this time supported himself by writing for the press. He read voraciously, not confining himself to law, but drinking deep at the fountains of the best English and French literature. He had grave misgivings as to the possibility of future success at the bar, as his voice was harsh and unpleasant, and he stuttered wofully. However, by declaiming Shakespeare, and other authors, before a large looking glass, he cured himself of stuttering, and by a constant attendance at debating societies he acquired a sweet and well modulated voice. His first speech, delivered in "The Devils" debating society of Temple Bar, was as follows: "Mr. Chairman"—Having uttered those words he grew pale, lost his presence of mind, and sat down amidst the derisive applause of the assembly. Undismayed by his failure, he continued to attend as a silent spectator the debates at "The Devils," and a few weeks after his maiden speech he was referred to contemptuously by one of the speakers as "Orator Mum." Curran, who had that evening been dining on cold mutton, washed down by copious draughts of Irish potheen, was so stung by the insult and inflamed by the whisky that he rose, and to the surprise of all, and the consternation of his assailant, delivered a stinging and passionate harangue, which completely redeemed his former want of success. In 1774 he married his cousin, a Miss Creagh, but the union was an unhappy one. His partner was uncongenial, and of an indolent disposition, and he always lamented the mistake he had made. In 1775 he was called to the Irish Bar, and attended the Cork sessions in his first year. He then proceeded to Dublin, and lived with his wife in humble lodgings upon Hog Hill. Term after term he paced the hall of the Four Courts, but briefs came not. At last an opportunity arrived. A powerful noble of the County Cork, Lord Doneraile, had committed a savage assault upon an aged priest, named Father Neal. The priest sued Doneraile at the Cork summer assizes of 1780, but could get no barrister to take up his case against so powerful an adversary. Curran heard of the matter, and though penniless and briefless with the responsibility of a wife and two children, he determined—Protestant though he was—to plead the cause of the outraged man of God against the brutal aristocrat. He entered the Court, and to the dismay of Doneraile and his friends succeeded in obtaining from a hostile jury a verdict for the priest for £30 damages and costs. (Applause.) Curran was compelled to fight a duel with a Captain St. Leger, a relative of Doneraile's, in consequence of some remarks he made in the course of his address to the jury. Three weeks after the trial poor Father Neal died, leaving Curran his solemn blessing. Curran's rise at the Bar after this case was phenomenally rapid. He joined the Volunteer movement, so pregnant with good to Ireland, and in 1783 he entered the Irish House of Commons as member for Kilbeggan. He was Flood's colleague. Of Curran's speeches at the Bar, the most famous are those delivered in defence of The United Irishmen, and among the best reported are those delivered in defence of Mr. Rowan, who was Chairman of The United Irish Society, and in defence of Peter Finnerty for libel. I quote a fragment of the latter: "Gentlemen, let me beg of you for a moment to suppose that any one of you had been the writer of this very severe expostulation with the viceroy, and that you had been the witness of this never-to-be-forgotten catastrophe; let me suppose that you had known *the charge* upon which Mr. Orr was apprehended, the charge of abjuring that bigotry which had torn and disgraced his country, of pledging himself to restore the people of his country to their place in the constitution, and of binding himself never to be the betrayer of his fellow labourers in that enterprise; that you had seen him, upon *that charge* removed from his industry and confined in a gaol; that through the slow and lingering process of twelve tedious months you had seen him confined in a dungeon, shut out from the common use of air and of his own limbs; that day after day you had marked the unhappy captive, cheered by no sound but the cries of his family, or the clanking of chains; that you had seen him at last brought to his trial; that you had seen the vile and perjured informer deposing against his life; that you had seen the drunken and worn-out and terrified jury give in a verdict of death; that you had seen the same jury, when their returning sobriety had brought back their conscience, prostrate themselves before the humanity of the bench, and pray that the mercy of the Crown might save their characters from the reproach of an involuntary crime, their consciences from the torture of eternal self-condemnation, and their souls from the indelible stain of innocent blood Let me suppose that you had seen the respite given, and that contrite and honest recommendation transmitted to that seat where mercy was presumed to dwell; that new and before unheard-of crimes are discovered against the informer; that the royal mercy seems to relent, and that a new respite is sent to the prisoner—that time is taken, as the learned counsel for the Crown has expressed it, to see whether mercy could be extended or not—that after that period of lingering deliberation passed a third respite is transmitted; that the unhappy captive himself feels the cheering hope of being restored to a family that he had adored, to a character that he had never stained, and to a country that he had ever loved; that you had seen his wife and children upon their knees giving those tears to gratitude which their locked and frozen hearts could not give to anguish and despair, and imploring the blessings of eternal Providence upon the head of him who had graciously spared the father, and restored him to his children.

Alas! nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold;  
Nor friends, nor sacred home.

Often did the weary dove return to the window of his ark, but the olive loaf was to him no sign that the waters had subsided. No seraphic mercy unbars his dungeon, and leads him forth to light and life, but the minister of death hurries him to the scene of suffering and of shame, where unmoved by the hostile array of artillery and armed men collected together to secure, or to insult, or to disturb him, he dies with a solemn declaration of his innocence, and utters his last prayer for the liberty of his country. Let me now ask you, if any of you had addressed the public ear upon so foul and monstrous a subject, in what language would you have conveyed the feelings of terror and indignation? Would you have stooped to the meanness of qualified complaint? Would you have been mean enough—but I entreat your forgiveness—I do not think meanly of you, had I thought you that base and vile instrument, attuned by hope and by fear into discord and falsehood from whose vulgar string no groan of suffering could vibrate, no voice of integrity or honour could speak, let me honestly tell you I should have scorned to fling my hand across it, I should have loft it to a fitter minstrel. If I do not, therefore, grossly err in my opinion of you, I could use no language upon such a subject as this that must not lag behind the rapidity of your feelings, and that would not disgrace those feelings if it attempted to describe them." (Applause.)

Curran's ready wit at the bar is proverbial. On one occasion he was examining a country squire, who was defending a suit brought for the price of coals. Curran was for the plaintiff. "Now, sir, did not the plaintiff deliver you the coals." "He did, sir, but"—"But what? On your oath wasn't your payment *slack*?" (Laughter)." On another occasion he was cross-examining an informer, and the witness appealed to the Bench for protection. "My lard, my lard I can't answer at all, at all, yon little gentleman, he's putting me in such a doldrum." The judge, Lord Avonmore, Curran's schoolmate, exclaimed, "A doldrum, Mr. Curran, what does he mean by a doldrum?" "O, my Lord, it's a very common complaint with persons of this description, it's merely a confusion of the head arising from a corruption of the heart." (Laughter and applause.) Curran was just as unsparing to the Bench when occasion offered. In one of the State trials of 1803 he was in the act of delivering one of his impassioned addresses to the jury. When he was stating a certain proposition of law the judge, who had all along shown a strong bias against the prisoner, shook his head evidently in token of disagreement with what Curran had submitted. The witty advocate, stopping the course of his speech, said: "I see, gentlemen, I see the motion of his Lordship's head. Common observers might imagine that that implied a difference of opinion, but they would be mistaken, it is merely accidental. Believe me, gentlemen, if you remain here many days, you will yourselves perceive that when his Lordship shakes his head *there's nothing in it*." (Laughter.)

Curran was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1806, but he resigned the office through ill-health in 1814. It may be of interest to know in what manner Curran prepared his great orations. He did not write them out and commit them to memory, but thought over his subject well in strolling through his grounds at night, or when playing the violin in his drawing room. He then jotted down on the back of his brief, or on a sheet of note paper, the heads of his discourse, and a few thrilling sentences to introduce in the various parts of his speech, and to form, as it were, cues for the several branches of his subject. Many of Curran's images are inimitable. Thus his description of the informer O'Brien: "I have heard of assassination by sword, by pistol, and by dagger, but here is a wretch who would dip the evangelists in blood." He referred to the informer Reynolds as one "who measured his importance by the coffins of his victims, and appreciated his fame in the field of evidence as the Indian warrior did in fight, by the number of scalps with which he could swell his triumphs." Curran's caustic answer to an Irish nobleman who had voted for The Union, is an excellent specimen of indignant retort. Said this gentleman to him, "I can't tell you, Curran, how frightful our old House of Commons appears to me." "All, my Lord," replied Curran, "it is only natural for murderers to be afraid of ghosts." (Applause.) After his resignation of the Mastership of the Rolls, domestic troubles, in addition to the misfortunes of his country, rapidly enfeebled Curran's frame, at no time very robust. He lived in these last days principally at his country house, "The Priory," a few miles from Dublin, where he was wont to assemble the most promising young men of the city to partake of his hospitality. He occasionally visited Paris and London, where he was always welcomed by the most brilliant circles. In July, 1817, while dining with Tom Moore, he was attacked with paralysis, and was ordered to the South of Europe. Before undertaking the journey he proceeded to Ireland to settle some business, and on his return to London, on the 8th of October, he was attacked by apoplexy, and six days afterwards painlessly expired, at 9 at night, in the presence of his children, and his dearest friend Mr. Godwin. No more fitting conclusion to this hurried sketch of the life and works of this great Irishman could be made than to quote the words of Thomas Davis, in speaking of the death of Curran: "Round the grave he sanctifies, before the effigy of that inspired face which was but the outside of his soul, and oftenest of all in

communion with his undying thoughts, let the young men of Ireland bend. His life was full of labour, daring patriotism and love. He shrunk from no toil, and feared no peril, for country and fame and passion. He was no pedant,—good by rule,—or vicious from calculation. He strove because he felt it noble and holy and joyous to be strong, and he knew that strength comes from striving. He attained enormous power, power of impassioned eloquence, and he used that power to comfort the afflicted, to guard the orphan, to rescue his friend, and avenge his country. A companion unrivalled in sympathy and wit; an orator whose thoughts went forth like ministers of nature, with robes of light, and swords in their hands; a patriot who battled best when the flag was trampled down, and a genuine, earnest man, breathing of his climate, his country, and his time. Let his countrymen study what he was and did, and let his country guard his fame." (Loud cheers).

The next Irishman of whom I shall speak is that illustrious statesman, orator, and author, whose genius has shed a lustre upon the English language throughout all time, and whose fame is as imperishable as the language itself—Edmund Burke. (Cheers.) Edmund Burke was born in Dublin in 1730. His parents were rich but honest, his father having accumulated considerable property from his lucrative practice as an attorney. Burke received his early school impressions in Castletown Roche, under a village schoolmaster. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1744, at the age of 15 years. At College his chief studies were history, and political and moral philosophy, but he also had a great fondness for the classics, and translated the conclusion of the Second Georgic of Virgil. He began to study for the Bar at the Middle Temple, London, in 1750, but his health giving way he was never called. He became a voluminous writer for various periodicals of the day. His first serious work was the "Vindication of Natural Society," and this was immediately followed by his celebrated "Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful." The severe application necessitated by the composition of this work completely broke down his health for a time, and he was compelled to visit Bath to recruit. Here, however, he received a remarkable compensation for the sufferings he endured physically, for he fell in love with Miss Nugent, the daughter of his doctor, and after a brief courtship married her. The union, notwithstanding that Miss Nugent was a Roman Catholic and Burke a Latitudinarian Protestant, proved to be in every respect a happy one. After some years of literary drudgery he became acquainted with Lord Charlemont, who introduced him to the celebrated "Single Speech Hamilton," then Chief Secretary for Ireland. Hamilton engaged Burke as secretary, and after a short service obtained for him a pension of £300 a year from the Irish Civil List. In 1765 he became Private Secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, and shortly after entered the House of Commons as member for Wendover. This was the period of the celebrated "Stamp Act," which was one of the immediate causes of the American rebellion. The parliamentary reputation of Burke was made almost by his first speech. Johnson says: "Probably no man at his first appearance ever obtained so much reputation before." In 1771 Burke was appointed agent to the State of New York, a Civil post worth £1000 a year. He at this time was a prominent opponent of the insane policy of the Government to tax the American colonists, and one of his most splendid speeches was made on a motion to repeal the abhorred tea duty. From 1771 to 1782 Burke was recognised as one of the leading, if not the very foremost of parliamentary orators in the House of Commons. In 1782 he became a member of the Rockingham Ministry, his portfolio being that of Pay-master of the Forces. His fame at this time led the students of Glasgow University to choose him for the great historic position of Lord Rector of their College. In 1786 Burke moved in Parliament for the prosecution of the Governor General of India—Warren Hastings. The conduct of the impeachment of Hastings was committed by the House of Commons to a body of managers, the chief of whom were Burke, Fox and Sheridan. Burke's speech on the impeachment of Hastings was considered by all competent judges to be the greatest oratorical masterpiece ever produced by man, immeasurably excelling the renowned speech of Demosthenes "On the Crown." The trial of Hastings began in 1788. Burke's speech occupied the first four days of the proceedings. As is well known the trial lingered for seven years, and ended in the acquittal of the accused on technical grounds. Hastings himself confessed that on listening to Burke's speech he (the accused) thought himself the greatest monster that had ever existed on earth. Mr. Erskine, speaking of Burke's achievement, said he "shook the walls of Westminster Hall with anathemas of superhuman eloquence." During one of Burke's most thrilling passages describing the enormities of Debi Sing, the whole audience was swept by an audible thrill of horror, while execrations were murmured on all sides by the noble judges and auditors, and many of the peeresses and other ladies swooned away. Lord Thurlow said that many of the audience would probably never recover from the shock of Burke's speech.

After the outbreak of the French revolution, the excesses that were perpetrated in Paris caused Burke's attachment to Liberal principles to be greatly modified, and there can be no doubt but that he was unnecessarily scared by the reign of terror. At this time he published his great work "Reflections," which was hailed with the most flattering criticisms, and achieved enormous popularity, 30,000 copies being sold in the first year of publication. In 1794 occurred that terrible event which nearly bereft our gifted countryman of his reason, and completely broke him down physically, viz., the death of his only son, a young man of brilliant parts, and upon whom Burke had lavished all his affection and centred the fondest hopes. He had educated the boy with the

greatest care, and cherished the belief that he would eclipse his own fame. At the time of his fatal illness young Burke was secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. When Burke and his devoted wife found their beloved boy was sinking under an incurable malady, they were inconsolable. The end came with tragic swiftness. On the day of his death the young man, wishing to comfort his parents, rose from his bed and staggered to the adjoining room, in which they were. He assured them that he was stronger, but the pallor of death on his features could not deceive them. Then he said, "Speak to me, my dear father—speak to me of religion—speak to me of morality—speak to me of indifferent matters for I derive much satisfaction from all you say." Just then, hearing the wind whistling through the trees, he repeated Hilton's lines:—

*His praise, ye winds that from four quarters blow,  
Breathe soft, or loud, and wave your tops ye pines,  
With every plant in sign of worship wave.*

He fell back into his father's arms, on concluding these words, and expired. Burke was frantic with grief, and behaved as if his reason had departed with his son's spirit. Throwing himself upon the corpse he called aloud, in heart-rending tones, to his son to come back, "the hope of his age, the stay of his life, the only comfort of his declining and now joyless years." This irreparable loss utterly unfitted Burke for politics. His body soon became debilitated, and his grief was) evidently like a canker eating away his life. He died at Beacons-field, and the post-mortem showed death was owing to enlargement of the heart caused by his intense sorrow. The greatest notabilities of the land attended at his obsequies, the pall-bearers being the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Devonshire, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker and Earls Fitzwilliam and Inchiquin. Burke's eloquence was eulogised almost in ecstatic terms by all the critics of his age. Dr. Johnson said: "He pours forth his eloquence like a perpetual stream." Time will not permit of more than one short illustration of the oratory of this great man, and I select his description of "The March of Hyder Ali." "When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatsoever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud he hung for a-while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no age had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants, flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered. Others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank or sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land, Those who were able to evade the tempest fled to the walled cities, but escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine. The alms of the settlement in this dreadful exigency were certainly liberal, and all was done by charity that private charity could do: but it was a people in beggary: it was a nation which stretched out its hands for food. For months together these creatures of sufferance, whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of the allowance of our austerest fasts, silent, patient, resigned, without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint, perished by a hundred a day in the streets of Madras." (Applause.)

This short extract shows, I think, the marvellous descriptive powers and wealth of glowing phrase which shine throughout all of Burke's speeches, and in passing from this prince of orators I would observe, that he who wishes to explore the capabilities of the English language can find no mine so rich, or containing such varied treasures, as the oratory of Edmund Burke. (Cheers.)

The year 1848 saw Ireland touched by the revolutionary spirit which was then so active in Europe, and the youth of the nation were profoundly stirred. The young Irishmen thought that the hour to strike for their country's freedom had at length arrived. Among the fiery patriots of that epoch no name shines with such undimmed lustre, or stands out with greater picturesqueness than that of the orator Thomas Francis Meagher,

known historically as "Meagher of the Sword." (Loud cheers.) He was one of the talented band who, under the name of "Young Irelanders," despairing of O'Connell's constitutional policy, sought to win their country's freedom by force of arms. The insurrection of '48, that year of general revolution, was fore-doomed to failure, though its seeds had been sown with toilsome ardour and patience. The "Young Irelanders" believed that Ireland could never be free until her people became educated. The motto on their banner was, "Educate, that you may be free." They desired to purify the political atmosphere by ostracising mere place-hunters, and those who used both religion and clergy as instruments for the advancement of private ends, or the scarcely less noble objects of "Whiggery." The newspapers at this time were few and dear, and it was a work of appalling difficulty to appeal to the intelligence of the masses. The National Schools, and the Christian Brothers' Schools, had not yet done their work, and intellectually the people were almost in a state of Cimmerian darkness. The *Nation* newspaper, started in 1842, by the present Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, then a young journalist. Thomas Osborne Davis, and John Blake Dillon, father of Mr. John Dillon, M.P, had accomplished much to revive the drooping spirits of the people, and after its establishment it might truly have been said that "a soul had come into Erin." (Applause.) Prior to the outbreak a great meeting was held in Conciliation Hall, in Dublin, which resulted in the final split between the "Young Irelanders" and the partisans of constitutional measures. The Lord Mayor was in the chair. At this meeting, in speaking to a resolution affirming that the use of arms was at all times unjustifiable and immoral, Meagher delivered a magnificent panegyric on the sword as a means of wresting a nation's freedom from tyrant hands. From this speech I make the following extract, which will sufficiently illustrate Meagher's brilliant and impassioned style of oratory: "The soldier is proof against an argument, but he is not proof against a bullet. The man that will listen to reason, let him be reasoned with. But it is the weaponed arm of the patriot that can alone prevail against battalioned despotism. Then, my Lord, I do not condemn the use of arms as immoral, nor do I conceive it profane to say that the King of Heaven—tho Lord of Hosts—the God of Battles, bestows his benediction upon those who unsheath the sword in the hour of a nation's peril. From that evening on which, in the Valley of Bethulia, he nerved the arm of the Jewish girl to smite the drunken tyrant in his tent, down to this our day, in which he has blessed the insurgent chivalry of the Belgian priest, His almighty hand hath ever been stretched forth from His Throne of Light to consecrate the flag of freedom—to bless the patriot's sword!—Be it in the defence or be it in the assertion of a people's liberty, I hail the sword as a sacred weapon, and if, my Lord, it had sometimes taken the shape of the serpent, and reddened the shroud of the oppressor with too deep a dye, like the anointed rod of the High Priest, it has at other times, and as often, blossomed into celestial flowers to deck the freeman's brow. Abhor the sword—stigmatise the sword!—no, my Lord, for in the passes of the Tyrol it cut to pieces the banner of the Bavarian, and through those cragged passes struck a path to fame for the peasant insurrectionists of Inspruck! Abhor the sword—stigmatise the sword!—no, my Lord, for at its blow a giant nation started from the waters of the Atlantic, and by its redeeming magic, and in the quivering of its crimson light the crippled colony sprang into the attitude of a proud Republic—prosperous, limitless, and invincible! Abhor the sword—stigmatise the sword!—no, my Lord, for it swept the Dutch marauders out of the fine old towns of Belgium, scourged them back to their own phlegmatic swamps, and knocked their flag and sceptre, their laws and bayonets, into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt. My Lord, I learned that it was the right of a nation to govern itself, not in this hall, but on the ramparts of Antwerp. I learned the first article of a nation's creed upon those ramparts, where freedom was justly estimated, and where the possession of the precious gift was purchased by the effusion of generous blood. My Lord, I honour the Belgians for their courage and their daring, and I will not stigmatise the means by which they obtained a citizen King and a Chamber of Deputies." (Applause). At this stage of his discourse Meagher was interrupted by John O'Connell, who said either he or Meagher should leave the Repeal Association. Some disorder ensued, and Meagher and his friends left the hall in disgust.

The Irish Confederation had been established by the Young Irelanders in 1846, on their secession from the Old Repealers, who sought to compel them to disavow and condemn all who should advocate physical force as a means of redressing Ireland's wrongs. On the 12th of February, 1848, John Mitchell—(applause)—started the *United Irishman*, a weekly newspaper, and boldly called the people to arms. Young Ireland Clubs were started in many counties, military exercises were indulged in by masses of men, and the news of the success of the revolution in France stirred the nation's heart. The clergy, however, were against the movement, and the people were passionately devoted to the priests for the heroism displayed by the latter during the dark days of the famine. The insurrection which followed, as is well known, was crushed at Ballinacorney, where Smith O'Brien was only able to gather a body of half-clad peasants instead of the thousands of well drilled Volunteers that he had fondly hoped would respond to his call. Meagher had accompanied O'Brien to Tipperary, and had left him on the morning of July 29th, 1848, at Ballinacorney, before the catastrophe, and with no thought of the disaster which later on on that day was to crush the hopes of Ireland for a generation. On August the 12th following Meagher was arrested near Holycross, in Tipperary, while walking with some friend. He was shortly after placed on his trial at Clonmel for high [unclear: treaso]. The jury was packed by the Government officer, in

accordance [unclear: wit] well-established English practice in Ireland. The trial lasted [unclear: s] days, and resulted in a verdict of guilty. Whiteside, afterwards judge, and Isaac Butt, who 24 years later founded the Home [unclear: Ru] movement, had defended Meagher with great forensic skill, but [unclear: t] no purpose. When Meagher was asked, according to the formula, he had anything to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he delivered himself of an eloquent and pathetic little speech, which will keep his name and memory green as long as there is an Irishman who loves his country's annals, and the patriotism self-sacrifice, and love for the motherland, which they chronicle [unclear: e] every page. Time forbids my quoting this speech at length, but cannot forbear giving you its moving and melancholy final word. "No, I do not despair of my poor old country, her peace, her liberty her glory. For that country I can do no more than bid her hope. To lift this island up, to make her a benefactor to humanity, [unclear: instea] of being, as she is now, the meanest beggar in the world, to [unclear: restor] to her her native powers and her ancient constitution—this has [unclear: be] my ambition, and this ambition has been my crime. Judged by the law of England, I know this crime entails upon me the penalty [unclear: y] death, but the history of Ireland explains that crime and justifies [unclear: s] Judged by that history I am no criminal, and I deserve no punishment. Judged by that history, the treason of which I stand convicted loses all its guilt, has been sanctified as a duty, and will be ennobled as a sacrifice. With these sentiments I await the sentence of the Court. I have done what I felt to be my duty. I have spoke now, as I did on every other occasion during my short life, what felt to be the truth. I now bid farewell to the country of my birth of my passions, of my death—a country whose misfortunes have invoked my sympathies—whose factions I sought to quell—whose intelligence I prompted to a lofty aim—whose freedom has been my fatal dream. To that country I now offer as a pledge of the love [unclear: e] bore her, and of the sincerity with which I thought and spoke and struggled for her freedom, the life of a young heart, and with [unclear: tha] life the hopes, the honours, the endearments of a happy, a prosperous and honourable home. Proceed then, my Lords, with that sentence which the law directs—I am prepared to hear it—I trust I am prepared to meet its execution. I shall go, I think with a light heart, before a higher tribunal—a tribunal where a judge of infinite goodness, as well as of infinite justice, will preside, and where, my Lords, many, many, of the judgments of this world will be reversed. (Cheers.) The capital punishment was remitted for transportation and Meagher was sent to Tasmania, whence in 1852 he escaped to America, where he rose to be a Brigadier-General in the United States Army. He was accidentally drowned in the Mississippi in 1867.

Time will not permit me even briefly to refer to that king of popular orators O'Connell, nor to a host of others who have worthily upheld the oratorical reputation of Irishmen, men in our own time like A. M. Sullivan, O'Hagan, Father Tom Burke, T. W. Croke (Archbishop of Cashel), and Sexton. The stream of eloquence from Irish lips flows on to-day as of yore, and is just as potent as ever in the making of history and moulding the destinies of the race.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, looking back over the past stormy century of Irish history, have we not much to justify us in being proud of our race. We have seen in the men whose deeds and lives I have imperfectly sketched, examples of the highest genius, the most exalted patriotism, the most unbounded courage; men whose self-sacrifice and devotion to their motherland have entitled them to an earthly as well as a heavenly immortality, and who kept alive from generation to generation the burning love for national freedom in the hearts of Irishmen which has been the sustaining and impelling force of the movement to which we owe the impending legislative enfranchisement of Ireland. Considering the divisions that have alas! almost incessantly torn our people asunder, the Irish patriot must indeed at all times have been possessed of the heart of a lion. It was the settled policy of the governing classes and nation to keep up internal dissensions among the governed. As the sweet national singer, Thomas Davis, said:

*From Dermot's crime to Tudor's time  
Our clans were our perdition:  
Religion's name since then became  
The pretext for division.*

May we not hope that the time is now near when all unhappy divisions will be healed, and Irishmen of all creeds will meet as fellow citizens upon a common platform? May we not now consider that the lives of the great Orators of Ireland have not been spent in vain,—that a rich harvest of freedom, the seed of which was sown by them, will speedily be garnered by our kinsmen at home, and that ere the eloquent voice of the great patriarch-statesman who now rules the British Empire is hushed in the silence of the grave, its tones will be heard proclaiming in England's historic Senate-house the success of the crowning act of his illustrious career—the resuscitation of the Irish Legislature. (Applause.) When the day of Ireland's liberation shall have arrived, and the voices of her people's representatives shall once more be heard in the old Parliament house in

College Green, then will come too, in that joyful hour, the apotheosis of the illustrious dead, the soldiers and the orators who fought and struggled for their country's liberty, and whose watchword until their latest breath was—"Ireland a Nation" (Loud and long continued applause.)

Mr. John D. Connolly (United States Consul) proposed, and Mr. W.Duncan, J.P., seconded, "That a hearty vote of thanks be passed to Mr. Napier for his eloquent and instructive lecture." The motion was carried unanimously, amidst enthusiastic cheers.

### The Cause of a Crisis

(*Flurscheim's Theory*).

By A.J.O.

Robart Printed at "The Mercury" Office, Macquarie Street. 1894.

# Money.

No one, I suppose, will dispute that the ruling power in the industrial world is money.

It is money that hires labour, that buys goods, that starts enterprises, that is lent as capital, paid as interest, collected as [*unclear: xes*]. The farmer may want his land tilled, and the labourer may be [*unclear: eady*] to till it, but unless the farmer has money to pay wages the soil remains untitled and the labourer unemployed. The shopkeeper may have clothes (and other goods) offered for sale, and the man outside may be sorely in want of them, but unless he has money to buy them with the clothes remain unsold and the man unclothed.

Affairs are so constituted that nothing can be done without money. Money failing, exchange ceases; and exchange ceasing, production [*unclear: ops*], for production cannot be carried on without exchange. No one produces everything for himself. He must get food from one, clothes from another, tools from this man, materials from that, transport from a third, and none of these things can be got for nothing; something must be given in exchange, and the only thing that will be excepted is money.

Money, in short, is to the industrial body what blood is to the physiological body. Not only must it be present but it must circulate. What is this money, the circulation of which is so vital a necessity? "Coin," says some one. "We see and handle it daily."

Well, coin is one form of money certainly, and in its way a most important form; still it is only one form, and a very subsidiary form. The man who is recognised by all as a "moneyed man" has very little coin, often not more than a few shillings in his possession, and the greater his wealth the smaller always is the proportion that he holds in coin.

The largest transactions are effected without any coin passing at all. It is only in petty transactions, or for small balances, that coin passes. The great mass of business transactions is effected either by paper in some form, or by the balancing of contra accounts.

This *money* that rules the market, that employs labour, that starts enterprise, that the rich lend and the needy borrow is not a material substance at all, though material substances such as coin or paper are largely used to represent and to transfer it.

It is *general purchasing power*—command of the goods and services of others, based on a recognised claim for past services rendered, real or imaginary; a claim for something transferred, something done or something permitted. For something transferred, as for goods sold, or cash deposited in a bank, or lent on a mortgage or a debenture. For something done, as for work performed or enterprise started. For something permitted, as for permission granted to use a given piece of land.

The service rendered is a thing of the past. The goods sold have probably been long ago consumed; the cash lent has passed into the general circulation and can no longer be identified; the enterprise has either failed and disappeared, or has succeeded and now maintains itself; the land is being put to use by the tenant, not by the landlord who gave him permission to use it, and who has no concern with the land (while the lease runs) but to receive the rent.

In every case all that remains to the claimant is his claim, a claim, not for some particular goods, as grain or boots, but for *value*, for general purchasing power, or command of the goods and services of others to a specified amount; which purchasing power, transferable from hand to hand, is recognised as money, no matter in what form it be embodied, whether as coin, as paper, or as simple entry to credit at a bank; and circulation of money consists in the passing of this general purchasing power from person to person. The balance that a man has at his bank is recognised as money, and gives him the purchasing power of money, and the cheques with which he transfers it, or the coin for which he cancels it, are also money. The motionless balance and the moving cheque confer the same power, and go by the same name. In other words, the thing itself and the material instrument that transfers or embodies it are spoken of as if they were the same. And no great harm

results, for the difference is only the difference between Statics and Dynamics. The one represents money at rest, the other money in motion.

But the point to be attended to is that money itself, in the sense in which the business world understands the term,—this thing which buys good, hires services, fetches interest, and so on—is not a material substance at all, though material substances are often used to embody or to transfer it, but general *purchasing power* or command of goods and services of others. When it is to a large amount it is as often called capital as money. The man of business means the same thing by the two terms, and uses them indifferently. What the closet philosopher means by them is of small consequence.

A sovereign and a bank note, or cheque for £1, are alike in this, that they are both useless in themselves, useful only to exchange away for other things, and that they both represent purchasing power to the amount of twenty shillings. But they differ in this, that the purchasing power of the cheque or note depends on the solvency of the person or bank on whom it is drawn, while the purchasing power of the sovereign is independent of any particular person's solvency, and is good everywhere. (There are of course other highly important differences between coin and paper, but they do not concern the present question.) But since, as we have seen, money consists of purchasing power, and purchasing power consists for the most part of registered claims on persons liable to fail at any moment, this larger part may disappear at any moment; and when a crisis occurs much of it does so disappear, and "money becomes scarce." Thus, suppose a tradesman is paying £100 rent to a landlord, £100 interest to a money lender, spending £100 in wages, and making £100 profit for himself, then here is £400 circulating. Suppose now that through a bad speculation, a defaulting cashier, or any other cause, he fails in one of his liabilities, say the interest, and the money lender sells him up, the source of all four incomes being dried up, all four incomes disappear together. The quantity of real wealth—of goods—is exactly what it was. It is dispersed but not annihilated; but the £400 which that business put into circulation has disappeared. It never had any substantial existence. It may revive no doubt. The landlord will relet the premises, the money lender (if he has got his money back) will find a fresh investment, the employés will find another employer, and the ruined man another occupation. But for the present all four incomes have gone, and none of them revive immediately. Indeed, when such failures are numerous and on a large scale, as in a commercial crisis, it often takes a long time, months, sometimes years, before complete recovery.

It is in view of this danger that a party in America insist on the State coining annually large quantities of silver, so that money (as they think) can never become scarce nor crises occur.

Such a device, however, would be quite ineffective for the purpose, because the superiority (in some respects) of paper over coin as a circulating medium is so enormous that the great bulk of transactions would continue to be effected by paper, no matter how plentiful coin was.

£1,000 is much safer kept in the form of a simple entry to credit in a ledger than as a bag of sovereigns. It is much easier transferred from person to person, and saves an infinity of trouble and risk in transport from place to place. Moreover a cheque need not be written till it is wanted, and if destroyed, another can be written, while sovereigns would have to be carried about always, and once lost or destroyed could not be replaced.

Paper does not supersede coin from any scarcity of coin, but because of its greater convenience, though for reasons which we need not go into, it cannot altogether supersede coin.

The only result then of forcibly increasing coin beyond the immediate requirement of trade would be to lessen its purchasing power. If a given number of sovereigns are sufficient for present transactions, doubling their number would only halve their value. Whatever now costs £1 would then cost £2; and the paper, which expresses itself in pounds, would have to express double values.

## Tribute v. Earnings.

Whoever wishes to get a clear idea of the industrial problem must begin by realising thoroughly the fundamental difference between Tribute and Earnings. This is the key to the whole question.

Society consists of two classes:

1. The class that lives by producing goods, or rendering active service of some sort; that is by work, the reward for which, called fees in the case of professional men, profit in the case of employers, salary or wages in the case of subordinate workers, may be summed up in the word *earnings*. And 2. The class which neither produces goods nor actively earns anything, but lives on the earnings of others, having acquired possession of something, land or money, which it has no present intention of using itself, but which is necessary to other people and which it charges them for the mere permission to use. These two charges, Rent and Interest, we express together by the term Tribute.

No doubt there are persons who, while doing nothing to earn their income, yet do other work, often very valuable work, gratuitously; of such are scientific men like Darwin, statesmen, like scores who could be named,

and so on. And there are others who enjoy two distinct incomes, one from Tribute, which they do not earn, and one from useful work, which they do earn, so that the two classes appear superficially to merge into each other.

For all that, the two kinds of income remain perfectly distinct. Tribute (Rent and Interest) accrues all the same, whether the claimant works or plays; whether he is well or ill; even whether he is alive or dead; for the claim once established is immortal, and continues (unless the landlord is bought out, or the creditor paid off) from heir to heir, from generation to generation.

Once land is let, or money lent, the day of tribute comes round with unfailing regularity. The tenant's crop may fail, the borrower's enterprise may break down, but the tribute comes due all the same.

The system may be just or unjust, beneficial or injurious; we are not here concerned with the ethics of the matter, but with the facts only.

Grasp well before proceeding further this fundamental difference between Tribute and Earnings, and realise that everybody's income is resolvable into one or the other.

We shall express the class that lives on tribute by the letter T, and the class that lives by work by the letter W.

## Tribute can Only be Paid by Work.

W can only pay T by work, that is by producing goods or rendering active services for him. (For brevity's sake, and to avoid having constantly to give double illustrations, we shall say—by goods.)

But though the tribute can only be paid by goods it is not payable in goods, but in money. T is not obliged to take W's goods, and yet can insist on payment all the same.

If T received his tribute in goods he would have to live up to his income or lose a portion of it. He would have to use the goods, for many of them would spoil immediately, while all would begin to deteriorate, besides incurring costs of storage and guardianship. If the goods consisted of articles of maintenance or enjoyment, food and clothes for example, the food would have to be eaten and the clothes worn as soon as possible, or they would spoil. If they consisted of "wealth devoted to production," of tools and raw material for example, of goods whose only use was to produce other goods, they would have to be applied to the work for which they were adapted, or they too would begin to deteriorate, and go to waste.

The result would be that nothing would hang on sale, lie idle or go to waste. Everything would be put to the use for which it was fit without delay. There would be great consumption widely diffused; there would be rapid sale of goods, incessant demand, employment for all, active industry, circulating money, rising wages.

If T received his tribute in money, but spent that money at once, the result would be the same.

T, however, does not either receive his tribute in goods, nor yet spend it all. He receives it in money, and he finds it quite easy to save that. That does not spoil by keeping, nor yet incur expense of storage. On the contrary, it brings him in interest. So he saves, not by storing goods nor hoarding coin, but simply by contracting his expenditure, and leaving the unexpended balance somewhere as an unsatisfied claim. He abstains from taking from W goods equivalent to the full amount to which he is entitled, and yet does not waive his claim. In other words, he refuses to allow W to pay his debt in the only way in which he can pay it, and yet charges him for not paying it.

What is W to do? T's refusal to buy lessens the general demand for goods, contracts the market, brings down prices.

W cannot use the rejected goods himself because, owing to the differentiation of industry, each producer lives by producing a single article, or class of articles, often of a kind that is of no use to him at all, always more in quantity than he can find use for, even if they are the kind of articles he uses. The farmer, for example, cannot eat all the grain he produces, the clothier wear all the clothes he makes, the cutler use all the tools he manufactures, and even if he did, it would not enable him to find the tribute required of him. Nor can he dispose of these goods amongst his fellow Ws, for, as a class, they are generally in the same plight as himself, and for the same reasons. Some of them there are whose business is simply to buy and sell (shopkeepers, dealers, etc.); these we may call vendors. Others there are whose business is simply to render services, or produce goods for the vendors to sell, they themselves receiving wages; these we may call labourers. The vendors, in whose hands the goods are collected, can neither use them nor sell them to each other, and the labourers cannot buy them because, after satisfying their most pressing wants, they have not money enough left to buy anything else. In short, the poor cannot buy the goods, and the rich won't. So trade becomes dull, employment scarce, earnings fall. There is no scarcity of real wealth, *i.e.*, of goods, yet there is distress among those who produce it because the money—the purchasing power—has accumulated in the hands of T, who won't spend it, but only lend it.

To put it another way. Let a farmer and a cloth-maker represent the workers, one owing £20 a year rent to a

landlord, the other £20 interest to a money lender. Tribute day arriving, the workers expect to be able to find the tribute due by the sale of their products. What they sell to each other amounts to a mere exchange of products, beneficial to each no doubt, but of no use in helping to find the tribute. For this they look to the Tribute receivers to buy, *i.e.*, to take their tribute out in goods. T, however, won't; he intends to save, so the workers have to scrape together all the ready money they can get, and with which they had intended to carry on their business, and they hand that over—£40 in all—to T, who promptly puts it into the savings bank.

Now money being taken as the SIGN of real wealth, the politician, the statistician, the economist, seeing £40 in the bank, which was not there before, announce this as the year's savings—as the national accumulation for the year—whereas a moment's reflection will show that there has been no saving or accumulation of real wealth at all. The farmer has simply got his usual yield of farm produce, which must be presently eaten (unless it is left to rot), and the cloth-maker has got his usual output of finished goods which also must be presently put to their destined use (unless they are uselessly put by for the moth and rust to corrupt); all that has happened out of the usual way is that the £40 which was in the hands of the workers is now in the bank, to the great loss of the workers who, having now no ready money to go on with, are obliged to go to the bank and borrow the £20 each they require to carry on with. Next tribute day comes round and the workers have their usual output of goods only, but now double their former liabilities, and more; they have each his £20 rent or interest to meet, and the £20 additional they borrowed from the bank, with interest added. And T still persists in "saving" and won't buy, but yet insists on his tribute; there is of course an immediate collapse of everything. Indeed there is a collapse anyhow, for the matter has gone too far to be remedied.

Now if T had not economised, but taken his tribute out in goods, there would have been no apparent saving, but the workers would have met their liabilities without either parting with their cash or borrowing, and industry would have gone on as usual. It was T's "saving" that wrought the whole mischief.

Of course in real life a general break down does not come to pass in a single year, because T does not—cannot—do what for sake of illustration we have supposed, and save his whole income; he only saves  $1\frac{1}{10}$  or  $1\frac{1}{11}$  of it, and therefore a crisis only occurs once in every 10 or 11 years; and when it does occur it is not a complete break down, because not all the Ts save, and because numerous unnoticed little breaks down are continually happening which ease the accumulating strain, and avert a complete catastrophe. Money is so identified in our minds with real wealth as signifying it, and being convertible into it, that we fail to realise that the sign does not imply the existence of the thing signified. 100 sovereigns in any one place does not imply the existence of £100 worth of goods in that place, any more than the existence of the goods implies the existence of the sovereigns. Still less, if possible, does an entry to credit in a bank imply the existence of either goods or sovereigns.

Still a good part of the rejected goods can be got off to the richer Ws, for the Ws are of all grades, from the Prime Minister with £10,000 a year down to the out-of-work with nothing. At these extreme points W may be said to pay no tribute; the rich, because they are so independent that they need incur no liabilities (as for the rent they may pay, that is purely voluntary and for their own convenience, seeing they are rich enough to buy their own land and houses if they want to). The poor, on the other hand, having no credit, can incur no liabilities, broadly speaking, so they also pay no tribute. Really they bear the whole burden of it, but they bear it in poverty and toil, in non-receipt of wealth, not in visible transfer of it as tribute.

The business of *finding* the tribute falls mainly on the Ws who lie between the extremes of rich and poor, and cover the general class of employers. These can for a time continue to find the tribute required of them, notwithstanding T's refusal to buy their goods, partly by lowering their prices and inducing the richer Ws to buy, thus reducing their own earnings; and partly by cutting down the wages and lengthening the hours of their employes, thus taking it out of *their* earnings. Of course they never adopt the former course till they have carried the latter to the furthest point practicable.

The employer is the base on which the whole system rests. For the landlord and the money-lender as such produce nothing, and the labourer, though he does produce, does not come into possession of what he produces; *that* belongs to his employer.

To the employer comes the landlord for his rent, the money-lender for his interest, the labourer for his wages.

If the employer fails, all fail with him; and if he fails in one point he fails in all. For if he fails in his own profit he cannot live, and there is an end of him as an employer. If he fails in rent the landlord ejects him, and stops his work, and his work ceasing, the money-lender's interest and the labourer's wages cease with it. If he fails in his interest the money-lender sells him up, which also stops his work, and with it again the landlord's rent and the labourer's wages. As for his labourer, as he is usually paid weekly, monthly, periodically, somehow as the work goes on, he has rarely much to claim, so we may leave him out as a probable danger. But rent, interest, and wages all depend on the employer, and failure in any one liability brings down the extinguisher on him, and extinguishes the others as well as himself, all four incomes disappear together.

But besides the Ws who supply *Ts income* there grows up another class of Ws who enable him to spend it—who live by supplying his wants, so that when his accumulated tribute demands break down W who supplies them and his income goes too, these others lose *their* income. So that a whole series of incomes disappear together.

When a crisis comes there is as much distress amongst the Ts as amongst the Ws. Above the cry of the foreclosed farmer, of the sold-up tradesman, of the unemployed labourer, there rises the cry of the wealthy gentleman of "independent means," whose great and sudden fall from opulence to penury attracts special notice; of the widow and the orphan who have lost all their "savings," and who attract special and deserved pity. And really everybody seems to imagine that a pile of accumulated real wealth has suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. When all that has really disappeared is the power of a number of persons who do no work to claim the earnings of those who do. All the real wealth is just as abundant as it was; the stock of goods, of actual utilities is not lessened an iota. Nothing has disappeared but incomes—claims. Yet the business relations of society consist of such an interlacing network of these claims that their cessation throws everything into confusion, and the wheels of the great industrial machine slacken, its output diminishes, and wide confusion and distress result.

But since T does not hoard his money, but invests it (*i.e.*, passes it on to someone else to spend) it gets spent after all. True. But the expenditure is now taxed, and the tax falls on W. If T. has £1,000 coming to him from W and spends it on a bouse for himself, employing W to build it, then so many man are employed, the house is built, and the claim is wiped out.

But if he lend it to someone else to build a house, then as before, so many men are employed, and the house is built, but the claim is *not* wiped out, but continues incurring interest, which the worker *somewhere* has to pay.

No doubt the borrower who builds the house benefits in a way by the loan, or he would not borrow. But the mischief is that T's refusal to buy his goods compels him to borrow, for if T spent all his income as he got it, the demand for goods would be so great and continuous, and the money—the purchasing power—instead of accumulating in the hand of a single class, would be so quickly and widely diffused that W would be under no necessity to borrow, and could build his own house with his own earnings.

Saving money so far from adding to accumulations, as the authorities teach, diminishes them by checking production; for goods are produced only to be consumed; and if A, the customer, refuses to have them, B, the producer, will not produce them.

To most people it seems a mere truism that the greater the consumption the less the goods. But it is not true. The very converse is the truth. For the greater the consumption the greater the demand, and the greater the demand the more active the production. Consumption calls forth the goods that it consumes. Indeed, it calls forth more than it consumes, for by far the greater part of the articles we require—all indeed, except food, tobacco, and a few other things—are more or less durable, outlast their first use, outlast many successive uses, and so are produced faster than they are worn out, and thus give rise to accumulations. This durability of most of the articles we produce is indeed the chief cause of accumulating wealth.

Saving money then is not saving goods, but only throwing them on the market unsold, causing what is called "overproduction," bringing down profits, embarrassing trade, checking production, and lowering earnings.

The goods remain unsold, not because nobody wants them, for millions want them badly, but because the money, the purchasing power, the command of goods and services, has accumulated in the hands of the fortunate few who don't want them, leaving in the hands of those who do want them barely enough to supply their most pressing wants.

And precisely because T already has so much, he can get more still, with no effort of his own. Because he commands the present he can also command the future; for whatever fresh opportunities of wealth producing come to light, W is too poor to take advantage of them, so they fall into T's hands.

Does someone discover a new method or devise a new machine? It cannot be tested, perfected, brought into use without money; there-fore T, who has the money, buys it up for a trifle.

Does someone else find valuable minerals? T generally owns the land and claims them. Even if they are on Crown land W has not the money to develop them, T has, so he buys it up again, and W has to work for him as a hired servant.

Does Government open up fresh lands by new roads? They are too far away or too densely timbered to be of much *immediate* profit, so TV, who can't wait for the distant golden future, either lets T take them up, or if he does take them is sooner or later bought out by T, who *can* wait, and who, letting the land for a small profit in the present, can sit comfortably waiting in his chair for the later but inevitable rise of land value.

So no matter what the enterprise may be, nor how promising, nor how thoroughly well able W may be to manage it, so far as knowledge and skill go, it falls into T's hands, and W has to work under him for mere

ordinary current wages.

So T saves habitually; and the richer he is, and therefore the less need there is for him to save, the more he saves.

No matter how well assured his future may be, there are always reasons in plenty to induce him to go on saving.

There is the love of power, which is gratified by the reflection that he has plenty, increasingly plenty, money to spend *if he likes*.

There is the importance and influence with others which the reputation of having plenty of money confers.

There is the natural desire to leave one's children as well off as possible. And last, but not least, there is the pernicious doctrine, taught by the highest authorities, that these savings of his are real additions to the national wealth, and represent the fund by which industry is carried on and comforts are diffused.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, saving money in an excellent thing when kept within limits—very narrow limits—for it is a form of insurance.

Like insurance, it adds nothing to accumulations, but it averts suffering. There is no better way for a man to make provision against sickness, or accidents, and for old age, and to give his children a fair start in life than by contracting expenditure, and so saving money.

By this means no goods need be put by to spoil or to deteriorate, to be destroyed or stolen; in any case to lie uselessly idle till wanted. There is no cost of storage and guardianship; and when the time for calling in the provision arrives it comes in money, which will command exactly what may be wanted, instead of in the shape of old and more or less damaged goods, which are sure not to be all of them just what is required.

For these three purposes, and to a limited, reasonable extent, saving money is emphatically good. Nothing is saved by it but a claim upon somebody else; but this claim-saving avoids both cost and waste, and is thus a gain to society at large, as well as a convenience to the saver. The payment falls on W, and comes out of daily production, not out of an imaginary store of previously accumulated goods; but the W who pays it himself benefits by the system, for by it he in like manner can make provision for his own future.

It is the savings—the needless and excessive savings of the rich that do the mischief. The savings of the poor do no harm, or, rather, they would do no harm but for the oppressive burden caused by the savings of the rich, to which *their* savings of course add fresh increments.

Nothing seems more ridiculous than the way in which intelligent and otherwise well-informed people point from time to time with satisfaction to the country's accumulated savings—not in barns and storehouses, but in the ledgers of lending societies, above all in the savings banks. These last are the very type and specially quoted example of the kind of savings which economists applaud and inculcate, and hardly anyone seems to realise that they are savings on paper only, not in fact; that they represent not accumulated wealth, but accumulated debt, and that the larger the sum of them the greater the burden that W, that industry generally has to bear, and the harder it is becoming to bear it; the more so, too, inasmuch as every investor, as soon as his savings reach a certain point, retires from business to live on his savings, thus taking one from the list of W to add one more to the list of T, and so making it harder than ever for the ranks that he leaves. There is an idea that, though A, who saves nominally may not save really, yet, by deferring payment he enables B to save instead, which comes to the same thing. Yes, it comes to the same thing, for nothing is saved in either case. The goods, if it is goods, are consumed; the money, if it is money, is spent, alike in the one case as in the other. What survives is the claim. The idea, too, that if A had not lent his money he would have spent it unproductively, while B, having to pay interest on it, is bound to spend it productively is a pure assumption, and an unlikely one too. For the very fact that A has saved money shows that he is not a reckless, wasteful, man, and therefore that if he had spent it himself instead of lending it, he would probably have spent it well. While the fact that B wants to borrow, though it MAY indicate that he is a skilful man who only wants money to carry out successfully some useful enterprise, may just as easily indicate that he is reckless in the present, or over-sanguine as to the future, or dishonest, and only wants to get hold of of money somehow, or in desperate straits and catching at any straw. Indeed, this last is a very common motive for borrowing, and often succeeds in getting what it wants. But whether the money be borrowed to secure success or to postpone ruin, whether it be employed for wise enterprise or wild speculation, whether the venture succeed or fail, in every case the investment of the savings represents consumption and expenditure, not storing up, and the result in case of success is an entirely fresh creation. Old goods have been consumed to produce new goods, and money spent to make more money.

Accumulations of real wealth are not due to saving, except in so far, to a small extent, as saving means simple avoidance of waste. What real accumulations are due to is the industry that produces more in the day than the day's wants, the improvement of instruments and processes that increase the productiveness of labour, and, above all, the durability of most of the articles we produce, most of which (all except food, tobacco, and a few others) outlast their first use, outlast many successive uses, and so are produced faster than they are worn out, and so accumulate.

Expenditure is constantly being confounded with consumption; but spending money is one thing, consuming goods is another. Expenditure is merely exchanging money for goods. The two things change hands, but remain undiminished by the transaction. Food is produced to be eaten, fuel to be burnt, clothes to be worn, everything, in short, is produced for the purpose of being consumed, or, at any rate, of being put to use. The longer the things last, fulfilling their use before they are consumed, the better; but the main thing is that they shall be put to use, and not left idle, much less rot, which they will do if not used; and whether they are consumed by the person who produced them, or are sold by him to somebody else to consume, is of no consequence.

Suppose, however, that the "savings" which figure in the ledgers of savings banks and similar institutions, and to which the authorities point with such satisfaction as evidences of an accumulated fund of real wealth, were really, as represented, a substantial something in the "capitalist's" possession, which is on no account to be dissipated, but, on the contrary, perpetually added to by fresh saving. Suppose, in short, that the great thing, especially in hard times, is to save money, not to spend it, except in clearly profitable work, the profitableness of which is to be estimated by the profit to the capitalist himself. Let us give a little parable, and see how the theory works out.

There is a crisis on hand. Trade is dull, money scarce, employment hard to find, wages falling.

T has £1,000 "put by," and looking out of the window he sees a group of labourers ragged and hungry. On one side are clothiers' and bakers' shops with clothes and food offered for sale. On the other side are tools and raw material for work also offered for sale. Behind are the millions of the human race with wants unsatisfied, which those unemployed men, fed with that food and provided with those tools would only too gladly satisfy. But the labourers must remain un-employed, the goods unsold, the bread uneaten, the clothes unworn, the wants unsatisfied, because the purchasing power, the "money" as it is called, is locked up in T's possession.

T looks out of his window at the labourers waiting for work, at the shopkeepers waiting for custom, and the sight pains him, for he is a kindly man.

"Dear me," he sighs, "trade is dreadfully dull. What are all these poor people to do to earn a living?"

His wife, who is kind too, says, "Give them a shilling apiece. That will at least enable them to buy bread."

But T, who has studied political economy, shakes his head and says, "No, that would never do. Gratuitous alms only pauperise, relieving the evil for the moment only to intensify it by and bye; degrading the men and impairing their usefulness."

"Well," says the wife, "suppose you clear that waste piece of ground at the back of the house and make a lovely pleasure ground of it. That will give the men employment."

But T says sadly, "No, that would be worse still. It would dissipate my savings, and so do away with the very fund that maintains labour. It would be downright sin in these times to waste good money in frivolous unproductive expenditure. There is a crisis, my dear, and we must all save so that capital may again become abundant and trade revive."

"Well," says the wife, "set them to do something really useful—to produce something that you really want—potatoes, cloth, anything."

But T, reflecting a little, says "No, I am very sorry, but I don't happen to want either potatoes or cloth, and, in fact, there is nothing particular that I do want just at present; and I don't even see my way to making a profit in any way, because really trade is so bad just now that there is no opening anywhere; everything is overdone, and goods are almost unsaleable.

So neither of them know what to do, and they feel quite sad, till T suddenly says he will go to the Premier and see if some public work can't be got for the unemployed. So he goes to the Premier. But the Premier points out to him (what he knows already) that times are bad, and the Treasury necessarily suffers. Customs have fallen off; rates are hard to collect; people must not be pushed. This is no time for starting fresh public works, rather for reducing them. There is nothing for it but patience, and—saving. A little private charity perhaps; a good deal of it indeed; only the charity must be very warily bestowed; restricted to absolute necessities, and the men must be given to understand distinctly that it *is* charity, and that they have no real right to it, and so ought to feel very grateful for it. In short the relief must be made pretty uncomfortable and humiliating, or there will be a rush for it, and the men will be pauperised.

But meanwhile the wife, who doesn't half understand, but does wholly detest the doctrines of Political Economy, can stand the sight of those poor men no longer, so she calls them in and says: "There, go into the garden and dig and I will pay you. I am not allowed to give you anything in charity, but set to work and earn something,"

Now the garden is all in apple-pie order, so the men ask wonderingly what they are to do.

"Oh!" she says, "Do anything. Dig it all up if you like, only go to work."

So they go to work. They grub up the roses and root out the bulbs, and dig up the paths, and the fountain, and the summer houses, and turn the whole place upside down, and leave it a desolation. They do, say, ten

shillings worth of damages each, and she pays them ten shillings each for doing it.

This money has not disappeared but only changed hands, but there remains an actual destruction of useful property to the amount of ten shillings by each man.

Now to trace the result.

Take the first man as a sample of the lot. He is the richer by ten shillings. He steps across the street and spends it in goods. He is still the richer by ten shillings, only it is now ten shillings worth of goods instead of ten shillings worth of silver.

But the shopkeeper is also now the richer by ten shillings. True, he had to give the goods for it, but unsaleable goods are worth nothing, and his goods were unsaleable. It was a real gain to him to convert his unsaleable goods into ten shillings worth of general purchasing power.

He next spends this ten shillings in employing an idle shoemaker to make him a pair of boots, and still remains richer by ten shillings. That is ten shillings worth of boots. But the shoemaker is also now the richer by ten shillings, and he transfers it to a carpenter to make him a table, and the carpenter transfers it to a locksmith to make him a lock, and so on indefinitely; each successive man becoming in turn the richer by ten shillings in some shape or other.

But for T's wife, none of these goods—boots, table, lock, etc, worth ten shillings each, would have been produced; so that society is the richer by the whole series of them through her act.

No. 1 wanted boots from No. 2, but had nothing to give in return that No. 2 wanted; and No. 2 wanted a table from No. 3, but could not make the lock that No. 3 wanted; and so they all stuck fast. Each wanted something from the other, but the wants did not fit and trade stood still, because the money which fits all wants (broadly speaking) was locked up in T's possession till his wife set it free. Directly she turned the tap the stream flowed forth, trade revived, and production began afresh.

So what the philanthropist and the statesman knew not how to do has been accomplished in a moment by the impulsive act of a simple-minded woman. Her apparently foolish and really wasteful act indirectly caused the production of goods many times exceeding in value the property she caused to be destroyed. But it is a poor view that estimates the utility of work by the mere production of goods. For if No. 1, instead of ordering boots, had paid his ten shillings to a schoolmaster to educate his boy, and the schoolmaster had passed it on to a dentist to pull out an aching tooth, and so on through a whole series of technically unproductive but none the less useful services, would not the result have been as well worth the outlay? But for T's wife the boy would have remained untaught, though the schoolmaster stood ready to teach; and the tooth would have gone on aching though the dentist sat idle in his surgery, and a whole train of difficulties would have remained unremoved and wants unsatisfied just for lack of the half-sovereign which that good woman set spinning.

Now this is substantially what happens in real life. Saving, in the sense of cessation of spending, stops everything, production as well as exchange, for one cannot go on without the other. If A ceases to buy B's goods B will cease to produce them, unless C buys them instead; that is, unless one man's increased expenditure counterbalances and so cancels another's saving.

Of course there must be a basis of goods already existing, or else T's purchasing power will be of small use. But in real life there always is this basis. In the worst times the difficulty always is not that there is a deficiency of goods but that the goods don't sell, and the reason they don't sell is never that the goods are not wanted, but that the people who want them have not got the money to buy them, the money—the purchasing power (no matter in what form embodied) having accumulated in T's hands through T's habit of refusing to take W's goods in satisfaction of his debt, and so piling up an accumulation of claims against him.

In the business world, what constitutes a "moneyed man" (or capitalist, as he is generally called) and gains him command over the goods and services of others is not goods or sovereigns, but claims. Not goods, for most moneyed men have no goods except what they want for their own enjoyment, while of those who possess large stocks of goods, many can't sell them or can't get paid for what they sell, while many others carry on their business on the credit system, and owe most of their earnings beforehand.

Not sovereigns, for few moneyed men have more than a few in their possession, and what sovereigns they receive they promptly pass on to the bank, converting their "money" into a claim on the bank. The sovereigns do not accumulate anywhere (except to a certain extent as necessary bank reserves), they pass from hand to hand, as much among the Ws as among the Ts: It is the CLAIMS that accumulate.

Note, too, for it is very significant, that whenever a business man talks of "realising his capital," he does not mean converting his money into goods, but his goods into money, and he forthwith converts this money into a claim, getting rid of the coin at the first opportunity.

A crisis, then, is caused by the weight of accumulating claims, mostly pure tribute claims, pressing upon and exhausting earnings, and so breaking down industry. It is caused in fact by savings-accumulated and invested.

As a crisis approaches, the symptoms of its approach intensify. Employers finding themselves getting short

of money begin to borrow, to renew bills, to entangle themselves in tribute more and more, thereby hastening the catastrophe; so that, like a stream approaching a waterfall, the current quickens before the final plunge. People say then that it was the borrowing, the reckless trading on credit, that produced the mischief, when really the borrowing and the credit were but the natural symptoms and effects of the growing pressure on the workers. They HAD to borrow in order to keep going. Tension is at its height when a bank fails, or a big firm collapses; innumerable other people are involved in the failure, these involve others, and so ruin spreads in all directions. People now say it was the bank failure that did the mischief, whereas it really represented only that crack at the weakest place that indicated the intensity of the strain and the coming catastrophe that was bound to come somewhere. Of course accident, indefensibly rash speculation, or swindling may precipitate or aggravate the crash, but it is bound to come in any case.

In all this we have an exact picture of our own commercial crisis, and of the conditions that preceded it.

(a) Nothing necessary to the continuance of productive work was wanting. The land was as abundant and as fertile as before; the minerals were there, the labourers were there, and as willing to work; the food, the tools, and everything necessary to keep the work going were all present, besides more being in course of production daily.

(b) No break or hitch had occurred in the processes of production. The harvest was (as it turned out) above the average; the mines were more fully developed and giving greater promise than ever; the fruit trade had received a new impetus; we had timber and fish, and all kinds of natural products; and as to wool, the rain fell and the sun shone, and the grass grew, and the sheep eat it, and turned it into wool as usual, without our having anything to do with it. Our whole industrial machine was in perfect order and full swing, when suddenly it stopped! Why? Because Tribute had outrun Earnings.

It is said that the crisis was caused by loss of confidence. But there was no loss of confidence—Then.

People were over confident, not under confident. They thought the West Coast minerals were going to give abundant employment for willing workers, a home market for farm produce, and golden fortunes for investors; and in their excessive confidence they ran mining shares up to fancy prices. They thought the ocean steamers that had begun to call regularly for our fruit had already established fruitgrowing for exportation as a national industry. They had such confidence in an immediate prosperous future that they cheered on the Government to borrow recklessly, and to make railways right and left, in places where there was no rational prospect of their ever paying working expenses; in one case to tap a district that actually did not want a railway at all.

It was not till the crash of a failing bank sounded in their ears, and firms went down like ninepins that people began to lose confidence; and even then confidence was only shaken, not lost. Investors were throwing up their shares in all directions, not eagerly, and because they had lost confidence in their investments, but unwillingly, regretfully, from sheer inability to meet their calls. And why could they not meet their calls? Because the strain of accumulating tribute had reached the breaking point, and at the first note of danger some of the tribute leviens, taking fright or being pressed themselves, began to call in their claims; the people called on had to call in theirs, and so it went round.

It has been noticed with surprise that just before the crisis in Victoria the accumulations in the savings banks were unusually large. Just so. "Accumulations" will always be found to be large just before a crisis, for the simple reason that they are accumulations of claims, not of goods, and are exactly what cause the crisis.

The failure of the bank that startled the whole community and initiated the general breakup, so far from being the cause of the depression was the first movement in relief, though like other cracks caused by intense pressure, it hurt exceedingly. And all our well-meant attempts to lighten the calamity and let the victims down easy by "giving time" for payment are only prolonging the agony and widening its area.

Because tribute having outrun earnings (that is claims having accumulated beyond the power of payment), trade cannot recover nor work proceed as before till the excess is—not paid—but wiped out. You may enable the immediate debtor to scrape through somehow by "giving time," but this only shifts the ruin to someone else, generally from the non-worker to the worker. The loss is bound to fall some-where; and the longer it is put off the greater will be the number of those, quite unconnected with the failure, who must suffer grievous loss by the mere stagnation of business, and the longer they will suffer.

Neither the failure of the V.D.L. Bank as a particular fact nor the crisis as a general fact affected the real factors of production. The land was as abundant and as fertile as ever; the minerals remained awaiting development; all our inexhaustible natural resources remained unimpaired; the men were as able and as willing to work; the food, the tools, and all the requisites of production were ready to hand, as before; but the soil and the minerals have to remain undeveloped, the labourers wander about begging for employment; the tools rest idly in back yards or linger unsold in the stores. Why? Because the purchasing power has accumulated in the hands of the leviens of tribute (who are now losing heavily themselves, and are afraid to re-invest till affairs have settled down again), and the workers, drained dry and with unsatisfied claims still hanging over them, can do nothing.

It is the accumulation of mere claims, airy, unsubstantial, but none the less formidable claims, that has worked all the mischief, concentrating the money in the wrong hands, in the hands of the people who don't work instead of in the hands of those who do.

And the capitalist, gorged with his "savings," looks with his good wife sadly out of the window at the misery around him, and wishes that "something could be done" to set business going again.

Rent and interest saved and invested, saved again and reinvested to appear as fresh savings (in bank ledgers), cause tribute to accumulate faster than earnings—claims to outrun the power of payment. A penny put out to interest and compound interest at 5 per cent, in the time of Christ would long ere this have amounted to a sum far exceeding the value of all the real wealth existing in the world. The interest upon it would far exceed the annual earnings of the whole human race, including what was required for bare maintenance. Why, then, has not industry broken down long ago? Because (as Flursheim expresses it) the penny every now and again gets lost; because every now and again the workers, more or less of them, fail and go insolvent, and so much of the claims get wiped out. The burden itself breaks down by its own weight. For of course industry cannot break down, production cannot cease. So long before any great general catastrophe can occur slight partial catastrophes called commercial crises occur; a number of great firms collapse, spreading ruin all around them commercial relations are thrown into confusion, trade is paralysed, production is checked, labourers are thrown out of employment, and a vast amount of suffering is produced, but so many claims are wiped out, so much of the burden is reduced, trade revives, and work gradually recommences.

A commercial crisis is a calamity no doubt, and a terrible one but it is a calamity that averts a still greater calamity. It is a timely and partial breakdown that averts a later, wider, and more disastrous breakdown. It is a catastrophe in a mitigated form that is bound to come sooner or later, and that the longer it is delayed the heavier it will be. And as the catastrophe is incomplete so is the recovery. The burden is not abolished but only reduced. The worker is not set free, but only so far relieved as to be able to get up and stagger along again, till the ever accumulating burden causes another partial breakdown and another partial recovery. There are good times and bad times in trade, but the good times are good only by contrast. There are times when profits rise above the average and employment becomes more abundant than usual, and wages therefore rise too, but poverty and distress abide with us all through. Life continues to be to most a bare struggle for existence. While tens are doing well, hundreds are barely making both ends meet. While wages rise above the average they still remain below—far and away below—the point which would secure to him whose toil produces all wealth, not merely a sufficiency of wholesome food and good shelter, which the working horse gets always, but what every willing human worker has a right to expect and what alone makes life worth having—relief from the monotonous, incessant round of toil for others enrichment, some leisure for recreation and amusement, not to mention instruction and improvement, some cheering hope of a gradual rise to a better condition, and freedom from that ever haunting anxiety about the future.

Is the picture too dark? It is dark truly, but not hopeless. Far from it. We have but to take one step further and the light breaks in abundantly.

## All Tribute Arises from Private Ownership of Land.

Private Rent (as distinguished from State Rent) arises from the fact that someone has got possession of a piece of land which he does not intend to use himself, but forbids anyone else to use, except on payment of tribute—payment not for service of any sort rendered; but for mere permission to use that portion of the earth's surface,

I am speaking, of course, of economic or ground rent only, not of that portion of so-called rent which represents a charge for improvements effected.

which payment he will either spend on his own enjoyment or invest for fresh tribute.

And Interest arises from private rent, thus: If I have £61,000 saved for my old age, then if it consists of the actual food, clothes and other goods that I expect to want in my old age, it will cost me much in tans, cellars, burglar-proof safes, and other precautions, with the possibility that it may be destroyed or stolen, notwithstanding all my precautions and the certainty that many of the goods will be spoilt by the time I require them.

It would pay me well to let some responsible person use these goods gratis, on the simple condition that he would give me back a like amount of goods at a specified date. It would even pay me to pay him to take them on these conditions. But, of course, the savings that represent provision for old age are never really made in this way, viz., in stored up goods.

If my £1,000 consist of coin, then it will certainly cost me less to store it, but still it will cost me something, and there is always the risk of robbery. Again it would pay me well to let some one else use the money on mere security given that he would return it when wanted.

But if it consist, as in practice it always does, in a mere suspended claim for payment, then no doubt it would cost nothing to keep, but I CAN'T keep it. The essence of the deferred claim is that I don't receive my payment but get, or allow, someone else to use it.

But there seems no reason why this other person should pay me for doing what is as much for my convenience as for his, and in fact he would not pay me anything, but for this—

THAT SO LONG AS I CAN WITH THIS £1,000 BUY LAND, WHICH WILL BRING ME TRIBUTE IN THE SHAPE OF RENT, I WILL LET SO ONE HAVE IT EXCEPT ON TRIBUTE IN INTEREST EQUAL TO WHAT I COULD GET IN RENT.

Here, then, is the origin of Interest.

If the land were nationalised, and land was consequently no longer available for private investment, borrower and lender would stand on equal terms, and there would be no reason why either should pay the other for what was a matter of mutual convenience.

Rent would then go to the State to be expended in public benefits instead of to a private landlord to be expended on himself, or saved and re-invested for further tribute, which is worse still.

Imagine all the millions now invested in land thrown upon the market for investment. Everyone with savings now wants someone to take care of them. For they must be taken care of somewhere and some-how. Goods can be stored up, but only at cost and risk, and with the certainty of destruction to some and deterioration to all. Coin also can be stored, but also only at some cost and risk. And as it fetches no interest when so stored, there is no object in storing it. All saving then practically comes round to the savings bank type of savings—to mere claims for payment suspended, by one person against another. And how and where can these claims be kept suspended?

Say that there is £1,000 coming to me, and that I want to save it, that is, to let the payment stand over somewhere. There are only two ways in which I can effect this: One is to refuse to accept the payment from the person who owes it and to allow or to request him to let the amount stand over for a specified time; which means that the debtor may himself consume the goods or spend the money due to me on condition of producing fresh goods or earning fresh money for me to the amount required at the time appointed. But I shall of course want some security that he will really pay the debt at the time appointed, and suppose he can't, or won't, give that security? Then I must accept payment from him and bunt about for some responsible person who will consume these goods, or spend this money under the proposed conditions of repayment. But when it comes to bunting for a borrower, instead of being bunted by him, the days of interest are about over. Consider the position. Savings by the million set free, with no land available to invest them and therefore seeking a responsible caretaker, and in a hurry to find him; for till he is found, the saving remains either as an uncollected debt in the hands of a doubtful debtor, or as a bag of sovereigns hidden away privately and temptingly to the thief, or else as a deposit in a bank which pays nothing, but on the contrary charges for the custody (for of course it will pay nothing for the deposit when thousands are applying to deposit), and realise that the same cause (the nationalisation of the land that has closed LAND OWNERSHIP, as distinguished from land USE, against investment) that has increased the eagerness to lend has, at the same time, diminished the eagerness to borrow; for those who want to USE land—to build, to cultivate, to mine—can now get all the security of tenure they require by simply renting from the State, or from the Municipality. All the money that the intending user had to part with, as purchase money to GET the land, can now be kept to Work it, and the worker can snap his fingers at the money lender.

If such a revolution were effected suddenly, it would dislocate society, throw everything into confusion, and cause widespread suffering for the moment; but if accomplished gradually, by the State (or preferably by the local bodies) being empowered to acquire the land compulsorily, at fair compensation, bit by bit (to Let to the workers in restricted areas) wherever it was wanted and as it was wanted, it would only produce a steady fall of interest as the field of investment narrowed, and the necessities of borrowers diminished, till interest sank to zero; and those with savings laid by, for the only legitimate purpose for which savings need be made (that is to provide against accident and for old age and to give one's children a fair start in life) might even offer payment to responsible persons to "hold" their savings for them; that is, pay the borrower for borrowing,—but for this; that the State, which represents the best security of all, could always find use for the money in setting all the unemployed to construct public works and render useful public services of all kinds. The State would never either be called upon to return what it received, for each lender who wanted to realise his deposit could do so by simply transferring his title to deposit to someone else who wanted to come in, as is now done with Consols; so the land once nationalised the State would get the benefit of the national savings and capital would have nationalised itself.

vignette

Printed at "The Mercury" Office, Hobart.

DEAR SIR,—

I beg to ask you, as a special favor, to read carefully following article, in which I have formulated a scheme establishing a State Bank, that will—

- —Involve no State responsibility;
- —That will secure to the State enormous advantages;
- —That will not disturb the finances of the present banks, but will, on the contrary, strengthen their position, and place them beyond the risk of panics;
- —That could be put into working order within 24 hours of the passing of an Act to authorise it;
- —That will remove all objections and be welcomed by every section of the community;
- —That will secure to the Government the immediate use of £1,000,000.

I trust you will give the proposal serious consideration, and, if you approve of it, lend your assistance to enable to become law.

Yours truly,

J. M. Twomey.

Temuka Leader Print.

## A State Bank and Cheap Money Scheme

FOR the last twelve years I have been advocating the advisability of establishing a State Bank for this colony. I contested the 1884, 1887, and 1890 elections with the view of directing public attention to it, and have given the subject serious thought and anxious consideration ever since. I have never made known the details of my proposal, believing that some day I would have an opportunity of introducing it into Parliament. The fates, however, have been against me but I do not think I ought to withhold any longer what appears to me a feasible, practicable, and easily-worked method of strengthening the position of the banks, while placing in the hands of the Government means by which it can exercise enormous influence for good on the destinies of the colony. So far as I know, I was the first man in New Zealand to introduce the subject, and now I desire to make known the machinery by which I think the scheme can be advantageously worked.

1st.—Presuming that it is agreed to establish a State Bank, the first thing which must be borne in mind is that nothing must be done which would seriously disturb the financial arrangements of the present banks. Any violent change which would force these institutions to withdraw any portion of their advances to the public would be direful in its results, and tend very seriously to defeat the object in view. Bearing all this in mind, I have I think, formulated a scheme the adoption of which would strengthen the position of the banks, secure to the State enormous advantages, and be acceptable to every section of the community.

2nd.—The next thing is to remember that nothing which has not an [unclear: intrin] value of its own must be regarded money. The sovereign is not worth 20s because it is stamped with the Queen's head. The Queen's head is only a guarantee that it possesses [unclear: s] much gold, and it is because [unclear: i] possesses so much gold that it is worth 20s, for the gold in it has a commercial value when melted down equal to that amount. Anything which is put in circulation as money must therefore have an intrinsic value equal to its face value, or we should very soon experience the curse from which all nations have suffered in times gone by—debased currency. I make these remarks because there are some people who think that the Government need only print notes and put them in circulation, while there are others ready to denounce the State Bank scheme as a "depreciated paper currency" scheme. Both ideas are erroneous, and proceed from ignorance.

3rd.—Paper money cannot under any circumstances, even when backed [unclear: d] State security, be regarded as money, and in my opinion the State would make a mistake if it issued an convertible paper currency—that is, take its notes a legal tender. It would serve no purpose to do so, whilst it would give critics a scope [unclear: or] hurling all the opinions of all the [unclear: litical] economists living and dead, from Aristotle to Karl Marx, at the [unclear: heme].

4th.—It appears to me that no one who understands the functions of [unclear: aper] money, and knows how it [unclear: perates], would suggest the desirability of making it a legal tender. The first thing which must be considere[unclear: d] this connection is that no law, no power, no influence can force the people to use more paper money than they require for the purposes of "change," or what is technically called the active supply. The note issue of any countr[unclear: y] that sum of money whic[unclear: h] people carry about with them in their

pockets, or keep in their safes, for the purposes of their business. The moment anyone gets into his session more notes than he require [unclear: s] lodges them to his credit in the bank. It is plain, therefore, that [unclear: I] correct in saying that it is impossible to increase or decrease the [unclear: te] issue beyond the public requirement. The note issue increases with the expansion of trade, or decreases with its contraction, but no Act of Parliament can force people to take more paper money than they want. All authorities agree on that point, and, that being so, what end can be [unclear: ved] by making notes a legal [unclear: ender]? It would be legitimate to make State notes a legal tender to [unclear: llay] a panic, but under no other circumstance would anything be gained by doing so.

5th.—Having now seen that the people will not use more paper-money than they require, and bearing in mind that that sum is now provided by the present banks, it would obviously be useless for the Government to issue paper money of its own. There is no room for it. What would happen to it is this: The people amongst whom it would circulate, would pay it into their respective banks, and these banks would present it to the Government bank and demand gold for it. Of course if the Government notes were made a legal tender, the banks could not do this, but they could refuse to take the notes. A bank may be forced to accept a legal-tender note in payment of a debt, but it could not be made to place it to one's credit. Under any circumstance, therefore, State notes would be useless, so long as the present banks retain the power to issue notes of their own.

6th.—We have seen, so far, that the note issue is limited by the requirements of the public; that it is unnecessary to render it a legal tender, and that State notes cannot be circulated effectively so long as the present banks retain the power to issue notes of their own. We are thus driven to the irresistible conclusion that in order to render any scheme dealing with the subject effective, the State must possess the exclusive right to issue paper money. It is, I trust, needless to dwell on its right to do so. The very fact that it sells that right to the banks at present settles that point.

7th.—To take away from the present banks the right to issue notes would seriously disorganise their financial arrangements, and cause much inconvenience to their clients. The banks would have to call in their notes, and issue gold in place of them. The public would not like this, as notes are far handier to carry about than gold, and thus great inconvenience would be caused to every one. Of greater importance still is the consideration that the banks would be weakened by the withdrawal of the note issue, and in all probability would be compelled to wrench from their customers a sum sufficient to replace the loss thus sustained. This is not a time when such a thing should be done. The consequences would be direful, and the whole scheme would for this reason be condemned.

8th.—Looking at the subject superficially, one is tempted to say "the place of the present notes would be supplied by the State notes, and no inconvenience would, therefore, be caused to any one." This is a mistake. The note issue of this colony is nearly £1,000,000, and it would be far more if the people were more prosperous. It could be increased still further by issuing ten-shilling notes to take the place half sovereigns, and still further by making five-shilling notes. If the State resumed the right to issue notes, this would mean that it would have £1,000,000 at its disposal for public expenditure. Sir Robert Stout is credited in Hansard with having said that for the Government to resume the exclusive right of issuing notes, would be equal to getting a loan of £1,000,000 free of interest. Now let us suppose the Government had this £1,000,000 to spend, it would not spend it all in one day. It would draw cheques against it as the necessity for making payments arose. If, therefore, its monthly pay sheet were £200,000, and it operated on no other account excepting these notes, it would take five months before all the notes were put in circulation. It is during these five months that all the mischief would be done.

9th.—Supposing, however, the Government found some means of putting these notes into circulation, they could not possibly fulfil the desired end that is, supply the present banks with notes. At present the banks balance accounts, I believe, once a week if not daily, each taking its own notes. For instance, say the Bank of New Zealand holds £100 in notes of the Bank of New South Wales, and the latter holds £105 in notes of the former bank, what happens is this. Each bank takes its own notes, and the Bank of New South Wales get £5 in gold to balance the account. This is the system all over the world and this system would have to be adopted with regard to State notes with the result that they would all very soon gravitate to the Government Bank, leaving the other banks denuded of them. But even supposing the other banks treated them as gold, an even distribution of them would not be possible. Some banks would have too many, and others too few of them, and much confusion would be the result.

10th.—I have now come to the chief feature of my scheme. It is plain that I am in favor of the Government resuming the right to issue notes, but that I see great difficulties in the way of putting the State notes into circulation effectively, and with out causing any inconvenience to either the banks or the public, claim that I have discovered the *modus operandi* by which these difficulties can be overcome without creating the slightest disturbance, or causing the present machinery to slacken speed for a single minute. There are in this colony six

banks, whose note issue is proportionate to the extent of the business they do; there are also six Ministers controlling the six great departments of the Government. Let each of these Ministers select a bank, the one whose monetary transactions are largest selecting the bank with the largest note issue, and so on down to the lowest. Let each Minister get a stamp for his own department, and let that stamp be put on the face of the notes of the bank in which his account is to be kept. Let this imposition of the stamp convert the notes into State notes; and let them then be credited to the department in the books of the bank. By that means each separate department and each bank will know its own notes, and will have no difficulty in balancing accounts. If the Government accounts were all kept in one bank the notes would gravitate to that bank, but if the suggestion herein is adopted an even distribution of them would be assured.

11th.—This must give satisfaction to at any rate, five of the banks. It will secure to them the note issue free of the note tax; and it will give them a share of the Government business. The Bank of New Zealand will, of course, lose that share of Government business, which the other banks get, but this loss can be made up in some other form. Of course the suggestion about stamping the notes is merely a detail which can be worked in many other ways, and there are things, too, which require exact data to enable one to adjust them properly, but I hold that the machinery is here, and that it requires only a little oil to enable it to work in a manner that just give general satisfaction.

12th.—The note issue is now in the lands of the Government, and the fact that it has behind it State security renders it for all practical purposes "as good as gold" so far as the inter-transactions of the people of New Zealand are concerned. It really means that so much gold is in circulation, for the Government is responsible for the payment of the notes in gold. The notes of the Bank of England are treated as gold for the reason that they are secured by the Government of England, and there is no reason why New Zealand Government notes should not have a similar status. With such a large interest in the banks it is obviously desirable that the Government should possess some controlling influence over them, but this should not be of a nature that would deprive them of their individual liberty to transact their business in their own way. This controlling influence would be acquired by establishing in Wellington, under the control of the Public Trustee or some officer of State, a clearing-house, based on the same lines as those which govern a similar department of the Bank of England. In this clearing-house all the gold in the colony should be deposited, excepting so much of it as the banks would require for carrying on business. There, too, the accounts of the banks could be balanced, and thus a check kept on their actions. The knowledge that the banks were thus under Government supervision, that all their gold was in the safe keeping of the Government, and that they were not responsible for the notes, would place them beyond the danger of panics, and enable them to operate more courageously than they dare do now while trembling in the presence of existing uncertainties. The position of the banks would thus be improved, whilst the clearing-house control would be sufficient to ensure public safety.

13th.—From this clearing-house the Government could carry on its financial operations, and regulate the whole banking machinery throughout the colony. It is said that the Government contemplates borrowing in London and lending in this colony on the security of land in order to provide the people with cheaper money. In order to do this effectually an offshoot of the clearing-house should be established in connection with the Agent-Generalship in London. In this English deposits could be received, and transferred to New Zealand free of exchange. At present the Government pays exchange on moneys sent Home to pay interest on our loans, and if it carries out the proposed cheap-money scheme it would have to pay exchange for transferring it to the colony. By adopting the above suggestion exchange both ways would be saved. The deposits in London would be in gold, and it would be fair to share this amongst the banks having agencies there. To explain the operation in detail would be tedious, and ought not to be necessary.

14th.—Having now borrowed the money, and transferred it to the colony, I think the following regulations should govern transactions under such a scheme:—

- No loan to be given to any landowner holding more land than the statutory limit under which Crown lands are now disposed of. To assist large land-owners would impede the subdivision of the land.
- No loan to be given to any man for the purpose of buying more land who already possesses, say, 250 or 300 acres, as it would help those who have land to compete with the landless.
- The land-tax value to be taken as a basis, and no advance to be made to anyone of a greater sum than two-thirds of the land-tax value.
- Anyone requiring a larger sum than two-thirds of the land-tax value to be given the option of transferring his land to the Crown, and of becoming a tenant in perpetuity.

It may be said that, after all, this scheme does not establish a State Bank. It appears to me that it goes as far as it is safe to go at present. If we established a State Bank, all the public accounts would have to be transferred from the present banks to it, and it is quite possible the consequences would be serious. Then it would be necessary to erect buildings for carrying on the Government banking business all over the colony, and that would involve great expenditure. Then there are those who would endeavor to damage the Government by

alleging that corrupt practices were indulged in. All these disadvantages have been removed from this scheme. Under it the State secures the advantages of a State Bank without involving it in any of its responsibilities. No man can say this is "a printing press and a bale of paper" scheme. No man can say the Government will make a mess of it, and use it for corrupt purposes, none of the stereotyped arguments levelled by ignorance and self-interest against the proposal can apply to this; it is unassailable, practicable, safe, and sound, and calculated to confer on this colony benefits which will help it to tide over the present depression. It means the immediate use of £1,000,000 of money. It may be said that the Government will lose the note-tax. That is true, but the profits of the clearing-house will supply the loss. It has often been suggested to divide the Government business amongst the banks of the colony, and the excuse for not doing so has been that it would be inconvenient, but the clearing-house leaves no room for so lame an objection, I am of opinion that it is not advisable that one bank should have the manipulation of such a large and fluctuating account as that of the Government. Sometimes the bank possesses a superabundance of Government money, and of course, is tempted to invest it. Then comes a season when the Government wants the money, and the bank has to screw up its clients to get it. This has been the cause of some of the financial disturbances which have ruined many, and I think a more even distribution of Government money under the corrective influence of the proposed clearing-house would yield more satisfactory results to all concerned. I have looked from every point of view at the subject now; I have, I think, given sound reasons for the faith that is in me, and I sincerely trust that no one will throw this proposal aside without giving it serious consideration.

J. M. TWOMEY.

Temuka,

June 21, 1894.

## Addendum.

It is painful to have to explain self-evident details. The scheme would work as follows:—Say the Premier has stamped notes to the value of £100 and placed them to his credit in the bank, and in comes a man who has a cheque for £100 to cash to pay wages. The banker would have to give this man gold if he had no notes, but he has the £100 lodged with him by the Premier. The banker hands to this man the £100 in notes stamped by the Premier and keeps his gold in his coffers; they are paid away in wages, and they pass from hand to hand. This is the way the whole of the note issue would be absorbed by the people within a few days of being stamped. Then the notes would not be lying idle in the bank; they would be in the hands of the people, and it is the people who could demand from the Government payment in gold for them. The people would never demand payment in gold from the Government, and consequently the notes would pass as gold within New Zealand. Immediately the notes were issued the banks would owe the Government £1,000,000, but the people who would hold the notes would owe the banks exactly the same amount. Say the Government then drew cheques until it exhausted the £1,000,000, the banks would owe not one penny, but the people would still owe the banks £1,000,000. What is still more extraordinary is that the resources of the banks would not be disturbed to the amount of one penny by all these transactions, because as soon as they paid the cheques of the Government the same money would come into their coffers immediately. For instance, supposing the Minister of Lands paid £10,000 to the owner of a large estate, the latter would immediately place the cheque to his credit in the bank. The money would not leave the banks, and no disturbance would be caused. The payment of interest on our loans has nothing to do with this. The interest would be paid as heretofore, just exactly as if no change had occurred. Our exports at present provide the gold for that purpose, and they would still provide it.

J. M. TWOMEY.

vignette

## How to Deal with Large Estates.

For the past ten years I have advocated the following scheme for dealing with large estates:—

- —Pass an Act of Parliament making it compulsory on large land-owners to subdivide their estates into suitably sized areas, and lease them to suitable tenants for 31 years
- —Create a tribunal to appraise the capital value of the land when the land-tax value is departed from.

- —The Minister of Lands to act as agent between landlord and tenant, guaranteeing to the former the payment of his rent, and to the latter immunity from landlord aggression.
- —Compensation for improvements to be given to the tenant at the end of the lease.
- —Negotiable debentures, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent., to be given to mortgagees who desire to cancel their mortgages.

To relieve the Minister of Lands of any suspicion of partiality, and to provide for the immediate occupation of the land, so that no loss would be sustained in waiting until tenants took it up, the initiatory steps should be taken by the intending settlers in the following manner:—

- —Intending tenants to form them-selves into associations to select the land they desire to lease.
- —Having selected the land and deposited with some person authorised to receive it proof that the intending tenants possess sufficient capital to work the land their next step should be to petition the Minister of Lands to act on their behalf.
- —On receipt of such petition the minister would communicate with the owners of the land, and arrange valuation, survey, etc., on behalf of the tenants.
- —Choice of selection would be balloted for by the tenants, and rents regulated according to the value of each holding.
- —The land-owner to have the right to select 1000 acres in any part of his estate as a homestead for himself, and no association shall have any right to select any portion of the area so delected.

This scheme secures all the advantages of purchasing land, and involves the State in no serious financial responsibilities, provided that rents are paid in advance. If the compulsory principle is at all resorted to, this is the least objectionable form in which it can be applied. No man can call this confiscation, and, though it may be said that it secures to the land-owner the unearned increment, I am satisfied to let the men of 1925, that is 31 years hence, settle that point. It also provides tenants for the land the moment it is surveyed, and, the initiatory steps being in the hands of the tenants, no one can accuse the Minister of Lands of having favored friends or wreaked vengeance on an opponent.

J. M. TWOMEY.

Temuka,

June 21, 1894.

## Addendum.

Rents should be regulated by the average market value of products. A scale of prices for the staple products should be drawn up, and rents should be fixed at such a standard as could be paid when such prices were obtainable. When prices fell below the scale, or rose above it, rents should rise or fall proportionately. This would be fairer than to fix rents in seasons of prosperity and insist on payment of them in bad seasons, or *vice versa*. It would be fair for the tenant and for the landlord alike. Both would share in prosperous and bad seasons; there would be no more petitioning for reduction of rents, and peace and contentment would result from it. This should be the basis of any Fair Rents Bill. It is quite capable of being worked, but it is very hard to explain everything in a few words.

J. M. TWOMEY.

### Railway and Social Conditions

By Samuel Vaile, OF AUCKLAND, N.Z.

The Vaile Stage System As Proposed for Adoption in Great Britain, the Colonies, and Similar Countries, Described and Illustrated by a Diagram. Copies of this Pamphlet can be had on application to Saml. Vaile & Sons, Land & Estate Agents, 85 Queen Street, Auckland, N.Z. Price, Fourpence. Auckland, N.Z. Printed by H. Brett, Shortland Fort Streets. 1894.

## Index.

# Vaile's Stage System of Railway

# Administration.

Note.—I trust I shall not be thought egotistical for publishing the following 'Opinions of the Press' and the brief history of the Railway Reform Movement. My object is merely to show that both in and out of Parliament the country has very generally expressed a wish that the new system of railway administration should be tried. The opposition comes from those who now control our railways, and who are deeply interested in maintaining the present position, and they unfortunately have always had the support of the various Ministries. It is quite certain they are not carrying out the almost universally expressed wish of the country in this matter. I feel profoundly grateful to the gentlemen of the Press for their kindly words of encouragement, which have often helped to spur me on and keep me at my task. What they have done for me may encourage some of our younger fellow citizens to take up and work out other great reforms.—S.V.

## Opinions of the Press.

'If Mr. Vaile was in the position to put his theory to the test of practice, if he was in the place of a Vogel or some other great man, people would speak with bated breath of the boldness of conception and breadth of view in his proposal, and would call out—"It is the voice of a God, and not a man." But because he isn't,' etc.—"New Zealand Herald," 2nd November, 1883.

'Mr. Samuel Vaile is of the stuff that makes true reformers. He has found out that the railway system of the colony is radically bad. This is what many others have discovered before him, but Mr. Vaile, unlike the rest, has set himself to find out a remedy.'—"Waikato Times," 15th November, 1883.

'Mr. Vaile's system may not be perfect, but we venture to say that it commends itself to the public mind as deserving of the most careful consideration; and the benefits—material, social and moral—which such a reform would confer are simply beyond estimation.'—"New Zealand Herald," 16th November, 1883.

'Mr. Vaile's method of studying this great question is the correct method. . . . But it (his system) is good enough, most decidedly, to warrant a trial for a time on some given section of the railways.'—"Lyttelton Times," 8th January, 1884.

'It will be perfectly safe to say that whatever the Government may think of his proposals, they will undoubtedly meet with the approval of the travelling public.'—"Nelson Evening Mail," 25th January, 1884.

'The writer makes out an exceptionally good case on behalf of his suggested reform.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," 29th January, 1884.

'We were aware that some classes of goods are charged extra rates on the Napier section, . . . but we frankly admit that until we read Mr. Vaile's letter we did not know how great the injustice is.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," 30th April, 1884.

'He has studied the question (railway administration) so thoroughly in all its bearings, that it is safe to say there are very few in the colony who have a more intimate knowledge of this subject than Mr. Vaile. He has pressed again and again for reforms in railway management, but the official ear is deaf on this subject. The studied coldness and neglect shown to Mr. Vaile by the railway official class has been such that any man of less determination would have been long since discouraged from pursuing investigation further. In Mr. Vaile they have one to deal with to whom such obstacles only add fresh determination to sift the question to the bottom.'—"New Zealand Herald," 25th July, 1884.

'Most people, we feel sure, will admit that they must now treat the problems discussed by Mr. Vaile as worthy of profound attention.'—"New Zealand Herald," 14th October, 1884.

'He urged that the concessions made were not sufficient to cause increased traffic to any appreciable extent, and he proved to be right. Mr. Vaile puts forward sufficiently strong arguments to justify the experiments.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," 10th March, 1885.

'He (Mr. Vaile) is rendering good service in promoting an active discussion on the points involved. On some of them he is clearly right.'—"New Zealand Times," 18th March, 1885.

'The very boldness of Mr. Vaile's scheme brings it under a shadow of suspicion. . . . If he must be called an enthusiast, he is an uncommonly cool and clear-headed one, and has come before the public armed at all points, and with perfect confidence in the scheme he has taken up'—"Southland Times." 25th March, 1885.

'It argues a very enthusiastic belief in his own theories, and no slight amount of public spirit, that a private individual like Mr. Vaile should take the trouble of travelling all over the colony, at his own expense, to instruct his fellow-colonists how to reform our railway system. He must be regarded as a man sincerely desirous to benefit the colony. We will confess that we are not satisfied with our present tariff, and that there is something

attractive in Mr. Vaile's ideas.'—"Otago Daily Times," 30th March, 1885.

'This is at first sight enough to shake any ordinary person's belief in Mr. Vaile's sanity, but a strict attention to that gentleman's explanations soon impresses his hearers with the firm belief that, if he is mad on the subject of reduced railway fares, there is a very considerable amount of method in his madness . . . . . We cannot refrain from expressing our admiration of his earnest and painstaking efforts to throw a light on a subject of which so little is known to the bulk of the people . . . . . The people of the colony are deeply Mr. Vaile's debtors for the pains and expenses he has been at on their behalf.'—"Wanganui Herald," 9th April, 1885.

'A new spirit has been infused into the management, and whether the praise belongs to Mr. Vaile, or to Mr. Richardson, or to Mr. Maxwell, matters not so much to the general public.'—"Waikato Times," 16th April, 1885.

'There is no more ardent reformer in railway matters than Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland. His reform is of a most radical character. He is not satisfied with little amendments here and there, but he strikes boldly into the open ocean of reform.'—"Taranaki Herald," 18th April, 1885.

'To Mr. Vaile belongs the honour of reducing his theories to a regular system, and whatever may be its merits, he can lay claim to the gratitude of the country for the thought and labour he has devoted to the subject, and for the sturdy persistency with which he has pursued it.'—"Waikato Times," 12th May, 1885.

'Mr. Vaile's scheme has now been before the country for some years, it has been canvassed and criticised, and the principle which underlies and sustains it has been acknowledged by many men of undoubted capacity, professional and commercial, to be sound.'—"Waikato Times," 23rd May, 1885.

'A trial will, we hope, be given to Mr. Vaile's scheme, notwithstanding the fears of the Colonial Treasurer as to a great falling off in the railway receipts. What is wanted is the means of making the railways of some real service to the colony, and this Mr. Vaile's proposals are calculated to obtain.'—"New Plymouth Daily News," 6th July, 1885.

'This much must be remembered in approaching the consideration of Mr. Vaile's suggested reform, that he deals with a question, the urgent necessity for reform in which is admitted from one end of New Zealand to the other; that, further, although not qualified by any special training to pass an authoritative opinion on the question, he yet possesses the important qualification of being a shrewd, keen, business man of long experience, who has for several years made the railway question in all its varying phases a subject of special study. Again, he is a man who, in the city in which he resides, is well known and highly respected, and who bears an unblemished character for integrity and uprightness. In his able and earnest efforts to improve the railway system of the colony, he has been entirely disinterested. Other than the public good he has had no purpose to serve or object to gain.'—"Wanganui Chronicle," 5th October, 1885.

'He (Mr. Vaile) has devoted an immense amount of earnest and intelligent attention to the matter, and many of his conclusions are supported by figures and facts which cannot be rebutted.'—"The Ashburton Guardian," 11th March, 1886.

'Mr. Vaile has shown to demonstration that the existing system is absurdly intricate, eminently unfair in many respects. . . . Among the many damaging statements regarding our system of railway management there is not one that is not fortified by figures taken from Government returns We cannot help thinking that Mr. Vaile has sounded a note in financial and economic railway management that will not be lost sight of.'—"Grey River Argus," 17th March, 1886.

'That indefatigable railway reformer (Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland), undismayed by rebuffs from the highest official authorities, persists in his crusade against the existing system of railway management. No other man in the colony has ever, so far as we are aware, taken up a particular subject and pursued it for so great a length of time as Mr. Vaile has the one under notice . . . . . Mr. Vaile has, unaided, done much, and at considerable cost to himself. He cannot be expected to do everything.'—"Southland News," 18th March, 1886.

'Mr. Vaile has established a case for the department to answer. An experiment might be tried on some part of our railway system, say, the portion centreing in Auckland. We consider Mr. Vaile's suggestions as valuable, and not to be pooh-poohed.'—"Dunedin Herald," 22nd March, 1886.

'If any reformer ever deserved to succeed, then success ought to follow the efforts of Mr. Samuel Vaile. Few men are possessed of the courage, to say nothing of the conspicuous industry which animates Mr. Vaile, and no one can be actuated by less unselfish motives. . . . . That he should so long have continued the fight single-handed, and almost without moral support, is little short of marvellous.'—"Waikato Times," 10th April, 1886.

'We may not, perhaps, be educated up to accept the scheme of Mr. Vaile in its entirety, but the manner in which his proposals of railway reform have been treated by the Railway Department, despite the petitions sent down to Wellington, was an insult, not to Mr. Vaile alone, but to the whole of the people,'—"New Zealand Herald," 23rd April, 1886.

'The thanks of every intelligent colonist are due to Mr. Vaile for the arduous and thankless task he has

undertaken in so public spirited a manner,'—"Grey River Argus," 1st May, 1886.

'In any case, Mr. Vaile deserves the thanks of the New Zealand public for having advocated, and ably advocated, a reform by which he believes he can fill the steam coaches of the state.'—"Hawera Star," 1st May, 1886.

'It is really shameful that this crying want, this question of railway reform, should have been allowed to stand aside so long; and as Mr. Vaile has given more pains to the study of the subject than anyone among us, we fancy the public will now insist on his proposals getting fair play.'—"N.Z. Herald," 26th June, 1886.

'Whether people agree with Mr. Samuel Vaile, or whether they differ from him altogether as to his views on Railway Reform, nobody can fail to respect the zeal, courage, and self sacrifice with which he has entered upon his crusade and is resolutely fighting it out . . . . He is carrying on his earnest propagandism entirely at his own cost.'—"New Zealand Times," July 5th, 1886.

'The recommendations of the (Parliamentary) Committee do not favour the absolute application of the system to the railways of the colony as a whole, nevertheless, we do not hesitate to say that Mr. Vaile has achieved a great victory. He undertook a task of Herculean difficulty when he challenged to combat the consolidated phalanx of the whole railway management of the colony. He has sustained a prolonged combat with rare ability. . . . Our surprise is great that he should have made out so good a case, and wrested from the Committee so remarkable admissions. . . . But that Mr. Vaile has established, to the satisfaction of a Parliamentary Committee, the worthlessness of the existing system, and the propriety of having the suitability of his system to the wants of the colony put to a practical test, is surely an achievement that no layman in these colonies has ever accomplished before in the face of interested official and professional prejudice and hostility.'—"New Zealand Herald," August 13th, 1886.

'Unquestionably the most important business referred to a select Committee was the question raised by Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland, relative to the working of the New Zealand Government Railways. . . . If Mr. Vaile's anticipations should be realised, the public benefit would be enormous. If not, then the loss to revenue would be no very serious matter. Mr. Vaile has carried on such an able and energetic propagandism of his views that it will be difficult now to satisfy the public unless the proposed experiment receives a fair trial.'—"New Zealand Times," 20th August, 1886.

'Assuredly it will not now be allowed to drop. Mr. Vaile is a man of much ability, and even more resolution and persistence. Now that he is fairly committed to this crusade, and has already secured a partial Parliamentary success, he is very unlikely to let it drop.'—"New Zealand Times," 23rd August, 1886.

'Mr. Vaile has been mocked and badly treated; every obstacle has been thrown in his way, and a man who has, at his own expense, done all he could to serve his fellow colonists, subjected to downright insult.'—"The Yeoman," 27th August, 1886.

'We are convinced that Mr. Vaile will yet be successful in a crusade which he has pursued with a disinterested and unflinching zeal that should command the respect, as we believe it will yet win the gratitude of the colony.'—"Evening Bell," 19th March, 1887.

'Mr. Vaile has undoubtedly done a public service by forcibly directing public attention to the fact that there exists a great need for improvement in our method of railway management.'—"New Zealand Herald," 9th April, 1887.

'Mr. Vaile has proved the soundness of his position as effectually as it could be done, through the agency of pen and ink.'—"Waikato Times," 12th April, 1887.

'That, however, Mr. Vaile's system has advocates among the leading statesmen of New Zealand will be seen from the speech of Sir George Grey, delivered on Thursday evening last.'—"Waikato Times," July 12th, 1887.

'Amongst those who are in favour of Vaile's system being tried are Sir George Grey, Sir William Fox, Mr. Ballance, and Major Atkinson, all men of the highest political standing.'—"Waikato News," 25th July, 1887.

'We know that he is earnest in the work he has undertaken and sincere in his desire to promote the welfare of his fellows. He has the courage of his opinions, and we have every confidence the movement, of which he is the head, will prove of incalculable benefit.'—"Feilding Star," 29th March, 1888.

'It would be well worth the while of the Government to give Mr. Vaile the management of a working section of any fifty or one hundred miles, No harm whatever could accrue.'—"Southland News," 25th June, 1888.

'We should like to see Mr. Vaile have the management of the railway line for a month or so.'—"Woodville Examiner," 27th July, 1888.

'A great deal of sympathy will be felt with the spirited proposal submitted by Mr. Vaile to the Government for the leasing of the Auckland railways for a limited period. . . . The proposal which Mr. Vaile has made meets the difficulty, if the difficulty is really a fear of the State suffering damage through the operation of the Vaile system in cheapening railway transit. . . . We repeat that the reply of the Government to Mr. Vaile's proposal is

mere subterfuge.'—"New Zealand Herald," 21st August, 1888.

'None the less will they (the Chamber of Commerce) do valuable service to the public by giving to Mr. Vaile every facility for the expression of the views at which he has arrived after an amount of labour and research almost unexampled on the part of any private individual in the colony in the consideration of a public question. . . . He has secured the public ear on the railway question, and anything coming from him will always be widely read and command due attention.'—"New Zealand Herald," 23rd January, 1889.

'Mr. Vaile may take credit to himself for having strongly influenced the Railway Department in the direction of more liberal management.'—"Southland News," 25th February, 1889.

'It would be well worth the while of the Government to give Mr. Vaile the management of a working section of say 50 or 100 miles. It might happen that the result would demonstrate the expediency of transferring to Mr. Vaile the controlling power. He has certainly developed surprising aptitude for the investigation of matters pertaining to railway management.'—"Southland News," 25th June, 1889.

'We venture to say that in railway matters ex-departmental Mr. Samuel Vaile is the most popular gentleman in the colony. His followers number thousands, and generally, the public would desire to see his scheme brought to a practical test.'—"Railway Review," 2nd September, 1889.

'Through the indomitable energy and patient persistence of Mr. Samuel Vaile, whose proposals for railway reform have, during the past three or four years, been frequently discussed both in and out of Parliament, a Railway Reform League has been formed in Auckland. . . . We learn from the "Morning Post" of 24th July last that the very system advocated by Mr. Vaile and the Auckland Railway Reform League is about to be put in operation in Hungary, where it is known as the "zone system." '—"Ashburton Guardian," 8th October, 1889.

'For years Mr. S. Vaile, of Auckland, who has made railways a special study, has been pointing out the evils of our system. His able advocacy and strong argument has gained many converts to his cause. He strongly denounced the Railway Commissioners, and he is proved to be in the right. The Commissioners are a dismal failure.'—"Woodville Examiner," 11th October, 1889.

'Mr. Samuel Vaile, of New Zealand, has intelligently and persistently, for many years past, contended for the very system now put in force on the Hungarian Railways.'—"Melbourne Evening Standard," 14th October, 1889.

'Some people laugh at Mr. Samuel Vaile, but though not a politician in the ordinary sense of the word, yet he is one of our most useful public men. He is what may be called a born reformer, and he could not have chosen a more appropriate field for his exertions than our railways. . . . During all the torpor that succeeded the anti-general election excitement, Mr. Vaile never ceased to lift his voice in behalf of the public. He saw at a glance what the unexpected development of the Railways Act meant, and he kept on trying to rouse the country to a sense of the evil that had been done.'—"Southland Times," 19th October, 1889.

'In other countries Mr. Vaile's proposal of uniform rates on the stage system is being considered on its merits, and is likely to receive a fair trial.'—"Yeoman," 4th December, 1889.

'No terrible consequences could possibly ensue from the adoption of the Vaile system, for even if it failed to realise the expectations of its propounder, the community as a whole would not suffer. It would simply exchange direct for indirect taxation, with the certainty that, by charging lower rates for long distances, the development of resources in the remote interior must be appreciably promoted.'—"Southland News," 7th February, 1890.

'The more Mr. Vaile's estimates are criticised, the more reasonable do they appear.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," 29th April, 1890.

'There is not at this moment a more notable man in New Zealand than Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland. . . . The supreme object of his life, and that towards which he has been straining for many years, is, as everybody knows, the reform of our railway system. In this cause his labours have been abundant, and his zeal such as only a rooted conviction in the justice of his views could inspire. Mr. Vaile is possessed of a clear head, a large grasp of intellect, enlightened patriotic sentiment, and the indomitable courage of an Englishman. No man can read what he has written and refuse to endorse such an estimate of his character. He has proved his claim to these qualities by the way in which—first single-handed, and latterly as the chief actor in a great movement—he has maintained a steady resistance to the present method of railway administration, and has pressed his own remedy on the attention of the public. There are probably few men advocating a view so radical and revolutionary who, by mere theoretical argument, could have secured the position that Mr. Vaile has already attained.'—"Southland Times," 1st August, 1890.

'He relies on the increase of traffic to do more than indemnify him for this heroic lowering of rates, and his calculations have been made with great care, and seemingly without extravagance. . . . The assumptions on which Mr. Vaile founds his theory are neither wild nor visionary.'—"Southland Times," 12th August, 1890.

'For our part we should be glad to see the strongest possible impetus given to the development of all the resources of the colony by the adoption of Mr. Vaile's railway system.'—"Waipawa Mail," 2nd September,

1890.

'Mr. Samuel Vaile's persistency and ability have made deep impression on the public, and there is an early prospect of the railways of New Zealand being run on the stage system devised by that gentleman.'—"Observer," 13th September, 1890.

'Further, we believe that the time is not far distant when the Vaile system will be in force in New Zealand, and that out of its establishment will come great good.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," 25th October, 1890.

'The evidence thus afforded (by Hungary) is distinctly favourable to the principles embodied in what is known as Mr. Vaile's scheme, although it does not confirm the details of that scheme.'—"Auckland Star," 15th December, 1890.

'Mr. Vaile's scheme seems only to have practically differed from the Hungarian in being less calculated to concentrate population in any chief city.'—"Sydney Daily Telegraph," 2nd February, 1891.

'Mr. Vaile's views on the subject are wide, philosophical and patriotic, while those of the Commissioners have never stretched beyond the inquiry—how much direct and immediate revenue can be extracted from the great instrument which they guide. . . . But there is no reason why Parliament, which has already been recommended by a committee to take the step, should not ordain a trial in some one district of Mr. Vaile's system, and so set the question at rest. We hope earnestly to see such a resolution taken in the course of next session.'—"Southland Times," 28th May, 1891.

'And there can be no doubt that the application of some such system (as Vaile's) of railway changes must be made before the lands at a distance from the ports can be cultivated to advantage.'—"Lyttelton Times," 6th August, 1891.

'These (the Hungarian returns) are remarkable figures, and it is not surprising that, with all the facts that he has marshalled in support of his scheme, Mr. Vaile has converted to his views many who at one time thought him a hair-brained enthusiast.'—"Hawke's Bay Herald," nth August, 1892.

'There are, we are sure, very few in the community who will not concur in most of what was said at the gathering of citizens yesterday to make a presentation (service of plate) to Mr. S. Vaile. That gentleman had the courage to undertake a task that might have appalled the greatest and most powerful man that ever lived . . . . But whatever opinion may be entertained as to the practicability of Mr. Vaile's proposals there can be no difference as to the large amount of labour and energy he has devoted to the subject, with the purest and most unselfish motives. The feeling on this subject was well expressed yesterday by Sir George Grey and Mr. H. Campbell.'—"New Zealand Herald," 17th March, 1893.

'Even men who differ from Mr. Vaile, touching his theory of railway management, will admit his work deserved at least recognition. . . . We are further of opinion that his system is correct in theory, and capable of practical demonstration.'—"Thames Evening Star," 20th March, 1893.

'It reflects honour both on the people of Auckland and Mr Samuel Vaile, that the latter, a few weeks ago, was publicly presented with a handsome testimonial by his fellow citizens in recognition of his earnest and sustained efforts in the cause of railway reform. . . . No one who is conversant with the controversy carried on by Mr. Vaile, and especially with the Parliamentary Committee report and evidence of 1886, can help admitting the ability with which Mr. Vaile has approached the subject. Many will admit that if he has not entirely succeeded in proving his case he has fallen very little short of doing so.'—"Christchurch Star," 14th April, 1893.

'We trust that Mr. Vaile and those who sympathise with him will push on in their agitation, and that Parliament will yet be induced to give the new system a fair trial.'—"Ashburton Guardian," 6th June, 1893.

## Opinions of Railway Experts.

'Auckland,

9th October, 1884.

'Memorandum for Samuel Vaile, Esq.

'With reference to the several discussions we have had with you upon the advisability of introducing throughout the New Zealand Railways, the low fares you have advocated, we beg to state that, after full and deep consideration, we are prepared to agree with you in respect of the following:—

'That the increase in the number of passenger fares taken would be three times as many as at present, or an increase of two hundred per cent, upon the present issue.

'That the average fare could not sink below one shilling.

'That the increased passenger traffic would not perceptibly increase the working expenses.

'Ridley William Moody,  
'T. D. Edmonds,  
'Jas. Stodart.'

Mr. Moody was for 17 years employed in various capacities on the Great Northern and other English railways.

Mr. Edmonds was trained on the Great Western, England, and in this colony was chief clerk on the Hurunui-Bluf Section.

Mr. Stodart was for 21 years on the Great Western line (for a number of years in charge of the Swindon district); four years on the London, Chatham and Dover line, and five years on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India line.

Opinion of Mr. WILLIAM CONYERS, C.E., formerly Commissioner South Island Railways.

In a long letter to me Mr. Conyers, whom at that time I had never seen, says,—'I agree with Messrs. Moody, Stodart, and Edmonds in their report on your system, and you may use my name to that effect. In answer to your first query, I am of opinion that the number of passenger fares would be three times the present number—that is, an increase of 200 percent. ("I wrote you this before, never having seen their report at the time.") 2. The average fare, which is now, including season tickets, and probably parcels, dogs, etc., only 2s. 3d., could not sink below one shilling. 3. Three passengers could be carried as cheaply as one.'

## Brief History of the Railway Reform Movement in New Zealand.

THE Stage System of railway administration was invented by Samuel Vaile in 1882, and first laid before the public in a letter to the Editor in the 'New Zealand Herald' of the 3rd January, 1883.

A long newspaper controversy immediately followed.

On the 4th July, 1883, Mr. J. A. Tole, M.H.R., asked the Minister for Public Works if he was prepared to give Mr. Vaile's system a fair trial. He replied that he was not prepared to do so.

On 12th November Mr. Vaile read a paper on 'Our Railways' before the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Institute. This immediately commanded attention, and was reproduced in most of the leading papers of the colony.

On July 29th, 1884, Mr. Vaile delivered his first lecture on Railway Reform in the Lorne Street Hall.

On 9th October, 1884, Messrs. W. R. Moody (formerly of Great Northern line, England), James Stodart (of Swindon district, Great Western), and T. D. Edmonds (Great Western and Hurunui—Bluff) signed a certificate to the effect that they had carefully examined Mr. Vaile's system, and that its adoption would lead to greatly increased traffic and revenue.

At the same time, and without knowing what these gentlemen were doing, Mr. W. Conyers (formerly Commissioner South Island Railways) wrote from Invercargill to the same effect.

On December, 1884, on the invitation of the Tamahere Farmers' Club, Mr. Vaile went to the Waikato and lectured at Tamahere, Hamilton, Cambridge, Te Awamutu, and Alexandra.

On March, 1885, Mr. Vaile left Auckland, and commencing at Napier, lectured in all the chief Southern towns as far as Invercargill, going down one coast and returning by the other. He was everywhere well received, the Mayor of the city in each case presiding.

On May, 1885, the first New Zealand Railway Reform League was formed in the Waikato.

On the 8th July, 1885, Mr. Samuel, M.H.R., asked the Minister of Public Works whether Mr. Samuel Vaile's proposals had been considered by the Government. The Minister, the Hon. E. Richardson, replied that Mr. Vaile had proposed so many schemes that it was impossible to say if they had all been considered. As a matter of fact Mr. Vaile has never proposed any but the one scheme.

In August, 1885, petitions from all parts of the colony, and signed by many thousands of citizens, were sent to Parliament, praying that a Royal Commission might be appointed to investigate and report upon Mr. Vaile's proposals.

On 28th May, 1886, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed, consisting of Hon. Major Atkinson, ex-Premier, Hon. E. Richardson, Minister Public Works, Hon. Mr. Macandrew, ex-Minister Public Works, Hon. Mr. Ormond, ex-Minister Public Works, Hon. E. Mitchelson, ex-Minister Public Works, Mr. Gore, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Walker, Mr. O'Connor, and Mr. J. B. Whyte, M.H.R.'s.

This Committee commenced its sittings on the 2nd June, and concluded on the 11th August.

Mr. Joseph Prime Maxwell, General Manager New Zealand Railways, conducted the case on behalf of the department, and Mr. Vaile conducted it on his own side. All the chief officers of the department were examined

and cross-examined, as were also the witnesses produced by Mr. Vaile. The Minister and the officers offered the most strenuous opposition, but the Committee reported that the new system ought to be tried.

The minutes of evidence and report of this Committee form Parliamentary paper, 1—9, 1886.

During the session of 1886 numerous petitions were sent to Parliament, praying that 'Vaile's system' might be tried.

During the session of 1887 nearly every local governing body in the colony sent petitions to Parliament, praying that 'Vaile's system' might be tried.

On 23rd June, 1887, Mr. J. Aitkin Connell, Public Accountant, wrote saying he had carefully examined Mr. Vaile's financial calculations and found them to be sound.

In 1887 Mr. Vaile contested the seat for Auckland North, but lost it by 35 votes, 36 votes having been thrown out, said to be informal.

In the session of 1887 the Government Railways Bill, vesting the railways of the colony in three absolutely irresponsible Commissioners, was passed. A great effort was made to get a clause inserted in this Bill providing for a trial of the new system. The Minister (Hon. E. Mitchelson) offered a most determined opposition and carried his point.

In August, 1887, the Whangarei-Kamo line being in a state of utter collapse the department applied the Stage system to it, with the result that both traffic and revenue largely and immediately increased.

In August, 1888, a number of leading Auckland citizens joined Mr. Vaile in making an offer to the Government to lease the Auckland section of railways for five years, for the purpose of trying the new system. They offered to give substantial guarantees that they would maintain the lines in good order, under the supervision of the departmental officers, pay an increased revenue to the Government, give reduced rates to the public, and after the first year hand back the lines in good order on a six months' notice to do so. This offer was somewhat curtly refused.

On 28th January, 1889, the railways of the colony were handed over to the irresponsible Board to deal with as they pleased. To readers outside the colony this will appear incredible, but it is a fact! The Commission was composed of Mr. J. McKerrow (lately Chief Surveyor), Mr. J. P. Maxwell and Mr. Hannay (lately General Manager and sub-Manager.) As the two latter gentlemen were the avowed and most bitter enemies of the reform movement this was a great blow to it.

In August, 1889, the Hungarian Government commenced to work their railways on the 'Zone' system. This is supposed to be an adaptation—Mr. Vaile says a very faulty-adaptation—of his stage system. It is certain that the late Baron Hubner was in New Zealand while Mr. Vaile was arguing his case before the Parliamentary Committee. This system has shown increasingly good results.

In September, 1889, the New Zealand Railway Reform League was formed. This comprises the most influential Auckland citizens.

In 1890 the Auckland Chamber of Commerce appointed a special Committee of seven—Captain W. C. Dalry, Messrs. J. Reid, N. A. Nathan, J. Russell, Gilmour, W. Lodder, and S. Vaile—to deal with railway matters. This Committee reported to the Chamber that, in their opinion, no financial loss could result from trying the new system.

In the session of 1890 further petitions, numerous, signed, were presented to Parliament, praying for a trial of the new system. As a result another Committee of inquiry was appointed. After a great deal of delay the Chairman (Mr. Harkness), took the unusual course of asking Mr. Vaile to send his evidence in writing. Mr. Vaile refused to move in the matter unless he was allowed to conduct his case in person. When this Committee presented their report Mr. T. Thompson moved: 'That the report be referred back to the Committee for reconsideration, and to take further evidence.' Motion lost by 41 to 24.

In the session of 1891 Mr. W. L. Rees moved: (1) 'That seeing it is a matter of paramount importance to secure the most efficient method of administering the railways of the colony, this House is of opinion that the Vaile system should be fairly tried, prior to the expiration of the Government Railways Act of 1887.' (2) 'That the said system should be tried on the Auckland railways under the direct supervision of Mr. Samuel Vaile.' Motion lost by majority of 9 (34 to 25.)

In the Public Works Statement of 1892 the Hon. Mr. Seddon stated: 'The returns from the working of our railways do not show at all a satisfactory condition of affairs, and the representations of Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland, as to the working of the new system, indicate that, at no distant date, possibly on the expiry of the Commissioners' term of office, it might be as well that a trial of this system should be made on our railways.'

On the 16th March, 1893, Mr. Vaile was presented with a handsome service of plate, and also a fire-proof safe to keep the records in, in recognition of his services in the cause of Railway Reform. The presentation was made by Sir George Grey, K.C.B., who, with the other speakers, warmly eulogised Mr. Vaile for the ability, energy, and patriotism he had displayed.

In the session of 1893 petitions were sent to Parliament asking that Mr. Vaile might be heard at the bar of

the House in support of his railway scheme. The Public Petitions' Committee reported in favour, but the Government declined to call Mr. Vaile.

When the Government Railway Bill of 1893 was in Committee, Mr. T. Thompson moved a new clause, providing that 'a trial be given to Vaile's system on the Auckland or other section of the New Zealand Railways.' Lost by majority of 12; voting, 37 to 25.

In November, 1893, Mr. Vaile again contested a seat in the House, but was again defeated.

## The Railway Problem.

By Samuel Vaile.

### Introduction to Third Pamphlet.

IN my former pamphlets on the Railway Problem I have dealt with the subject mainly from the financial point of view—in the present one more with regard to the indirect benefits that would be conferred upon the people if the railways of the world were worked on really sound principles. The enormous influence it would have in improving our social conditions cannot be calculated.

What made you think of this thing, and why is it that amid so many discouragements you stick to it so tenaciously? are questions that are frequently asked me. As to the first: Like every other reform, a variety of circumstances led up to its initiation. What directly induced me to study the railway question was this: In the ordinary conduct of the business of my firm

Samuel Vaile & Sons, Land and Estate Agents.

I had noticed that the value of *country* lands (since then city and suburban values have also declined) was decreasing. I could not quite see why this should be, and while I was searching for a sufficient reason, some gentlemen came to me with the intention of making a large purchase of land, on which they proposed to place a number of settlers. This transaction fell through owing to the high railway charges, so finding that the railway tariff was injuring my business, I determined to know all about it, and to improve the position if possible. I very soon arrived at the conclusion that it was the system of levying the railway charges that was mainly responsible for the decrease in land values. I also became convinced that the railway system was likewise responsible for the overcrowding of the cities.

Now, the Poverty Problem has been my life study, and I have always felt an earnest desire to do something that would permanently relieve, not only the terrible sufferings of the really poor, but would also assist those who are somewhat above that position; in fact, to get rid not merely of poverty itself, but also of what probably causes as much misery, the dread of poverty. When a child the sight of a beggar distressed me, and I often asked why the poor little beggar children could not have food and clothing as I had. I could not understand then—nor can I now—why there should be so much want and misery in a world that is large enough and fruitful enough to supply ail our wants many times over. It must be through defective management somewhere, and it appears to me to be a reflection on our boasted civilisation that such a state of things should exist. Having discovered what I believe to be the chief cause of poverty, I set to work to find a remedy, and having, as I believe, also done this, have spared neither labour nor money in pressing it upon the attention of the community. My conclusion is that the only remedy for the world's troubles is to place a much larger proportion of its population *on the land*: and in order to do this the first requisite, is not only good roads to the land, but also *right government of these roads after they are made*. This is my reason for sticking so closely to this question of railway reform. No other motive would, in my opinion, have justified me in spending the time and money on it. For now nearly twelve years I have devoted every spare moment of time to pursuing this object, and have expended of my own funds more than nine times the total amount contributed by the public through the two Railway Reform Leagues. I mention this, because if the reform movement is to be carried on to a successful issue it is necessary that the public should render more help than it hitherto has given. It means work and money, *more of both than I alone am able to supply*.

During the twelve years mentioned many of those who took a deep interest in the movement have passed away. Among them I may mention, with feelings of gratitude and deep regret, Sir Harry Atkinson, who firmly believed in the new system, and gave me valuable support in the Parliamentary Committee of 1886, Sir Frederick Whitaker, Mr. Macandrew, Judge Bathgate, and Messrs. R. W. Moody and Jas. Stoddart, railway experts, who carefully investigated my proposals and certified to their soundness. Others, as Sir George Grey and Captain W. C. Daldy, are getting far advanced in life, and many others have left the colony. There is, therefore, urgent need for fresh blood and for younger and more active men to come in and help, if, as I have

said, this work is to be carried to a successful issue. There ought to be many such, while others might assist with funds. If there are any disposed to help I shall be glad to hear from them.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity for again thanking the Press of the colony for the large amount of space placed at my disposal, and also for the kindly encouragement given me in the leaders of most, I think I may say all, the leading papers of the colony. My thanks are also due to the Chairman (Captain W. C. Daldy) and Committee of the Railway Reform League, to Sir George Grey, those members of Parliament who have assisted me in the House, and the large number of friends who, from all parts of the colony, and from some places out of, have sent me kindly letters of encouragement and valuable information. May I hope they will continue these favours.

SAMUEL VAILE.

Auckland, N.Z.,

March, 1894.

vignette

## Railways and Social Conditions.

By SAMUEL VAILE, of Auckland, N.Z.

Note.—The substance of the following pamphlet was—at the instance of Sir George Grey—written in 1886 for the "Fortnightly Review." The article was accepted and promised publication, but from some cause—probably the change of editors which at that time took place—it did not appear, nor have I been able to recover my manuscript.

SIX THOUSAND MILLIONS of pounds sterling (£6,000,000,000) may now be said to represent the sum expended in constructing the railways of the world. It is not possible for the human mind to form any just conception of what this sum of money means. It is nearly ninety times the amount of the British national debt, and, as Professor Hadly has pointed out, it is three times the amount of all the gold, silver, and paper money there is at any one time in the whole world.

Next to the lands of the world its railways are far and away its greatest interest. Both as regards capital value, and the influence they exercise on the commercial, social, and military condition of the world, they tower far above all other institutions. The more the mind dwells on this subject the more it feels lost, and utterly unable to grapple with the problems that open up.

Such is the vast institution which during the last sixty years has grown up among us, grown up we hardly know how, and certainly without that close governmental supervision which its magnitude and importance demanded.

What a marvellous amount of financial engineering and organising skill it has taken to bring the railways of the world up to their present position; and yet how little real thought has been bestowed on the most important question connected with them.

Here is this tremendous institution, which absolutely dominates our trade, commerce, and social conditions, the outgrowth of sixty years of the most progressive period of the world's history, the expenditure of £6,000,000,000, the concentrated thought of the very best brain power, in finance, engineering, and organisation, and still—I believe I am right in saying—that not one of the great writers on political economy, not one of the world's great statesmen has ever devoted one half a page to considering this question. *Is this vast, this stupendous concern being administered in a way that benefits or injures mankind?*

How is this marvellous fact to be accounted for? Is it because of the intricacy of the subject, and the great difficulty of procuring reliable details, or is it because it has been universally taken for granted that railways are commercial institutions and commercial institutions only? Probably from both these causes. But is it a sufficient reason, and ought not more attention to be devoted to so great a subject? Quite certain it is that railways wherever they exist, must, and do, exercise a powerful influence for good or for evil, as they are rightly or wrongly administered.

It appears to me that from the very first there was a great error committed. Railways originated in England, and there the serious mistake was made of allowing private individuals to construct them, and use them for the mere purpose of putting money into their own pockets. There was no thought but how much per cent, could be got out of them. The British Government did not even take the precaution that was taken on the Continent, of providing that after ninety-nine years they should become State property; nor did they, as in France, cause them

to be laid out as a comprehensive national system of highways. In the United Kingdom and America they were made absolutely private property, and power was given to the owners to levy *tolls* (note the reference to the toll bar) of so much *per mile*, for the conveyance of goods and passengers. Everything was, in fact, practically abandoned to the interests of the shareholders.

Railways, wherever they exist, are pre-eminently the great highways, and they that rule the roads rule the trade and commerce of the country. They hold it in their hands with an iron grip.

## The First Want of Society.

What is the first want of society? Food, says someone. Well, it is quite true that none can live without food; but how is that food to be obtained? It can only be produced by the application of labour to land. And in order to apply that labour, what is the first thing wanted? Is it not *a road* in order to allow labour to approach and get on to the land? Therefore a road is the first want of society.

In its earliest stages a foot track had to suffice, then as people multiplied and wants increased, the foot track became a bridle track, then a road for wheeled vehicles, then a railway, and as every improvement in the road takes place, the prosperity of the district increases. I therefore argue that the prosperity of any community will be in exact proportion to its transit facilities.

If I am correct in stating that the first want of society is a road, then it follows that the transit question underlies every other social question, and that our social conditions generally cannot be set right until this transit question is permanently placed on a proper footing.

The difference between common roads and railways consists in this: on the common roads the users provide their own means of locomotion. On the railroads, owing to the nature of their construction, the owners must do this. But so far as making money is concerned, there is no logical reason why money should not be made out of the common roads, as well as out of the railways. Indeed, seeing that, as compared with railways, they are mere by-ways, it is probable that it would inflict a less injury on the community. Did, however, a Government ever exist that would dare to do such a thing?

## Invisible Turnpikes.

Let us see how it would work. Suppose the British Government were to say, we want money, and we will make it out of the common roads. We will lease them to a company, and give power to place a turnpike at every mile along them, but in consideration of the fact that the users will provide their own means of locomotion we will only allow half the charge to be made that is made on the railways. What would be the effect?

Suppose, again, a professional or commercial man to have his office in a city, and his residence ten miles from it, would he, could he, pass ten turnpikes coming and going—twenty turnpikes every day; What would be the effect on the value of the land ten miles out; what twenty, forty, one hundred miles away! Now, absurd as this proposition may seem, it is exactly what we have on the railways of the world. These turn pikes are indeed invisible, but they are there all the same, and the "*tolls*" are rigidly exacted *for every mile passed over*, the only difference being that they are all collected in one sum at one end or other of the journey, but paid to the uttermost farthing they must be.

It is very easy to see what a pernicious influence a turnpike at every mile on a common road would have on all our social conditions, but it seems almost impossible to make the public see that *mileage rating on a railway has precisely the same effect*. The idea that the first duty of a railway is to pay dividends, and that it must be worked on what are called, or miscalled, "commercial principles," seems to be ground into our very bones and marrow.

It is this turnpike system that has absorbed all the small users of land, and rendered it when situated more than twenty or thirty miles from a large city available for grazing purposes only or for grain growing in large areas where machinery can be used. The husbandman is completely shut out.

Great as the evil of mileage rating is, that is not all, it is aggravated by differential rating. It is true that since the passing of the Inter-State Commerce Bill of America, and the last Railways and Canals Traffic Act of Great Britain, the worst features of this vile system have been done away with in those countries, but so long as mileage rating exists, so long must differential rating in some form or other be tolerated, but as these rates are always given in favour of the great cities, or in favour of "*great users*," they largely aggravate the evil. The effect of this mileage and differential rating must be, and undoubtedly has been, to concentrate population in the cities. They render it quite impossible for the mass of workers to live on the land.

## The Right Use of Railways.

The question arises, for what purposes ought the railways to be used? To pay dividends, the shareholder

says. I deny that anyone has a right to make money by the use of the highways of the country, and this railroads certainly are, or ought to be. I hold that it is one of the first duties of every Government to keep its intercommunications open in such a manner that every inhabitant can make use of them according to his wants, on equal terms with his neighbour. This is the case on common roads, why should it not be on the railways? Simply because we consider the first duty of a railway is to pay interest on the capital invested in it.

In my opinion the primary object in constructing and working railways ought to be to enable the great masses of the people to live on land, and at the same time enable them to pursue their various avocations in the great cities and factories. If this were done how enormously the wealth, general prosperity, and happiness of the people would be increased. The masses would no longer have starvation staring them in the face the moment they were out of employment, for the little holdings would always yield a certain amount of food, and so keep the wolf from the door.

I hold firmly to the belief that railways, wherever they exist, *ought to be owned and controlled by the State*, and that the *permanent way* of a railroad ought no more to be expected to pay interest on the cost of its construction than a macadamised road is.

It must not be thought that I advocate working the railways at the cost of the taxpayers. I do not. As the users of common roads have to pay for the conveying done, so ought the users of railways to be charged for this service, and I say that if these charges were made on a fair and intelligent basis, so as to serve the interests of the *whole community*, that the profit would be so great that it would more than pay interest on the permanent way as well, and in all probability leave a large sum over towards the reduction of general taxation.

What we want is to restore the social conditions that existed prior to the introduction of railways, as regards the distribution of people over the land and the existence of local markets, and at the same time retain all the advantages of railway transit. Can this be done? It appears to me that it can, by reversing the railway policy. No one now doubts that the railways have concentrated people in the great cities. This is because all the rating has been made in favour of those centres. If we were to *temporarily* make the rating in favour of the country districts we should just as naturally send the population there, and if we distribute population we must distribute wealth, and thus solve one of the greatest social problems. One of my aims is to bring about by ordinary means all, and more than all, as regards the poverty problem, that General Booth, of the Salvation Army, seeks to bring about by charity.

## Distant Land.

We can only effect this great object by making land situated at a distance from a great market practically as available for that market as land only ten miles from it. This can never be done under a mileage system, no matter how cheap the rate may be. For instance, a farmer 150 miles away pays for 150 removes. The charge is piled up at every mile, so the farmer 10 miles out only pays for 10 removes. It is clear the two could not compete on anything like equal terms.

It is this evil which makes the land nationalisers claim the right to take the land near the cities, for they very truly say that this is the only really available land; but remove the turnpikes and Work on the stage system, and this evil would be got rid of, for under it the 150 mile man would only be from six to eight removes away, and he could, if he thought proper, grow cabbages for the big city, and under the proposed stage system he would never be more than say 50 miles from at least one city of 2,000 or more inhabitants.

If we want to get rid of this demand for taking land from those that have it, we must so alter the conditions that those who want land can obtain it under such circumstances as will enable them to profitably use it. This we can never do until we alter the transit system.

## Our Social Troubles.

Look where we will throughout the civilized world, what a seething mass of social trouble, of political unrest, meets our gaze. What tremendous and ruinous conflicts between labour and capital are taking place. How sharply, and more sharply, are the lines drawn between poverty and wealth, between enormous riches and luxury on the one hand, and grinding poverty and dire misery on the other. How the starving, and semi-starving millions multiply, how increasingly keen is the competition between manufacturers and traders, how small has become the margin of profit, and how more pronounced is the discontent of the working classes becoming day by day, and how increasingly menacing is their attitude. Hungry men, and especially those who have hungry wives and children, are dangerous animals, and we shall do well to find some means of removing the universal discontent that undoubtedly exists.

In a paper read before the Auckland Institute on the 21st September, 1885, and afterwards published in pamphlet form. I used these words:—"Remember that railways are a new institution. It is only half a century

since they were introduced, and not more than twenty years since they were fully developed. We have not yet felt the full effects. It is the next ten years that will try us; and I say that during that period one of two things will happen—either a complete change in the (system of administration), or commercial and social ruin such as we have never seen before." This was written during a period of great prosperity. What do we see now?

We shrink with horror from the outrages of the Anarchists; but when we consider the terrible sufferings of the poor, are they to be wondered at? They say it is the only means they have of compelling those who have the power to take the necessary means to relieve their distress.

Where does all this trouble come from? Does it not come from the starving masses piled up in the great cities, and does it not arise from the fact that the mass of the people *are cut off from the profitable use of the land*. Cut off from the land, say my readers. Why, look at our magnificent railways, our splendid steam fleets. Quite true. We have the grandest transporting machine the world has ever seen or is ever likely to see; but how do we use it?

It is curious and instructive to note, that in those countries, where the railway system has attained its highest development, that there we find the greatest social misery, the deepest poverty; as for instance in England and America, and in these colonies in Victoria.

In my opinion the solution of the great and terrible poverty problem is to be found in these words: *Give the people access to the land, and from the land to the market.*

It is a very common error to suppose that because we have railways that therefore we have transit facilities. Railways have constantly been worked not to give transit facilities, but to debar certain men from sending their produce to market.

While railways have undoubtedly created enormous wealth, it is equally certain that they are more responsible than any other agency for the widespread poverty, misery, social turmoil, and discontent that pervades the world.

This is not owing to any defect in the railways themselves, but simply and solely to the ways in which they have been administered. Its railways, as I have said, form the most perfect transportation machine the world has ever seen, but the way in which this machine has been used and abused is a disgrace to modern civilisation.

I know that these words of mine will sound strange to those who have only a superficial knowledge of the question, and who are accustomed to think the administration of the English and American railways perfect. If these individuals would study the Board of Trade returns, and the evidence taken by the various commissions appointed by the two Governments, they would soon alter their opinions. Mr. R. A. Cooper, one of the leaders of the railway reform movement in England, in writing to me in reference to the mismanagement in New Zealand, says, 'Your experience is more than paralleled here.'

The report of the working of the Hungarian 'zone' system, a copy of which M. Gabriel de Baross, the Hungarian minister, was good enough to send me, shows how very unsatisfactory the system we are working proved in that country, and the necessity which existed for a radical change.

To quote General Booth; in a recent article, he says: 'There are three elements of national wealth—Production, Preparation, and Distribution. In the present state of civilisation the last two elements have had sufficient attention, but what is the good of this if we have no production.'

Probably ninety-nine men out of every hundred share the General's opinion, but is it a fact? I fear that he and they have been dazzled. They have thought of the splendid mercantile navies of the world, of its vast and complicated railway systems, its grand canals and waterways, and they have said, what more perfect distributing agency can you have? Quite true. I admit the great beauty, the grand perfection of the instrument, but again, what shall we say of the way it is being used, with this fact staring us in the face—that in our own Empire, in India and other places, to say nothing of Continental Europe, we have tens of thousands actually dying of starvation, and many millions on the verge of it, while here in New Zealand our farmers cannot get more than 6d. per bushel for their Indian corn, or in many cases 1s. 11d. for their wheat. There is surely something very wrong. It appears to me that poverty and misery are not so much due to the want of production as to the want of a proper system of conveying producers and produce to those parts of the world where they are most needed.

I have thought long and deeply over this terrible problem, and the conclusion I come to is this: that the cause of the trouble is the fact that for all practical purposes the great masses of the people are cut off from access to the land. Notwithstanding our grand transporting agency, owing to the system on which the charges are arranged, it is not possible for the masses to make use of it. This acts alike to the disadvantage of the owners of the instrument, and to those who would make use of it if they could.

## How it Works.

Why, we have spent six thousand millions to practically place a turnpike, a barrier, at every mile along the

great high-ways of the world; and in this fact alone we have more than sufficient cause to account for all the trouble, misery, and discontent that exist. Consider for a moment what they mean—how they bar the flow of trade, commerce, and social intercourse. Let me try and make this clear. Here is a ton of goods required to be moved 150 miles, and the charge is 2d. per ton per mile. We will say that the cost of production and taking them to the starting point on the railway was £2 per ton, and their price at the market town £2 10s. When these goods have travelled 60 miles all the profit will have vanished, and on their arrival the owner will have to pay 15s. additional for railway charges alone. If the profit at the starting point were 15s. per ton, it would all be gone when 90 miles were passed over; if 20s. per ton 120 miles of transit would consume it all; so that on the three tons, in addition to a loss of the whole profit of 45s., the unfortunate user would have to pay 30s. more, or 75s. in all for railage charges alone. This is how thousands of people have been ruined without knowing exactly what it was that injured them.

It matters nothing what the rate per mile is, *it in the system that is wrong*. If the rate were only per ton per mile, the result would be the same, for, as I have already pointed out, a man 150 miles from a market could not compete with a man only 10 miles away.

## Trade Depressions.

We have all heard and read a great deal about trade depressions, bank failures, and financial crises, but it does not appear to have occurred to any of the writers or speakers to note the fact that these things did not exist prior to the railway era. They have only existed during the last sixty years as regularly recurring events. During this period seven of these great waves of depression have swept over and devastated the world, and each of these as it came along has been bigger, broader, deeper, and higher than its predecessor, has lasted longer, occurred at a less interval, and has left a greater sea of desolation behind it. What is the cause of this? There must be some great underlying cause, some great evil at the bottom. What is it? What is there in the world of sufficient magnitude to produce such a universal result? My reply is, its railways, and that there is no other institution of sufficient magnitude to so powerfully affect its trade, commerce, and general social conditions. But if this institution, built up by the expenditure of six billions of pounds sterling, is, as I contend it is, administered on utterly wrong principles, we have here a more than sufficient reason for all the troubles that surround us. The more I study this problem the more I am convinced that we shall never restore trade and commerce to a satisfactory condition until we reform our railway administration.

## Why the Evil Effects were Not Sooner Felt.

But I shall be asked if this system is as bad as you describe it to be, how is it that it has lasted so long? For the following reasons:—

Railway construction commenced in England with the Stockton and Darlington line, in 1825, or sixty-eight years ago. Let anyone examine the map of the United Kingdom at that time, and they will see it covered with numerous and prosperous country towns and villages. Most of these towns had their own corn and wool markets, some their butter markets, and all a considerable local trade. In 1838 the London and Birmingham line was opened, other lines connecting the provinces with the great city rapidly followed, and then the work of concentration and absorption went on apace, and the local markets gradually but surely disappeared. But Great Britain was a thickly populated and wealthy country. She, too, for many years enjoyed almost a monopoly of the manufacture of railway material, and to her fell the lion's share of the £6,000,000,000 the railways of the world have cost, but now that they are for the most part constructed, and her population and trade largely concentrated in a few chief cities, she feels the strain, but it takes a long time to absorb a country so situated.

When in 1831 railway construction was commenced in the United States, there existed in that country a large population on the sea coast and the shores of the great rivers, they had an immense undeveloped interior country to deal with, the produce of which found a ready market in Europe, their enormous railway construction employed a vast number of her people, and the constant stream of immigration brought in immense wealth. Their interior is now opened up, their railway system approaches completion, immigration has greatly fallen off, and in America, too, the pinch is severely felt.

The first railway in Australia was opened in 1855. The same conditions that prevailed in America also existed in Australia, but in a less degree, and consequently the evil effects of the vicious concentrating system sooner made themselves felt, and we all know the state her railways and finances generally are in now.

In New Zealand railway construction commenced in 1870. Here also the American conditions, but in a still less degree, prevailed. Our experience so far is a comparatively short one, and our grand coast line and splendid waterways make us less dependent on railway transit, but for all this the same evil results are rapidly manifesting themselves.

In all these countries we have the machine, a very-perfect machine, too, but again, how about the administration?

More than a century ago the Abbe Raynal wrote: 'Let us travel over all the countries of the earth, and wherever we shall find no facility of travelling from a city to a town, and from a village to a hamlet, we may pronounce the people to be barbarians; and we shall only be deceived respecting the degree of barbarism.' He was undoubtedly right. We, however, need not flatter ourselves, that the mere fact of the existence of our splendid railways proves that the mass of the people enjoy transit facilities: they do not. If they did, the dream of the Stephensons that 'the time would come when no poor man could afford to walk,' would long since have been realised. Nor can it be pretended that railways are worked for the general public good. Only too often they are worked to inflict positive injury. Numerous instances might be given of the truth of this statement. For instance, there is the well-known fact that, by a manipulation of the railways, in ten years the value of agricultural land in the State of New York was depreciated to the extent of, £45,000,000. The same thing is going on in this country (New Zealand) at the present moment as regards Timaru, Oamaru, etc., and the British bondholder has already suffered in consequence. While this sort of thing may bring, and often does bring, some present gain to those who have the control of the railways, in the end it brings ruin to them also, for the destruction by absorption of trading centres must mean loss of transit trade.

Railway controllers often have it in their power to defeat the laws of the land. For instance, the Government of a country may make a large grant to improve a harbour, but the railway men can set the rates against that harbour and so make it practically useless. Liverpool was greatly injured in this way, and Oamaru and Timaru in this country are being ruined by the same means.

## **Disadvantages of the Present System.**

Nearly everyone is now convinced that the railway system is responsible for the tremendous overcrowding of the great cities, and for the depopulation of the country districts. Several writers have dwelt forcibly on the many and great evils resulting from this state of things, but so far as I am aware they have all failed to point out a feasible remedy

This overcrowding brings troubles untold in its train. By taking population off the land, production is decreased, and consequently there is a less and less demand for labour. Great masses of people being pent up in the cities—barred in by the invisible turnpikes mentioned above—poverty is soon largely increased. City dwellers are not producers; they are only exchangers and improvers.

The turnpike system absolutely compels manufacturers to locate their factories either in or as near as possible to the city which is the chief market for their products, because every mile they have to move their goods adds to the cost of production or distribution, or to both. For the same reason the workers in factories must live in cities; they cannot live on land, because every mile they move on a rail takes more and more from their small earnings. Now what is the natural result of this? The factories run on until there is a large amount of what is called over production. Then, what happens? Paying prices cannot be obtained, so an effort is made to reduce wages. Then the mills are run short time, and finally many of them are closed. What becomes of the workers? They are reduced to a state of

## **Enforced Idleness,**

compelled to live in garrets and cellars, or a very small house at the most; they wander about the streets seeking for work, which cannot be found; the little money saved soon goes; the furniture, bit by bit, is sold, then the tools, and then there are starving wives and children, and angry and desperate men. The great reason of poverty is idleness, but in nine cases out of ten this idleness is enforced. The Anglo-Saxon race, as a rule, wants to work, and would work if it could; but now to obtain work is often impossible.

My contention is that all this would be altered if we could enable labour to live on land. Then there would comparatively be but little idleness; for if the worker could live on, say, from one to ten acres, when work in the factory ran short, he could always find employment for a time on the little homestead, and thus it would mean a transference of labour from the factory to the land, or from the land to the factory, as it was required; and although the individual might experience some little inconvenience, the nation would not suffer as it does now. The advantages of enabling labour to live on land are very obvious. The workman's wife and family would do a great deal towards the cultivation of the holding, and they would draw much of their food supply from it. This would all be so much increased national wealth; and as the worker under these circumstances would not be reduced to starvation point, he and his family would the sooner be able to become customers for the factory, and thus we should not be subject to the terrible and long periods of trade depression that we are experiencing now.

## The Farmers' Trouble.

The same trouble that besets the city worker also assails the farmer. I shall perhaps make this more readily understandable by the following diagram. The starting point of this diagram represents a farm 150 miles away from a market town. The 'husbandman' has 50 tons of produce to send to the market, on which when it leaves his farm there is an average profit of 15s. per ton. Say, 10 tons have a profit of 10s. per ton, 30 tons have a profit of 15s. per ton, and 10 tons have a profit of 20s. per ton. We will suppose the farmer's average charge to be only 2d. per ton per mile—the illustration will be the same if it were only 1d.—he starts to move, and with the following result:—

Miles. Farm— 10— 20— 30— 40— 50— At this point 60 = = all the 10s. profit is gone in railway charges. 70— 80— At this point 90 = = all the 15s. profit is gone. 100— 110— At this point 120 = = all the 20s. profit is gone. 130— 140— Market town 150—

On arrival at the market town the total railway charges, including 'terminals,' would be £66 3s. 4d. Thus, after losing his whole profit of £37 10s., he would have to pay a further sum of £29 3s. 4d. for transporting 50 tons 150 miles, and in addition would have to pay his town agent. Is it any wonder that people leave the country and crowd into the cities.

Farmers clamour for *cheap* rates. They ask that lime, manures, and produce may be carried at merely nominal charges. But is this really what they want? Suppose it were done, what would be the result? Would the farmer get the profit made by this reduction? He certainly would not. For a short time he would get some share of it, but that is all. If it enabled the 2lb. loaf to be sold for 2d. instead of 2½d., for the lower price it would soon be sold. Prices always adjust themselves.

While a low charge for freight is very desirable, what the farmer stands much more in need of is greater equality of treatment and more local markets. He wants to be brought near to his market, not so much by a low freight rate as by *ignoring distance*, that is to say, the distant farmer must be placed more on an equality with the one who is close up to the market. We must not take mere distance so much into account as we now do. Mere lowering of charges is not an unmixed good: it all tends to cheapen production, and that has probably gone too far already, for the cheaper goods can be produced the cheaper they will be sold.

## Low Prices and Poverty

are in my opinion synonymous terms. The lower the price the smaller the margin of profit, and, as a rule, after a while the smaller the transactions. To give an extreme example: China is a country of low prices; there it is a common thing to buy a slice of a pear. What margin of profit can there be on such transactions?

In this country many of us can remember when money was not obtainable for less than from 10 to 20 per cent., when fair quality unimproved land brought from to, £5 per acre, a labourer commanded 8s. to 10s. per day, and an artisan from 12s. to 15s., while farm produce was three to five times the price it is now. Then we all lived in great comfort, and made and saved money. Now that we can get all these things for nearly nothing, who can save anything? Is it any advantage to the community that the farmer should have to sell his wheat at 1s. 11d. per bushel? My belief is that with the introduction of a sound system of railway administration there would come an immediate advance in prices all round, because the alteration would enable us to make profitable use of the land, which is the source of all wealth.

## A Complicated and Secret System.

Another great objection to the present system is that it is a *complicated and secret system which no one can understand*, except by prolonged and careful study. This complication is neither a matter of accident nor necessity. It has been carefully, elaborately, and designedly built up for the purpose of confusing the public, and thus compelling the users of railways to '*inquire at the station for their rate*,' in order that the owners and contractors may be able to extract from the users '*what the traffic will hear*.'

My words may seem harsh, but they are literally true, as may be seen by a reference to Mr. J. P. Maxwell's report for 1884, the London Chamber of Commerce Journal, and the Royal Commissions of Great Britain, the American Commissions, the writings of Hudson, Ely, and numerous others. *The whole present railway system has been cradled in fraud and reared in corruption, and there will be no real lasting progress in the world until it is entirely swept away*. Since the establishment of our New Zealand Railway Commissioners our local complication has been very largely increased, and the thing called a tariff has swelled from forty-two to seventy-seven pages of foolscap folio. It is now utterly impossible to follow it, so frequent and complicated are the changes. The disadvantages to trade and commerce are enormous, for if producers and manufacturers cannot tell the cost of transit, how can they estimate the cost of production. It is this that prevents many small

and some large industries from being started.

To show the complexity of the present 'abominable no system of railway,' as Professor R. T. Ely aptly calls it, I have only to quote our own New Zealand experience. Here is the thing which is called the

## 'Scale of Fares, Rates, and Charges on the New Zealand Government Railways.'

We have but 1,886 miles of railway, and yet this is said to be necessary to describe the *charges* to be made on them. It comprises seventy-seven pages of foolscap folio. As regards passenger traffic, it has ordinary, single, and return fares, twenty different classes of season and excursion tickets, to say nothing of the different periods and classes for which these are issued. Then we have no less than one hundred and twenty special suburban fares, with a whole crowd of regulations in reference to the above. This for passenger traffic only, and we are told the charges are the same everywhere. For parcels, luggage, horses, carriages, dogs, calves, bicycles, perambulators, milk, etc., there is a bewildering variety of charges and regulations. It is almost impossible to enumerate them. For goods we have fourteen different classifications, with local rates innumerable and regulations as vexatious as possible. Then there are six hundred and sixteen prices quoted for the transit of 'small lots.'

Local rates, that is to say, special differential rates made for various districts, as they may be favoured by the Commissioners or otherwise, cover sixteen pages of the precious document, and still we are told that the same charges are made in each district. To interpret this mass of inconceivable confusion we have eight hundred and twelve alphabetical references, and even this again cannot be understood without numerous references to interpret it.

## Some of its Beauties.

Mr. Commissioner Maxwell says cadets of sixteen years easily interpret this precious document. Will he then say how-he came to pass the following (Gazette 20/5/93, page 749):—Local rates Dunedin and Port Chalmers to Oamaru: 'Ship's goods, classes A.B.C.D., 15s. per ton, minimum quantity 10 tons.' And on page 753—Dunedin and Port Chalmers to Oamaru: 'Goods A.B.C.D., 12s. 6d. per ton, minimum charge is. 4d.' So that on the one page they say they will not take less than 10 tons at 15s., and that they must arrive by ship, and on the other page, for the same class of goods and the same distance, no matter how they arrive, they will take them at 12s. 6d. per ton, and in such small quantities that the charge may be only 1s. 4d. What is the cadet to do? The object of this is to catch any unwary shipper of less than 10 tons, and say to him, 'Oh, yours are ship's goods, and you must pay full rates' the intention being to destroy our coastal trade. The tariff abounds with regulations like these, which are differential rates, against the poor man; Class E., grain, etc., minimum quantity 1½ tons, which means that for conveying 1½ tons of grain 100 miles the charge would be 17s. 5d., but if the man had only ½ ton to send the charge might be 17s. 5d. or 8s. 8d., or if he had a ton and quarter to send he might have to pay either 17s. 5d. or 21s. 9d., I suppose on the principle that Squeers dealt with his milk, 'Serve him right for being so weak.' If he wanted two tons of 'brown coal' he would have to pay either 21s. 8d. or 34s. 10d., while the man who would take not less than four tons would get the whole lot taken for the 21s. 8d., and he could not be charged any more. If the sender was a favoured man, or lived in a favoured district, he would be charged the lower rate, if the reverse, the higher one. Manifestly his wiser plan would be to fill up his weight with stones or earth, and make the railway do all he could for his money.

I could multiply examples, but these will suffice to show the injustice and utter rottenness of the system. I am aware that the department says that where two prices are named the 'intention' is that the lower price shall be charged, but if this is so why is the higher price retained in the tariff?

Many of my English readers will think I am romancing when I tell them that precisely similar charges and regulations exist on nearly the whole of the British railways. Our system is merely a slavish copy of the English system.

A very amusing chapter might be written pointing out the many absurdities in this wonderful document, as, for instance, it provides that scoria ash, boulders, ship's ballast, concrete blocks, etc., must be carried at owner's risk, while the Commissioners meekly take the responsibility of safely carrying bank notes, bonds (English and foreign), and other securities. They, however, make another provision that 'valuable documents' must not only be at the owner's risk, but must also pay double rates, Why at owner's risk? I presume we must take this as evidence that in the opinion of our Railway Commissioners 'bank notes, bonds (English and foreign), and other securities' are not valuable documents, mere dross only. Perhaps they are right, at any rate, just now. Again, if biscuits are properly packed in tins or cases the owner must take the risk, but if they are in bags, so that a shower of rain would ruin them, the Commissioners take the risk.

It is quite clear the whole thing wants improving off the face of the earth. All this needless confusion is made still more complicated by differential rates. This complication does not arise from trade necessities, nor is it in any way made in the interests of the public. It is done to confuse and mislead the public, and to compel them to 'inquire at the station for their rate,' so that the railway owners may extract from them 'what the traffic will bear.' The only people who benefit are the railway owners and the railway rating experts. Let me repeat the words, *rating experts*. I do not refer to that wonderful body of men the railway traffic managers. It would be impossible to speak too highly in their praise.

## How Different Districts are Treated.

A Christchurch or Dunedin merchant gets his goods of classes A.B.C. and D. carried 100 miles at an all round charge of 12s. 6d. per ton. An Auckland, Wellington, or Napier merchant has to pay for the same service 49s. 4d., 41s. 6d., 33s. 7d., and 26s. 6d. respectively, and some districts are charged even more.

A Canterbury farmer often gets his produce carried 31 miles for the same price that is charged an Auckland, Wellington, or Napier man for 15 miles only, that is to say, the Canterbury man only pays half the rates the other men pay.

Te Aroha is 115 miles from Auckland, and the charges for classes A.B.C. and D. are 25s. per ton all round. Morrinsville is only 103 miles from Auckland, or 12 miles less, and the charges for the same service are 34s., 33s. 6d., 32s. 6d., and 27s. respectively.

I ask is it possible that charges like these can be made in the interests of the community as a whole? It appears to me that they are alike a disgrace to the department that makes them and the people that submit to them. Their object is to destroy our local shipping trade. A very worthy object truly for any Government department to have before it. Such charges are now illegal in England, and in America would send a man to gaol.

Lest anyone should think I am exaggerating, I quote Mr. Maxwell's own words; when he was called General Manager. In his report for 1884, he says:—"The system of rating differentially in this colony is not carried far enough, and the difficulty that stands in the way is the impatience of the public in submitting to different treatment in different cases, and the reluctance to place in the hands of the railway officers the power which would be necessary for carrying out the principle extensively. While retaining publicity by gazetting each rate, were such a principle more widely introduced, *the public would not be able to do what it now, to some extent, essays to do—read and interpret the rates generally; but the practice followed elsewhere would be necessary; the customer would appeal to the station each time he required a rate quoted.*" If the intention is to deal honestly, why object to the public reading the rates for themselves?

To show the fearful complication produced by this abominable 'no-system,' I may mention that on the Midland Railway of England there are over 30,000,000 rates. This it is that gives the rating expert his power; and it is because I seek to simplify the system that the Commissioners are so totally opposed to me.

The statement is constantly made that the people will not settle on the land, that they hate country life, and only value the attractions and dissipations of the cities. The fact is that they *cannot* live in the country, they are barred back by the invisible turnpikes, and forced to keep in the cities. I speak from very considerable experience, and I say there is an ever-increasing demand from men of small means for land to live on, but they say, 'we must have a place near the city where we can find a market for our products and employment for our labour.' The question is, would the stage system supply these wants? It appears to me that it would, and if so no one can foretell the enormous advantage that would result from its adoption. Under it labour could afford to travel 150 miles in search of employment better than it can now travel 30 miles. But what we want above all things, in order to increase the national prosperity, to put an end to social discord, and to moderate the demands of the extreme socialists, is to create a numerous body of small freeholders, and this I contend the introduction of the stage system will do for us. It certainly would lead to a great subdivision of land say within 20 miles of all the cities, and this subdivision of the land must lead to good results. France and Switzerland are striking examples of the value of a number of small landowners to a country.

## Internal Trade.

I have often thought that the British race devotes too much attention to import and export trade, and too little to *internal* trade. Certain it is that the United Kingdom is now much more dependent on its foreign trade than it was before the introduction of railways. These, by concentrating population in a few great cities, by destroying numerous markets in small towns and villages, by decreasing the population of many of these, and preventing the growth of others, and thus doing away with many small trading centres, have seriously injured the development of internal trade. Great as this evil is in the United Kingdom it is greater still in the colonies,

where everything is sacrificed to the export trade. The great Chinese statesmen were right when they said that a nation ought to be able to live and prosper within itself, and without any import or export trade at all. I am not arguing against import or export trade, but I do think we have placed too much dependence upon it.

There is probably no branch of trade that finds so much employment for the people as transit traffic. Imagine what would be the effect if three passengers were to arrive and depart at every platform in the colony for everyone that arrives or departs now. Should we not have to build more cabs, omni-busses, tramcars, handcarts, etc. What would be the effect on the demand for horses, for feed and harness for the horses, for men to drive and take charge of them; how the boarding-houses, inns, and restaurants would be filled up; how, in short, a general impulse would be given to trade in all directions.

## The Universal Fare.

Many people have thought that the only remedy for the evils of the present system of railway administration is either to make transit by railways absolutely free, or to make one universal charge—that is to say, the same price, no matter what the distance travelled over. My study of the subject leads me to conclude that neither proposal is a sound one. Free railway transit would be a great injustice to millions of people, unless the Government were prepared to provide also free transit on all the common roads of the country, and on all the streets of the cities. This idea could not be seriously entertained.

As regards the universal fare, four difficulties present them-selves:

- If anyone could have themselves, their goods and belongings, transported any distance for the same price, seeing that the element of time must always be against those most distant from the market, they would naturally gravitate towards the large centres, and the effect on country towns and villages would be even more disastrous than the present system. This would be especially the case in countries like this (New Zealand) where our inland towns are few and small. What is wanted is a system of *temporary protection* to the thinly populated districts (what I mean by this will be more particularly described when I deal with the stage system in sparsely populated countries), so as to attract and locate population there, and then a system of from point to point of population as previously described.
- It would inflict a ruinous injustice on all users of railways for short distances, because the average fare or rate would have to be fixed at a price they could not pay. For instance, the average passenger fare in the United Kingdom is 7¾d., and the average goods rate 5s. 4d. per ton. In New Zealand the average passenger fare is 11½d. per trip, and the goods rate, including delivery charge. 7s. 4d. per ton. Now, it is manifest that if these charges were taken down to one-half, or even one-third, that a vast number of people could not pay them.
- It would certainly lead to a very large loss of revenue, as, for the reasons stated above, all short distance traffic would be practically killed. As this traffic forms fully seventy per cent, of the whole, the loss of revenue would be simply ruinous.
- It would have a most disturbing and injurious effect on land values. Owing to the fact that town residents would be able to make use of railways to a limited extent only, I should, after a time, expect a serious reduction in city real estate values, while country lands not served by railways would become practically valueless, and this again would tell very injuriously on the general revenue and prosperity.

What the universal fare would mean would be a present gain to those country districts where railways exist, but as this would be at the expense of the cities and districts not served by railways, the gain could only be a temporary one. The present system is very unfair to the country, and has well nigh ruined it. The cities are now feeling the effects of the wrong done to the country, but we must not rush into the other extreme, or we shall produce equally disastrous results.

The idea of one universal charge is very attractive, and at first sight appears fair, but it will not bear closely looking into, and for the reasons stated I believe it ought to be carefully guarded against. By working by stages, the length of these stages being determined by the density of population they pass through, and from time to time—as circumstances will allow—removing these stages, we should ultimately arrive practically at the same result without having the same disturbing influences to contend with. Under existing circumstances, I believe the universal fare would lead to many and great evils.

It is difficult, indeed impossible, for anyone to foresee what the effect of the sudden adoption of one universal transit charge would lead to. What I should expect would be that a large number of country residents would immediately crowd into and around the great centres, and that as short-distance traffic could undoubtedly be performed more cheaply by other means, the work of the railways would to a large extent be destroyed. There would probably be a temporary, but not a lasting, increase of railway business.

## The Basis of Rating.

My contention is that what is called the *basis of rating* is utterly wrong in principle. Railway experts claim that railways ought to be private property, and that they have the right to base their charges on the cost of service—that is, special cost of service—and *the mile*, and as to the amount of charge, they claim that they have the right to take '*what the traffic will bear*'; that is to say, all they can possibly get.

On the other hand I claim

- That all railways ought to be State owned and controlled, and used primarily for the purpose of enabling people to live on and profitably use land.  
In this and some other of the Australasian colonies where the railways have been placed in the hands of absolutely irresponsible Commissioners, we have the worst possible form of private ownership, while the Government is responsible for all loss made and all money due. In New Zealand we are especially badly off, as the vile differential rating system is legalised and in full operation.
- That the basis of rating ought to be *average* cost of service, and the density of the location of population through which the service runs.
- That the charge to the public should be cut down to the lowest possible limit.

In order to bring this change about I propose to absolutely abolish mileage and differential rating, and instead to reckon all fares and rates by stages. The length of these stages to be determined by the density of the population they pass through.

The way in which I propose to apply this system in New Zealand is now well known in these colonies, and to many people outside of them, but I have not so far published how I would adapt it to older and more settled countries like England and Continental Europe. For this purpose I now select that portion of the

## London and North Western Line

from London to Manchester. I propose to divide this 186 miles into twenty-two stages, these I would fix at each town of 3,000 or more inhabitants. Reckoning on the basis of the population as it was located in 1882, and starting from London, the stages would be placed thus: 1, Harrow; 2, Bushey; 3, Watford; 4, Boxmoore; 5, Berkhamstead; 6, Tring; 7, Leighton; 8, Northampton; 9, Rugby; 10, Nuneaton; 11, Atherstone; 12, Tamworth; 13, Litchfield; 14, Rugely Junction; 15, Stafford; 16, Madely; 17, Crewe; 18, Sandbach; 19, Wilmsboro'; 20, Cheadle Hulm; 21, Stockport; 22, Manchester.

I propose to have only two classes of passengers (first and second), and to make the charge 4d. for first, and 2d. for second class, *for the whole or any portion of any one of these stages*. As regards goods traffic, I propose to reduce the classification to four classes, with an additional one for dangerous goods, my contention being that there is no need whatever for the present complication which has been brought about simply in the effort to extract from the users of railways '*all that the traffic will bear*.' Parcel traffic and season tickets would also be arranged on the same basis.

It will be seen that, in arranging the above system of stages, no regard whatever has been paid to the mile, the idea being, as previously stated, to regulate the charge by the density of the population the stages pass through. We take no account of mileage when we post a letter or despatch a telegram, or start on a sea voyage, why should we when we take a railway passenger-ticket or forward a ton of goods? I propose to readjust the stages after every census is taken. This, if no alteration were made in the *stage rate*, and the number of stages were increased, would of course increase the through rate, but it is manifest that if the number of stages were increased the stage rate could be proportionately decreased, and thus the through rate would remain the same.

## Financial Results.

When considering this portion of the question it is necessary to bear in mind that, although the proposed stage fares are only 4d. and 2d., that charge is made *for the whole or any portion of a stage*, and thus, although the through fare from London to Manchester would only be, first class, 7s. 4d., and second class, 3s. 8d., yet as there are forty-six stopping stations on that portion of the line, it is possible, by a change of passengers from station to station for each first class seat to earn, for the through journey, 15s. 4d., and each second class seat 7s. 8d. On an even mileage rate the through fare is all that can be earned.

I am not aware of what is the average distance travelled by passengers on this line, but think it safe to assume that, under the proposed fares, it would extend to at least such a distance as would pass three stages and enter upon a fourth. This, I estimate, would yield an average fare of elevenpence (11d.), so that we should require to increase the number of fares taken by from 30 to 33 per cent., in order to get the same gross financial result that was obtained in 1882, when the average fare was a fraction over one shilling and twopence (1s. 2d.). I think there can be doubt about this result being very largely exceeded. Since the above calculations were made and sent to England for publication, the Hungarian Zone system has come into force. Viewed in the light of that

experiment I should expect the proposed new system to fully double the gross revenue, and probably at no increase of cost.

Great as I confidently expect the financial success of the new system will be, I yet believe, it will be but as 'the small dust of the balance' compared with the social revolution it will bring about, and it is for this that I have worked.

## Effect on Land Values.

One of the first effects of the adoption of the new system I should expect to be *the restoration of land values*. And what would this mean? Land values are the basis of every other kind of value. On what does the security for Life Insurance policies, Bank Deposits, accumulated savings of every kind rest, if not on land values, and if the depreciation in these, that has been going on for years past is to continue, what is to be the result?

This depreciation is universal throughout the civilised world, and it demands our serious consideration. Various reasons have been assigned. The favourite one in England is the competition of America and the colonies, but if this were the cause, how is it that land has depreciated in value in these countries also? The fact is, that where there is a universal result there must be a universal cause, and there is no use in seeking for it in any local one. Land being the greatest interest in the world, it must be some very great cause that can so seriously effect it. What is there large enough? I say again nothing except its railways; and it is impossible to doubt that the right or wrong administration of an institution costing £6,000,000,000 and directly dealing with the transit of the world's people and products, must have an enormous influence for good or for evil. If wrongly administered it must depreciate land values, if rightly dealt with it must increase them.

We do not enough consider the fact that *everything exists by motion*, and that without motion there is not, there cannot be, any life. If, therefore, we bar the flow of trade, commerce, and social intercourse by the interposition of a turnpike at every mile, what can we expect but a decrease in land values, and consequently a decrease in the value of in *every* other thing. These invisible turnpikes clearly limit the profitable uses to which land can be applied, and therefore limit its value, and also limit the employment of labour.

But why should the new system restore land values? Because, by removing the turnpikes and regulating the stages as proposed, it would encourage population to spread over the land, and more especially over the thinly populated portions of it. It would no longer be necessary for all our great factories to be crowded in or around a few great cities, and consequently the labour employed in them could live on land, and their presence, and the presence of those that would follow them, would give it value. For instance, in the distance from London to Manchester instead of 186 of these invisible turnpikes there would be but 22. The effect of the removal of the 164 would be magical. The impulse given to trade and commerce would probably be more than equal to that given by the introduction of railways.

Seeing that all wealth is produced by the application of labour to land, or to the products of the land, it is manifest that any transit system that will enable labour to move to and fro freely, and that will enable population to spread over the land, must add largely to land-values and to the public wealth, and that the stage system would do this admits of no doubt.

Some people are apprehensive that the stage system will injuriously affect the owners of land situated within a radius of say fifteen miles round the chief cities. They argue that it will destroy their existing monopoly, and thus depreciate the value of their lands. These gentlemen forget that they adduce one of the strongest arguments in favour of its introduction, for what right have they to this monopoly at the expense of the community generally? They, however, are quite mistaken as to the effect on the value of their land. There is no land that it would so much and so rapidly increase in value.

One of the first effects would be to cause all that class of land to be very greatly subdivided and taken up for residence sites. Under the stage system every clerk and workman could have their little patch of land, and have their patch they would. This would give to this class of land a value it could not possibly obtain as *farm land*. What then would happen? Why, these small farms would be pushed out into the next fifteen or twenty miles, and so the value of that land would be raised. These, again, would push the farmers proper further out, close up to the sheep and cattle runs. It would simply mean *a pushing out of the people* and the creation of an enormous trade for our railways and great seaports, and thus the value of land would be raised everywhere to the great advantage of the whole community. There can be no doubt that this would be the result.

## What We Really Want

in railway working is such a system as will practically make those lands that are situated 150 or 200 miles away from a market as available as land 10 miles away. This can be done by the stage system, but never by the

mileage system; for under the stage system the distant man would only be seven or eight removes from his market, instead of 150 to 200 removes as now. The difference in the price of the land would compensate for the seven or eight removes.

We want a truly national transit system, one that shall meet the wants and requirements of *the whole people*. Our system does not provide for the wants of one-fourth of the community, hence its utter failure, financially and socially.

No man having a family to provide for, and an income of less than £300 a year, can afford to use our railways, except to a very limited extent. This cuts out the whole artizan and labouring classes, shopmen, clerks, small shopkeepers, small farmers, and numerous others. What I say is this: that this vast mass can only use our railways very occasionally, and to a very limited extent, while a very large portion of it would, if it could, make very great use of them.

We want, and must have, *a system that will develop the trade, that lies hidden among the great bulk of the people*. This I say is a very easy matter, and our railway administrators must have been simple indeed not to have seen how to do it long ago.

We want, and badly want, cheap transit; but we want far more—an *equalisation of transit charges*, on a fair and just basis.

We want a system that will open up, not close, our great producing districts, a system that will enable the distant farmer to bring or send his produce to market without having all his profit eaten up in transit charges.

We want a system that will enable the city artizan, clerk, or labourer to make use of his special knowledge or strength in a town or district 100 or 300 miles away from the city he may happen to find himself jammed up in.

We want a system of *fixed charges*, a system that will enable our producers and manufacturers to calculate accurately the cost of their various productions, and that will enable them to erect their factories in those situations that nature has pointed out as most suitable for their requirements.

We want a simple system that can be understood by everybody, a system under which it shall no longer be necessary to 'inquire at the station for your rate,' but under which everyone will know what he has to pay, and will have to pay, for the same service for several years to come.

We want a system that shall reverse the present order of things, and make our railways act as *distributors of population and wealth*, instead of concentrators of wealth into the hands of a few families, and population in a few great cities.

In short we want a system that shall practically annihilate distance as regards the cost of transit of passengers and goods; a system that will meet the requirements of every class, the poorest as well as the richest; a system that shall be thoroughly clear of the trickery, fraud, and mystery of the present one; a system that will go on ever widening instead of contracting its sphere of beneficial action; a system that, instead of showing a yearly increasing loss, shall show a yearly increasing gain, both directly and indirectly, and one that shall add to our happiness and prosperity instead of to our misery and poverty as the present system does.

## How We can Get it.

In my opinion there is only one remedy for the existing evils, and that is to reduce railway administration to *a system*; to make all fares and rates fixed, and only alterable, like the postal rates, by the sanction of Parliament; and to absolutely abolish all mileage and differential rating. Can this be done? I say, Yes, and easily. There is no reason whatever why the rate for carrying a ton of potatoes should not be fixed as easily as the rate for an ounce of mail matter. The system on which I would do this in thinly populated countries will be best illustrated by the following

## Diagram of Auckland Lines,

which shows the proposed stages throughout this section, with the mileages, and the present and proposed passenger fares. All goods and parcels rates, and season tickets, would be reckoned by the same stages. The charge would be the same for each stage, no matter what its length, and it would also be the same for the whole or any portion of a stage.

PRESENT FARES. MILES AND STAGES. PROPOSED FARES- FIRST. SECOND. FIRST. SECOND.  
9/2 6/2 KAUKAPAKAPA 2/6 1/8 44 6/1 4/1 WAIMAUKU 2/- ¼ 29 4/7 3/1 TAUPAKI 1/6 1/- . 22 2/11 2/-  
HENDERSON 1/- 8d 14 1/- 9d MOUNT ALBERT 6d 4d 7 AUCKLAND 1/- 9d PENROSE 6d 4d 6 3/2 2/1  
MANUREWA 1/- 8d 15 4/7 3/1 DRURY 1/6 1/- 22 6/6 4/4 PUKEKOHE 2/- ¼ 30 TE AROHA 3/- 2/- 115  
17/9 11/10 FRANKTON 2/6 1/8 85 21/1 14/1—CAMBRIDGE 3/- 2/- 101 27/11 18/8 OXFORD 3/. 2/- 134  
26/3 17/6 TE KUITI. 3/- 2/- 126 30/3 20/2 LICHFIELD 3/6 2/4 146

This system was designed not so much for revenue purposes as for *distribution*. By distributing the burden of transit charges through the various districts in proportion to their ability to bear the strain, my contention is that we shall largely promote land settlement, shall create a large body of small landed proprietors, and thus by the distribution of land and population we shall bring about by natural means a more equal distribution of wealth and a very great increase of commercial prosperity and social happiness. This ought to be the great aim of practical politics. It is only by this means that we can hope to divert the social disasters that now appear likely to overwhelm the world.

A glance at the above diagram will show the great advantage given to such towns as Frankton, Te Kuiti, Te Aroha, Cambridge, Oxford, and Lichfield. It will be seen that each of these could supply large districts at very small transit charges. This surely will make them receiving and distributing centres, and lead to their development. We should thus create a number of small local markets for the surrounding farmers, and also make trading centres for our railways and seaport towns. I have little doubt that the development of trade and commerce that would follow would far exceed the most sanguine anticipations of the warmest supporters of the proposed reform. The object as stated being distribution and a fair adjustment of the burden of transit charges, it follows that the protection given to these thinly populated districts *must be only temporary*—the present system is to give *permanent* protection to the great cities—and hence the overcrowding. I therefore propose that the position of the stages should be re-adjusted after every census is taken and fixed in accordance with the movements of the population. Thus, should, say Frankton have grown so as to contain 2,000 or more inhabitants, I would place a seven mile stage on every line running out of that town, and thus make it take a larger share of transit charges and give other weaker towns and villages a better chance of expanding. It may be objected that the interposition of these new stages would increase the through fare, but, as explained before, this need not be so; the *stage rates* may be reduced, or, if it is thought better, a corresponding number of stages can be removed from those districts most needing help.

The diagram will show more clearly, that in placing the stages but little regard has been paid to mileage distances, but they have been so arranged that in the thickly populated districts the stages are short, while in the thinly populated ones they are longer. Thus, round a large city like Auckland there would be four stages on every line out of it covering a distance of, say, twenty-eight miles to thirty miles. Had I not been tied by the necessity for producing a certain financial result, I should have preferred to fix the stages thus, starting from each large town: First stage, 7 miles; second stage, 10 miles; third stage, 15 miles; fourth stage, 25 miles; and then, unless a town of 2,000 or more inhabitants, intervened stages of 50 miles each. I propose that instead of the present inconvenient system of issuing tickets from the stations only, that railway tickets and stamps should be sold at every shop holding a license to do so, and that these tickets and stamps should be available for the payment of passenger fares, or parcel and goods rates. I also propose that the Government should be relieved of their present responsibility as carriers, and that instead an insurance department should be started in connection with the railway department, when, by payment of a small fee, either life, limb, or goods could be insured. I fail to see why the general public should insure the users of railways free of cost.

I propose that stamps of a different colour or description should be issued, which would entitle the holder to pass from a station immediately preceding a stage station to the next station beyond it, and thus save him from paying a double fare for a very short journey. The same will apply to goods traffic.

That the goods classification should be reduced to four (4) classes only, with an additional class for dangerous goods.

- Live stock, agricultural produce of all kinds, and firewood, at per truck or per ton per stage.
- Minerals, bricks, clay, sand, coal, and manures, at per truck or ton per stage.
- Timber at per 100ft. per stage.
- Merchandise of every other kind at per ton per stage.
- Dangerous goods at per stage.

That the small lots tariff be abolished, and the parcels tariff consist of four classes only, viz.: a. 14ft. and under; b. 28lb.; c. 56lb.; d. 112lb. The charge in each case being at per stage.

The stage rate for passengers, goods, and parcels to be the same in every district, no matter where or how it may be situated.

When fares and rates are once fixed, they are not to be raised for at least one year, and any alteration either up or down to be universal.

My anticipation is, that after the first year's trial we should be enabled so to fix the rates that they would not again require to be altered for several years, and that those alterations would always be in the direction of lower charges.

The following is the proposed tariff of charges for passengers, goods, and parcels, on the Auckland lines:

## Tariff of Fares and Rates for the Auckland Section.

All fares and rates are reckoned from STAGE STATION to STAGE STATION, and are payable for the whole or any intermediate portion of the distance.

To find your fare or your rate, count the number of stage stations you require to pass, and the station you wish to arrive at, and multiply the rate by that number.

### Examples.

Second-class passenger fare from Auckland to Pukekohe, four stages, 4 by 4d., 1s. 4d.

Helensville to Mercer, ten stages, 10 by 4d., 3s. 4d.

Class A, truck from Auckland to Taupiri, five stages, 5 by 4s., 20s.

### Goods Rates.

- Class A, 4s. per truck per stage.
- Class B, 1s. per ton per stage.
- Class C, 3d. per 100 feet per stage.
- Class D, 2s. 6d. per ton per stage.

NOTE.—The prices quoted for goods are merely given to show the system of charging. It is my opinion that very much lower rates can be fixed.

### Parcels Rates.

A, 1d. per stage; B, 2d.; C, 3d.; D, 4d.

### Passenger's Fares.

First-class, 6d. per stage; second-class, 4d.

NOTE.—The names of stage stations are printed in capitals.

### Miles.

- 44 Kaukapakapa
- 45 Pukanui
- 46 40 Mount Rex
- 47 38 Helensville
- 38 Helensville South
- 36 Ohirangi
- 37 35 Paeroa
- 38 33 Woodhill
- 39 31 Rewiti
- 29 Waimauku
- 30 23 Kumeu
- 22 Taupaki
- 20 Waitakerei
- 17 Swanson
- 14 Henderson
- 11 Waikomiti
- 10 New Lynn
- 8 Avondale
- 7 Mount Albert
- 5 Morningside
- 5 Kingsland
- 4 Mount Eden
- 2 Newmarket Junction
- Auckland
- 2 Newmarket

- 3 Remuera
- 4 Greenlane
- 5 Ellerslie
- 6 Penrose
- 6 Te Papapa Onehunga Branch
- 8

Passengers from any station on the Onehunga branch are entitled to travel to or from Auckland or Manurewa for one stage fare only

Onehunga Onehunga Branch

- 6 Westfield
- 9 Otahuhu
- 11 Papatoetoe
- 16 Manurewa
- 17 19 Papakura
- 22 Hunua
- 23 Drury
- 24 Runciman
- 25 28 Paerata
- 31 Pukekohe
- 32 33 Buckland
- 35 Tuakau
- 40 Whangarata
- 41 40 Pokeno
- 43 Mercer
- 50 Whangamarino
- 54 Wairangi
- 56 Rangiriri
- 59 Ohinewai
- 65 Huntly
- 69 Taupiri
- 74 Ngaruawahia
- 78 Pukete
- 81 Te Rapa
- 85 Frankton Junction

## **Cambridge, Te Aroha, and Rotorua Branch Lines**

- 86 Wamilton West
- 86 Hamilton East
- 89 Ruakura Junction
- 90 0 Mongaonui
- 93 Tamahere
- 97 Fencourt
- 98 Hautapu
- 99 101 Cambridge
- 94 Eureka
- 99 Motumaoho
- 100 103 Morrinsville
- 101 105 Murray's
- 107 Tatua o Haua
- 108 101 Waitoa
- 113 Waihou
- 115 Te Aroha
- 109 Kiwitahi
- 110 114 Walton
- 111 118 Waharoa
- 112 122 Matamata
- 113 127 Mangawhara

- 114 131 Okoroire
- 134 Oxford
- 137 Taumangi
- 140 Putaruru Junction
- 145 Lichfield
- 90 Rukuhia
- 94 Ohaupo
- 96 Lake Road
- 99 Ngaroto
- 100 Te Awamutu
- 103 Te Puhi
- 107 Kawa
- 112 Kiokio
- 115 Otorohanga
- 120 Hangatiki
- 124 Te Kumi
- 126 Te Kuiti

Such is a brief outline of the scheme I propose to introduce. There are, of course, many details to fill in, but they need not be mentioned here. Its manifold advantages in promoting the settlement of land, and the development of trade and commerce have never been disputed. The railway officials have contented themselves with the simple assertion that what I propose is impossible of accomplishment. This was only to be expected. They cling tenaciously to the great power that the present complicated and secret system gives them. It is one of the last things that they will part with willingly.

## Financial Results.

The following table gives a further illustration of the present and proposed fares:—

At first sight it would appear that the immense reductions proposed meant financial ruin, and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that this was the ground first taken up by the officers of the department and their friends. Still they ought to have understood the principles involved; and viewed in the light of events, the statements they then made, and still cling to, are, to say the least, somewhat amusing.

My statement was, and is, that if *only two* passengers were obtained where one is under the present system, that then the railway revenue would be increased. This statement was fiercely contested. It was said that, as my fares were reduced in every stage, the laws of arithmetic were against me, and that therefore my statement could not be true. I replied that the explanation of the apparent anomaly was very easy, and consisted in the fact that the average passenger fare when the new system was proposed was  $11\frac{1}{2}$  s., and that under my system it would not be less than one shilling. This the officers of the department would not allow.

In 1886 a Parliamentary committee, consisting of the Hon. Sir Harry Atkinson (ex-Premier), the Minister for Public Works, three ex-Ministers for Public Works, and five other well-known members of Parliament, were appointed to enquire into this matter. The financial portion of the question was very fully argued out, and will be found reported in N.Z. Parliamentary Paper I.—9, 1886. I appeared before this committee, and conducted the case on my own side. The enquiry extended over nearly ten weeks, and ended in the committee reporting that the new system ought to be tried.

To test my statement that only two fares were required for one obtained now, Mr. A. C. Fife, the Accountant to the Railway Department, was ordered to prepare a table showing the actual bookings of passengers at various distances, with amounts of money they paid, and was further to say what number of passengers must have travelled under my system—supposing it to have been actually running—in order to have produced the same amount of revenue. This table will be found in full on page 89 of Parliamentary Paper I.—9, 1886. The total result is as follows:

NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS. Summary of Passengers carried on the Auckland Section under different Stages (Helensville to Morrinsville) for the Twelve Months ended 31st March, 1886. Total Number of Passengers carried at Government Fares. Total Revenue. Number of Passengers computed to give the same Revenue at Mr. Vaile's Fares. Equal Number of each Class. Two 1st Class to one 2nd. 424,914 £39,909 17 2 817,454 766,373 Accountant's Office, Wellington A. C. FIFE, Accountant.

These are not my figures, they are those of the Department, and they fully prove the soundness of my calculation, for twice 424,914 is 849,828, while I only require 817,454, giving me a surplus of 32,374 fares. It is now generally admitted that my finance is right, but the railway officials and their friends assert that the low fares proposed would not secure two fares where one is taken now. Well, it is all that is left for them to say.

They have been fairly beaten on every other point, and this one cannot be absolutely settled until it is tried. The Hungarian experiment, that on the Whangarei- Kamo line, and the little trial now going on in Melbourne must prove to any unprejudiced mind that I shall be right in this particular also. I have not the slightest doubt that we should secure at least four or five for every one now, and this would mean an addition to our New Zealand net railway revenue of from £400,000 to £500,000 per annum.

The table quoted above reveals many interesting facts, and is worthy of careful study. It gives the number of travellers at various distances, with the amount of money they paid. Among other things, it shows that—

The total number of passengers that travelled on the Auckland lines during 1885-86 was 424,914, and the gross amount they paid was £39,909. Of this number 292,949 travelled distances of 10 miles and under, and paid £9,596. They represented the city population, and formed 68.8 per cent, of the whole; they, however, paid only 24 per cent, of the revenue.

Travellers of over 10 miles and not exceeding 50 miles numbered 107,202, and they paid £15,647. They represented the most favoured of the farmer class as regards railway rating, and formed 25.2 per cent, of the whole, but they paid 39.2 per cent, of the revenue.

The unfortunates who had to travel over 50 miles numbered only 24,762, and they had to pay £14,666. Thus only 5.8 per cent, of the travellers paid 36.7 per cent, of the whole revenue.

It must be remembered that all goods rates are levied on the same system. Is it any wonder that people crowd down upon the cities? Is it possible for them to do anything else? Can we ever settle the country and develop its resources under such a system?

I commend these facts to the consideration of my country friends. A great effort has been made lately to convince them that they will secure an advantage over the cities if they obtain cheap mileage rates for manures, produce, and stock. Can any such reductions redress the wrong pointed out?

The railways of the colony belong to the whole people. Why then should 292,949 colonists be able to reach their homes and transact their business for a payment of £9,596, while another 24,762, or say one-twelfth of the number, had to pay £14,666. I am not arguing for the universal fare, but I say that a discrepancy like this is not only a grievous injustice, but, as a financial arrangement, is as silly and unsound as it possibly can be.

My readers in all other countries, with the exception of Hungary, will do well to remember that precisely the same state of things exists with them. My contention is, that it is owing to this grievous and unjust burden *imposed on the country—the producing districts throughout the world*—that we have so much commercial distress, so much social discord, so many and such frequently-recurring trade depressions. There will never be any real permanent progress until the railway transit system is reformed.

This table also shows how hopelessly at sea all the chief officers of the department were in the matter of finance. The question of financial success or otherwise depended on the answers to three questions:—1. Would two fares be taken for one taken now? 2. Would the average fare reach one shilling? 3. Would there be any great increase in the cost of carrying two passengers instead of one?

The officers' statement was that my system could not prove a financial success, because, they said—

- That for the distances the bulk of the people travelled over—ten miles and under—I proposed to *increase* not decrease the fares.
- That for this reason it was impossible that I could secure two fares where one is taken now.
- That my average fare could not possibly reach one shilling, and consequently that two fares for one would not give the required result.
- That, no matter what the inducements given, people would not travel.
- That carrying two passengers for one would vastly increase the working expenses.

In 1885, Mr. Maxwell, General Manager, was ordered to report on my system.

His report forms Parliamentary Paper D—3, 1885. In it he states clearly and distinctly that my proposals, "if adopted, would involve an *excessive increase in fares*" for more than *one-third of the journeys taken*, and he seeks to establish his position by comparing a purely imaginary and fictitious season-ticket fare with my ordinary fares.

As regards ordinary fares, he as clearly states that "by far the larger proportion are for distances under ten miles, for which Mr. Vaile's proposals provide either increased fares or fares not very materially differing from those prevailing." He further states that to Onehunga I propose to charge is first-class and 8d. second, when I have never proposed any other fares for this distance than 6d. and 4d.: and he makes many other statements equally truthful.

This, then, is Mr. Maxwell's statement in support of their first contention.

Mr. Hannay, Sub-Manager, in the most unqualified manner stated (491A

The references are to the minutes of evidence taken by the Parliamentary Committee. (See N.Z. Parliamentary Paper I—9, 1886.)

), "Twenty per cent, of passengers—that is, five miles and under—are not reduced"; and further on led the

committee to believe that no reduction was made for "*half of the passengers travelling now.*"

Mr. Grant stated (173) that up "to three miles our scale is under Mr. Vaile's; up to five miles I do not think there is so much advantage as would increase our traffic at all."

Mr. Hudson stated (335) "for the three-mile journey the fares would be somewhat more than they now are."

A reference to the table on page 86 will show that their own statement is that for distances of ten miles and under 292,949 people travelled and paid £9,596, and that I should require 468,120 fares to produce the same result.

What becomes of Mr. Maxwell's statement? If I make no reduction, but, as he states, *increase* the fares, how comes it that according to their own showing I require 175,171 more fares to make up the same amount of money?

For distances of five miles and under, Mr. Fife says 150,299 travelled, and that I should require 222,315. What becomes of Mr. Hannay's statement? Why do I require an extra 72,016 fares if no reduction is made?

For distances of three miles and under, Mr. Fife says 55,518 people travelled, and that I should require 66,880 to produce the same amount of revenue. What becomes of Messrs. Grant and Hudson's statements? Why do I want the extra 11,362?

How is it that these gentlemen were so completely astray? They had their own tariffs before them; they had my tariff; and on every line and to every station in the colony it showed a large reduction, except in one instance, and that showed no increase. [See pages 56 and 57.] Their statement was not correct in any one particular.

The first and second statements of the officers of the department, therefore, on the showing of their own accountant, completely fall to the ground.

As to my average fare, Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay alone gave evidence.

On page 21, paragraphs 27 to 29A, will be found an elaborate attempt on the part of Mr. Maxwell to prove that my average fare for ten miles and under could not be more than 4½; and for over ten miles, he says, "it is most unlikely that so high an average as 1s. and 1½d. could be reached." He also deliberately makes this statement, "*and in the country districts the average fare for fifty miles is only 4½d*"

As the whole question of the financial result of the application of the new system depends on what would be the average fare under it, it is important to note that we have Mr. Maxwell's statement:

- That the average fare for distances of ten miles and under could not be more than 4½d.
- That for all distances of over ten miles it was "most unlikely" that it could average as high as 1s. 1½d.
- That in the country districts it would only average 4½d. *for fifty miles.*

Mr. Hannay stated (491 A) that the average rate for half of all the passengers travelling now "cannot be more than 5d.," and that "I do not think the average fare will be 1s."

Mr. Hannay further stated that the average fare for nine miles and under could not be more than 5d., and he did not think the general average could be 1s.

On my side I produced as evidence Messrs. W. Corners, R. W. Moody, T. D. Edmonds, all railway men of large experience. Their evidence was as follows:

Mr. W. Conyers (769, 770, 818, and in numerous other places), stated in the most positive manner (979) that "it (the average fare) cannot sink below 1s."

Mr. T. D. Edmonds also stated that the average could not be less than 1s. (1001, 1065, 1105, and in other answers).

Mr. R. W. Moody gave evidence to the same effect (1119, 1120, 1135, 1170).

Mr. James Stoddart, formerly of the Great Western, and in charge of the Swindon district, was too ill to attend committee, but he also signed a statement that my average fare could not sink below 1s.

My own statement with reference to the average fare was—

- That the general average could not be less than 1s.
- That the average for seven miles and under would not be less than 5d. [Page 58, paragraphs 28-30.]
- That the average fare for the eight to ten miles distance could not sink below 8d. [Page 58, paragraphs 28-30.]

This is what Mr. A. C. Fife, *their own accountant*, has, in the table given above, proved to be *the actual facts*:

- That the general average fare in 1886, based on the average distance then travelled (thirteen miles only), would be elevenpence three farthings (11¾d.).
- That the average fare for all distances not exceeding seven miles would be 5.15d.
- That the average for seven to ten mile distances would be 8.57d.
- That the average for all distances of ten miles and under would be 5.66d.
- That the average fare for all distances over ten miles would be 1s. 5¾d.

Thus it will be seen that the table produced by the Accountant of the Railway Department showing actual

results obtained in 1886 proves that my financial calculations were absolutely correct, and that I and my friends had arrived at sound conclusions, while the heads of the Department were most hopelessly astray.

The superiority of the new system as regards the important point of simplicity will be apparent from the following comparison:

Under the present system on the Auckland lines alone, including tariff rates and differential rates, there must be at least from 250,000 to 300,000 different goods rates; but if we adhere to tariff rates only (there would be no differential rates under the new system), the comparison will work out thus:

## Why the New System is Not Tried.

My readers will naturally say, if this new system is so good why does not the department adopt it at once? My reply is that the railway men dread its great simplicity. They know that its adoption means a deathblow to the railway *rating* expert. Again I ask my readers not to confuse him with the railway *traffic* expert; he is a very different class of man. This is he who has charge of our life and limbs, and the safe transport of our property, and to whom we are deeply indebted.

The railway rating expert is probably the greatest enemy of mankind that ever came into the world. He delights in mystery, and piles up complications, in order that he may work in secret and extract from the users of the great highways 'what the traffic will bear.' His great object is to popularise his railway, and 'pluck all the feathers he can from the goose without making it squeal.' So, as 'the goose squeals' he takes a halfpenny off here and puts a penny on there as 'the traffic will bear it': and thus he keeps up an eternal game of see-saw. To successfully work such a system requires great adepts, and hence their enormous power, their immense salaries. This system he can only work in secret, and hence he hates simplicity. It is only those who have carefully and laboriously studied the railway problem who can form the slightest conception of the power wielded by the railway rating expert. We need not go far for an illustration. Our Railway Commissioners have placed heavy differential rates against Oamaru, Timaru, and other ports. Their object is to destroy the trade of these ports as they have already destroyed our Waikato River traffic. What has and will be the result? The revenue of Oamaru, for instance, has been so seriously decreased that the Harbour Board has not been able to pay the interest due on its loans. How will this end? We already hear a talk of the General Government taking over all harbours and guaranteeing their loans. The result will be that

## Auckland and Wellington Ports

will lose control of their harbours, and their revenues will be taken to support Oamaru, Timaru, etc. This is one of the penalties we shall have to pay for our mad worship of a secret, irresponsible railway commission, and it shows the enormous powers the controllers of such a system wield. Such things could not be done under the stage system that I propose, which is a simple system of *fixed charges* which everyone could understand. It is impossible to believe that our Railway Commissioners really think that they are benefiting the colony by ruining its coastal and river traffic. The fact is, all they consider is what they can get for the railway, and *get now*. There is no consideration for general public interests, nor for the future. They are paid to work the railways, and they work them, regardless of consequences.

I hope it will not be thought that I accuse the rating experts of being dishonest men. Most of them really believe that no other but their own system can work; they have been trained up in it, and they contend that it fosters trade. *It is the system, and not the men, that is dishonest.* It is only natural that they should cling to the great power that it gives them.

## Have We Sufficient Population?

Fairly beaten on every point of the argument, our late Railway Commissioners say that the new system must fail in New Zealand for two reasons. First, we have not sufficient population, and second, people do not want to travel and will not travel no matter what facilities may be given or inducements offered. They stoutly affirm that two fares would not be taken where one is taken now. Of course, these are safe assertions to make seeing that nothing but actual trial can prove their incorrectness or otherwise.

In support of their first assertion they have produced elaborate papers to show, what we already knew, that New Zealand does not possess such a dense population per square mile as many other countries, and they have especially drawn comparisons between this country and Hungary. They, how-ever, have forgotten this important fact, that nearly the whole of our population is located on the sea shore and in the immediate neighbourhood of our railways, and it is probable that in relation to railways our population is more dense than that of Hungary. If we take the entire population, as shown by the census of 1891, of the following twenty-five (25) counties:—Mongonui, Whangaroa, Hokianga, Hobsou, Rodney, Otania-tea, Coromandel, Ohinemuri,

Tauranga, Whakatane, Rotorua, Kast Taupo, Waiapu, Cook, Sounds, Kaikoura, Collingwood, Inangahua, Amuri, Cheviot, Maniatoto, Vincent, Lake, Fiord, and Stewart Island, and if we add to these half the population of the Bay of Islands and Whangarei Counties, half of the Thames County and Borough, and half of the entire population of the Taranaki Province (in all these last four there are railway's running), all these united contain only ten point two (10.2) per cent, of the white population of New Zealand. This shows not only what a very small proportion of our population is removed from proximity to our railways, but it also shows what a very feeble influence they have exercised in the distribution of population.

As a matter of fact our railways were not built in the right positions to, or with the view of opening up and settling the country. They were built more with the object of competing for the existing coastal and river traffic, and that has always been the policy pursued. The first consideration was, and is, to make them pay interest on the cost of construction.

If I am asked where the population is to come from to give the requisite two fares for the one taken now, my reply is, from the seventy-five per cent, of our population who now practically make no use of our railways, but who would certainly make great use of them if they could.

Where did the population in Hungary come from to give them the three fares they now get for the one obtained under the old system? Did the Government import them? Certainly not. They were there already, and as soon as facilities were given them they moved. So it would be here. Give the people facilities and they will move fast enough. The late Commissioners and their friends deny this, and say that two fares will not be taken instead of the one now. It therefore becomes a question whose opinion should be taken, that of the two gentlemen

One of these gentlemen (Mr. Maxwell) when he first committed himself to this statement had little, if any, more knowledge of railway management than I had. It was then a new study both to him and to me.

who have been repeatedly proved to be wrong, or the opinion of the five who so far have always been found to be right. Messrs. Conyers, Stoddart, Moody, and Edmonds all in the most positive manner asserted their belief that the new system would increase the passenger traffic two hundred per cent. These are all practised and competent men, and they have thoroughly studied the new system. I also have always asserted that the least result would be an increase of two hundred per cent.

We therefore on the one side have five men who, after the most patient investigation, say that the new system for the same expenditure will increase the passenger traffic of the colony at least two hundred per cent, and, on the other, we have two officials who in all that they have written and said have given abundant proof that they know nothing about it, who say that it will mean loss of revenue and no increase of trade. Again I ask, which side is most entitled to credence? In this connection I may mention that Mr. Hannay gave evidence that on the Hurunui-Bluff section, which is two-thirds of the whole of our railways, the average number of seats occupied per carriage was seven only, whereas they were capable of carrying forty.

In view of the support given to the new system by Parliament, the Press, and the community generally, the determined opposition of the railway officials is, to say the least, remarkable, and it does not appear to arise from a regard for public interests.

Many people say to me, 'You want a thickly populated country for your system.' 'Yes,' I reply, 'London, I suppose, would be right.' 'Certainly, see the enormous population you would have to work upon; it must succeed there.' 'Yes, I believe you are right, it would succeed, but as regards finance, which is what you are thinking of, it would be a far greater success here.' Many years ago I have stood at Farringdon Street Station and watched them despatch trains at one and a-half minutes' interval, and I am told that now they are sent away every half minute. What does this mean? It means that those lines are taxed to their utmost carrying capacity, and that in order to double the traffic they must double their lines, double their rolling stock, and double their staff and working expenses.

Now in this country neither our lines nor our rolling stock are a quarter utilised, and we could easily treble our traffic without perceptibly increasing our working expenses. My system was specially designed to meet the requirements of a sparsely populated country, and in such a country it will give the best financial results.

## **Cost of Trying the Stage System.**

What would it cost to try the new system? is a question very often asked. The answer, of course, depends on how it is done. I have no hesitation in saying that if the trial is carried out honestly not only will there not be any loss, but that from the very first there will be a large profit.

My own opinion has always been that the change must first be applied to passenger traffic if loss of revenue is to be avoided, and for these reasons:—First: You must have producers before you can have products—goods; therefore the first care should be to enable your producer to get to and from his land. Second: A reduction in goods rates, unless there was a corresponding increase in production, must lead to loss of

revenue. Third: In order to induce that increased production by a reduction in goods rates only; that reduction must be a very great one, and no matter how great it might be, it could not have any appreciable effect for a considerable time, so that in any case commencing with goods must mean loss of revenue for a considerable time, probably two years at least.

On the other hand, if the change is first made with passenger fares it will lead to an immediate increase of revenue, because the passengers are here on the spot, and ready to move almost any number of times if sufficient inducement is offered them. This has been proved to be the case in Hungary where the passenger revenue was at once doubled. There also they did not attempt to apply their "zone" system to goods traffic until they had tried it on passenger traffic for three years.

If, then, it was applied to passenger traffic on the Auckland lines, and run for a whole year, it would work out like this. It has been proved, as far as it is possible to prove anything from figures and theory, that under the stage system the average fare would be at least is.; under the present system last year it was 1s. 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.; the total ordinary passenger revenue of this section being £36,590. Therefore, if the enormous reductions proposed did not lead to one extra passenger being carried the loss could not reach £18,300, while, if the increase only amounted to 50 per cent. instead of 200 per cent, as estimated, the loss would not reach £9,150, and against this there would be the great saving in working the simpler system.

I think we could do the same amount of work under the new system that is now done on the New Zealand Railways for at least from £100,000 to £150,000 per annum less than the present cost. The outside risk to the country would be a distant possibility of losing £10,000. I again say that from the first week there would be a large profit made.

## The Control of Our Railways.

The question of how our railways should be controlled is one of vast importance, and to it I have given a large amount of earnest thought and consideration, and may as well say at once that I have arrived at the conclusion that *direct Parliamentary control is the only proper form of government*. This is not a mere impression, but a thorough conviction formed after most careful study and extensive reading.

In dealing with such a vast interest as the railways of the country it is not possible to devise any form of control that will not be open to some objections, but I say that under Parliamentary control the public is least exposed to danger, and without hesitation I say that it would not be possible to invent any form of government so full of peril to the best interests of the community, or one that will more certainly lead to direful results than the present system of irresponsible control. It appears to me that the very demon of madness must have seized the people of Victoria when they conceived the idea of handing over such vast interests to irresponsible men; but mad as they were, we were worse. They took some small safeguards for the public. Our Government Railways Act of 1887 is simply a contemptible abandonment of every public right. I have always regarded it as a national disgrace, as the act of men who were not able to rise to the occasion and deal with a difficulty.

It is worth while to pause and consider what this railway interest really is. Our railways, then, mean the great highways of the country, the channels along which its trade, commerce, and social intercourse must flow. To construct these highways has cost us over 15<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> millions. That is their paid-up capital. This represents over two and a-half times the paid-up capital of all the six banks doing business not only here, but in numerous other countries. It is only a million short of all their assets; it is one and a-half times all their deposits; it is three times the value of all the land, buildings, and plant employed in all our industries, the frozen meat industry included; it produces more than one-quarter of our gross revenue; it causes a third of our expenditure; it employs more than half our civil servants; and it is not too much to say, that directly and indirectly it employs one-half of our community and absolutely controls the other half.

Such is this vast department which, with so little thought, we have handed over to three irresponsible men to deal with just as they please. To suppose that such an act was necessary in the interests of the public is a libel on our intelligence.

I have carefully read the letters which appeared in the "Christchurch Press," and those in the pamphlet issued in Otago bearing on this subject, and hope I shall not be thought disrespectful, or accused of egotism, if I say that this great question is not to be dealt with by men whose only knowledge of railway administration is that which they have gained as "great users" of the lines. It was a very easy matter for the Commissioners to secure the approbation of this class by giving them a few small concessions, and this appears to have been done. I notice that the writers of these letters do not appear to know the difference between railway management and the policy that should govern that management. It is the question of policy, that portion of the work which in England and America is performed in the board-rooms, that I have dealt with.

I object to irresponsible control because it is utterly contrary to the spirit of British institutions. As Englishmen we claim the right to manage our own affairs, and to institute the most minute inquiries as to how

our public servants discharge their duties. By the Act of 1887, at one sweep, the people of this colony were deprived of all right to challenge the actions of more than half its civil servants. I need give no better proof of this than what occurred last session. In a printed letter circulated through Parliament I charged the Commissioners with abuse of their powers, and cited their own figures in proof of my statement. That letter was sent to the Commissioners by the Premier. Instead of attempting to reply, they contented themselves with heaping upon me personal abuse. It is the old story: 'No case; abuse the plaintiff's counsel.' If a Royal Commission of inquiry were set up it would be just the same, they would set it at defiance.

I object to irresponsible board management because it places half of our civil servants in a different position from the other half, and creates a separate and distinct interest in the community, which will soon develop into powerful proportions. We have an instance already of what it may mean in the demand of the employees that the Government should pay £1 for £1 to their Insurance Fund. This irresponsible system, too, means giving two or three men the power to ruin any district or any individual user of the railways. It also stops all reform in administration, as witness the determined opposition of our Commissioners to any measure of reform. Irresponsible board management has proved a disastrous failure in Victoria, where it has been longest on trial, and is fast breaking down in the other countries that have adopted it. Perhaps the most fatal objection to this form of government is its demoralising effect on the community and on Parliament. We already see its effect on the community in the fact that it is now almost impossible to induce either the people or the Press to devote any attention to railway matters. They say, and naturally enough, that it is no use, they cannot in any way command or interfere with the Commissioners, and people do not like to go on bended knees to their own highly paid servants. As to its effect on Parliament, the Railway Department is by far the largest and most important Government department. As such it ought to command the most constant, careful, and minute inspection and supervision by the Government of the country. If it is right to place such a department in the hands of irresponsible men, why not place all the other and less important departments in irresponsible hands also. In short, why not set up a despotism at once. That is the logical outcome of such a system, and one would imagine is what its originators aimed at.

If all the departments were administered by irresponsible boards the only thing Parliament would have to do would be to meet and endorse their actions; but what kind of a Parliament would it be, and what kind of people.

Another serious objection to the irresponsible system is the way it practically gags the Press. Prior to the establishment of the Commission the Press took keen, active interest in railway matters, but of late years it has taken no notice of the action of our railway controllers, and no wonder after what has happened in the Speight-Syms libel cases.

The excuse for placing our railways under an irresponsible board was that it would remove them from political influence. At the time I pointed out that it really meant placing them under the very worst form of political influence, that is to say, under the influence of a political party. This was furiously denied at the time; but is it denied now? It is to be earnestly hoped that during next session an act will be passed absolutely repealing the Government Railways Act of 1887, and reverting to the old position. I believe that this would be the first step towards a better state of things. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to remove railways from political influence, therefore let us have that influence openly. It seems to me curious that while all the older countries, after sixty years' experience of private ownership, are clamouring for more direct governmental control, we should have legislated to bring about all the worst forms of private control.

## Concluding Remarks.

It is now twelve years since I conceived the idea of trying to reform railway administration, and from then till now, almost without exception, I have devoted the hours from 7 to 12 p.m. every evening to the study of railway questions and fighting this battle. I am very deeply impressed with the vast importance of the subject, and have felt that nothing short of entire devotion to it could effect any real good. What is said in the foregoing pages is the result of this prolonged study, and the views expressed are carefully formed opinions, not mere impressions.

My great aim is to so alter existing conditions that all those who want a piece of land can obtain it under such conditions as will enable them to make profitable use of it, and obtain it by fair and right means, without taking from those that have.

What the poor man has to dread, and the rich man too—if he only knew it—is not the landlord; it is the *small, number of landlords* that is his danger. If their number were increased a thousand-fold they would lose their power, for they could not then lock up the land as they do now. *What we want, if possible, is to make every man the owner of his own freehold, then all would be interested in maintaining law, order, and the rights of property.* The poverty and misery in the world is a disgrace to the age, and I say again, that the only way to

permanently relieve it is to enable all who wish to do so to live on land.

I appeal to those of my fellow colonists and my readers generally who agree with me in the views I take to help me in this matter, and to agitate this question to the utmost extent of their power. A reform like this can only come from the people. A perusal of the history of the movement, as recorded on pages 9 to 12, will show that previous Ministries on both sides of the House have strenuously opposed this reform. What the present Ministry will do in the matter remains to be seen.

## **Mr. J. P. Maxwell's Report.**

The following production by Mr. J. P. Maxwell, which professes to be a report on my proposals, fairly illustrates the way in which our railway controllers have hitherto dealt with this important question.

This document was probably intended to be a piece of smart writing. Well, vulgarity and smartness, as a rule, are closely allied, and its vulgarity is only equalled by its want of truth. I need hardly say that I never made the ridiculous statements and proposals mentioned, while the opinions of the Press quoted at the commencement of this pamphlet prove that the public of New Zealand fully exonerates me from being actuated by the dishonourable motives imputed to me. The fact is, Mr. Maxwell was too prejudiced to examine my proposals, and never really understood what they were. It is a wonder any Crown Minister could be found to lay such a paper on the table of the House.

## **1885. New Zealand. D-3.**

# **Report on Mr. Vaile's Proposals Respecting Railway Rates and Fares.**

(By J. P. Maxwell, Esq., General Manager, New Zealand Railways.)

*Laid on the Table by the Hon. the Minister for Public Works (Mr. E. Richardson), with leave of the House.*

## **The Hon. the MINISTER FOR PUBLIC WORKS.**

IN compliance with your instructions that a report should be made on the so-called scheme of management of Mr. Samuel Vaile, of Auckland, I have the honour to remark as follows:—

While Mr. Vaile appears to claim to have enunciated a "scheme of management," I can find nothing touching on a general "scheme of management," but only some very extravagantly expressed opinions on the subject of rates and fares, mainly unsupported by facts and with many errors and misstatements, comprised in various fragmentary circulars, letters, and addresses.

In his printed circular of the 5th April, 1883, which he addresses to the Chambers of Commerce in New Zealand and Australia, he says, "It seems to have been assumed by the Governments of the colonies that the railways must be made to pay interest on the cost of their construction and maintenance. This I hold to be a most mischievous error." Again, he says, "I deny that they (the Governments) have anymore right to charge interest on the cost of construction and maintenance of the permanent way than they have on the cost of construction and maintenance of common roads." The curious error of supposing that it is usual to try to make railways pay interest on the cost of main-tenance is repeated in Mr. Vaile's lecture of the 3rd November, 1883. It will be seen that there is a great degree of ignorance displayed in these remarks.

Mr. Vaile means, of course, that it is an error to try to make the railways pay interest on their capital cost; but, with the inconsistency which is displayed throughout his writings, he violently condemns the Government because the railways do not pay interest, and urges steps which he asserts will make them do so.

In the same circular, speaking of the rates and fares in use, Mr. Vaile says, "I have utterly failed to master them." Cadets of fifteen years of age who have passed the Sixth Standard at the Government schools have no difficulty in learning them.

Mr. Vaile's original object in advocating low fares appears to be set forth in the same circular. He remarks as follows: "Take, for instance, the Rotorua Railway, in which I am a shareholder. To go from Auckland to the junction of this line under the plan proposed would cost second-class passengers 2s. and first-class 3s. each; thus, being carried so far on their journey for such a small charge, they would be better able to pay the higher fare for the rest of the distance."

That is to say that, by lowering the fares on the Government lines, Mr. Vaile would be able to secure higher ones on the line in which he was interested.

Mr. Vaile's crude and incomplete proposals for fares and rates, as stated in his circular of the 5th April,

1883, are on a differential basis. In subsequent letters he violently condemns differential rating, and scurrilously attacks those who do not agree with his projects.

We learn thus from Mr. Vaile: (1) That his remarks apply to the Australian railways as well as to New Zealand; (2) That he holds it to be a mischievous error to try to make railways pay interest; (3) That he does not understand the present system of rates and fares; (4) That he would have charged higher fares on the Rotorua Railway, in which he was personally interested, than he proposed for the Government railways; (5) That while he himself does not hesitate to propose differential rates and fares, he at the same time denounces them.

It is difficult to seriously discuss the inconsistencies and misstatements with which Mr. Vaile's writings abound. When he suggests that it costs no more to carry a ton of passengers than to carry a ton of coals he is writing nonsense, though he may be unaware of it.

When he says that "the loss on our railways increased from £180,855 in 1881 to £377,186 in 1884, and at this rate we should, in 1888, require £2,500,000 to support our railways," he is making a statement which is misleading, and drawing a conclusion which is false. He may or may not be aware of this. In either case he is equally untrustworthy as a guide, and consequently should forfeit all claim to the respect of intelligent men as an authority.

The following is an instance of an error in a letter of Mr. Vaile's, dated the 14th July, 1885, in which he misstates the distances on which some coal rates are based. I give Mr. Vaile's figures alongside the correct ones.

These figures Mr. Vaile used to give colour to a further misstatement which he made about the coal rates. His figures and opinions are, as a rule, as unreliable and untrustworthy as his misstated distances.

If we judge from these preliminary inquiries we may conclude that we are unlikely to find Mr. Vaile's proposals to be of a reliable character. A brief examination of his paper read before the Auckland Institute on the 12th November, 1883, will enable us to further test his statements.

In regard to goods rates, we find in Mr. Vaile's circular of the 5th April, 1883, a proposal published to carry, trucks for "horses, cattle, sheep, calves, pigs, goats, hay, straw, and firewood at 8s. per truck; minerals at 2s. per ton; timber, at 6d. per hundred superficial feet or fraction of 100ft.; all other merchandise, of every class and description, at 5s. a ton." This is for each fifteen mile, thirty mile, and one hundred mile units of distance, so that for sixteen miles the charges would be double those for fifteen miles. Grain would be charged for sixteen miles, 10s. a ton; the present Government rate is 4s. a ton.

Then, to use Mr. Vaile's words, "On more mature consideration, I thought it desirable to double the number of stations and to halve the fares. This alteration was made in November, 1883."

Turning to Mr. Vaile's lecture of November, 1883, we find his proposals for goods rates varied thus: "Trucks for horses, cattle, sheep, calves, pigs, goats, hay, straw, *agricultural produce of all kinds*, and firewood, 4s. per truck; minerals, 1s. per ton; timber, per 100ft. or fraction of 100ft., 3d.; all other merchandise, 2s. 6d. per ton."

This is first for four units of distance of seven miles each, and after that units of fifty miles each, as he explains. Yet he deliberately ventured to say in another printed letter of the 9th July, 1885: "My proposals have never been altered, and the only modification made is this: in my first letter I proposed to have half the number of stations and to charge double the amount of fares now suggested." Let us see how he did alter his proposals as they affect one item—agricultural produce—which under his proposals of April, 1883, he would have charged 10s. a ton for sixteen miles, and 15s. a ton for forty-six miles. Under the proposal of November, 1883, he would charge for sixteen miles 2s. 5d. per ton, and for forty-six miles 4s. a ton; and yet he says he has only halved the distance and doubled the fares!

After this we find Mr. Vaile at the Napier Chamber of Commerce, in March, 1885, reported in the *Daily Telegraph* to have said, "He had not published any proposed goods rates, because there were no statistics published on which he could found any scale of charges, and he had no wish to make a mistake which would be freely used by his opponents."

As we have seen, this statement was untrue; but, at any rate, it is an acknowledgment of failure, and an admission that his proposals were bad. It is therefore of no use to try to pursue the subject of goods rates further, except to remark that if the latter proposals of Mr. Vaile were adopted the revenue would fall far below the working expenses.

We will now consider the subject of passenger fares.

The impression Mr. Vaile has conveyed to the public, is that he proposes a universal reduction in passenger fares. It is found, on investigating his proposals, that his scheme would largely increase a great proportion of them. On the Auckland line, for instance, there were last year 411,745 journeys due to ordinary tickets, and 240,352 due to season tickets.

A six monthly season ticket holder for stations seven miles apart can travel as many journeys daily as trains permit; first-class for 9d. a day, second-class for 7d. a day. Mr. Vaile's lowest proposed fares for the distance are 6d. and 4d. for each separate journey. For a fifteen mile distance the six monthly season ticket costs 1s. 4d.

first-class, and 1s. ½d. second-class per day. Mr. Vaile's proposed fares are 1s. and 8d. for each separate journey respectively. If Mr. Vaile's fares were substituted, the heavy increase would be objectionable on many grounds, and would diminish the traffic. If the present season tickets were retained, then, as regards this section of travellers, they would be unaffected, and no increase of traffic would result.

The ordinary tickets, Auckland to Onehunga for return passengers, now cost 9d. and 7d. per journey first-class and second-class respectively. Mr. Vaile's proposal would raise them to 1s. and 8d. for each journey respectively.

Between Auckland and Otahuhu the present fares for return passengers are 1s. and 9d., first and second class respectively, for each journey. Mr. Vaile proposes for each journey 1s. and 8d. respectively.

Thus for more than one-third of the total number of journeys, viz., for the season-ticket journeys, Mr. Vaile's proposals would, if adopted, involve an excessive increase in fares. Of the remaining journeys, by far the larger proportion are for distances under ten miles, for which Mr. Vaile's proposals provide either increased fares or fares not very materially differing from those prevailing. So that no practical increase in passenger traffic could be expected by adopting Mr. Vaile's proposals in these respects. Mr. Vaile has deceived himself and has misled others by his averages.

The only portion of the passengers that Mr. Vaile's proposed fares would largely affect are those travelling beyond distances of ten miles, He proposes fares which may average, according to his own views, about one-fifth the present fares. The long-distance travellers form a small proportion only of the ordinary ticket-travellers, but, being charged at a uniform scale of fare, they bring not less than two-thirds of the total ordinary ticket-revenue. While, therefore, the number of passengers is small in proportion to the total ordinary ticket-passengers, the revenue affected is large in proportion to the total revenue.

While we could expect no practical effect on passenger traffic within short distances, we should have to increase the number of long-distance passengers five times to get the same revenue from that source.

If such a passenger traffic did arise there would be a heavy loss, as passengers could not be profitably carried for such long distances at such low fares, with the conditions under which we are working.

The demand made for lower fares, rates, and charges is a natural one, and it is one which the Government and its officers must always be most desirous of meeting, because the granting of concessions and remedying of grievances are always popular, and therefore grateful to those in control as well as to the public.

Last year the railways yielded £355,685, after deducting working expenses, which sum was available towards the payment of interest on the loans. This amount was about 33 per cent, of the gross revenue. If, then, the rates and fares were lowered by about 33 per cent, all round, we might expect that the revenue would just cover working expenses, and there would be no net proceeds available towards payment of interest, and there would be an additional sum of, £355,000 or thereabouts to be raised by taxation.

If the colony is of opinion, with Mr. Vaile, that it is a mischievous error to try to make the railways pay interest on their capital cost, it is quite easy to reduce the rates, fares, and charges so as to make no profit.

A second-class single fare for eighty-four miles is now 11s. 8d. If it were reduced by 33 per cent, it would be 7s. 9d. Mr. Vaile proposes to make it 1s. 8d.

We must be clear on this point. We have seen that, were fares, rates, and charges reduced all round by 33 per cent., we might expect to realise no profit, and additional taxation in some form, to the extent of about £355,000 a year, would be needed to pay interest.

It is easy to see that if they were reduced all round, as Mr. Vaile suggests, a further large sum would have to be raised to pay the deficiency of the revenue below the cost of working.

The question is asked by Mr. Vaile, "If applying the law of averages has been so successful in the cases of letters, parcels, and telegrams, why should it not succeed in the case of railways?"

There is a strange confusion of ideas in classing the transmission of telegrams with the conveyance of goods. It sounds like a suggestion that the transmission of telegrams should be by the ton. As regards letters, letters at a uniform postage of 2d. each will cost about £600 per ton to transmit. They will at this rate be carried from Auckland either to Onehunga or the Bluff. There is a material difference in dealing with letters or with parcels of light weight and with goods. In the former the element of weight only affects the cost of operations in a most trifling degree in proportion to the other elements which determine the cost of working the Post Office. In railway goods traffic the bulk and weight rank as chief factors in making up the cost of conveyance.

It has often happened that persons contrast the services, rates, and fares of the New Zealand railways with those of Great Britain, or other great countries, to the disadvantage of the former. The New Zealand railways management and services, &c., have been contrasted with the Midland Railway, for instance. The Midland Railway is situated in one compact system, occupying a small area in the most densely populated part of one of the most densely populated countries. The Company works about fourteen hundred miles of railway, in which is invested more than seventy millions of capital; it has an annual gross revenue of over seven millions sterling. The rates of wages for working range from one-third to one-half the rates of wages current in New Zealand.

The lines are most expensively and perfectly constructed, and equipped with the very finest locomotives and rolling-stock, and there is a professional control with absolute powers of management. The colony has fifteen hundred miles of very lightly-constructed lines, with steep gradients and sharp curves, with light stock designed for low speeds. The system is in detached portions scattered over the whole area of a very sparsely-populated country. The colony deliberately went in for a system of very cheap lines and very humble accommodation and equipment, because the means were not available to do better. There can be no doubt of the prudence of adopting such an economical course. The originators of the railway system, I am informed, never contemplated building first-class lines and equipping them in the luxurious and complete manner suitable for a densely-populated country. Nor was it anticipated that wages would be lowered to approach those in Great Britain, so as to enable the working of the railways to be done as cheaply.

It is idle to suppose that, under such widely-differing conditions, the New Zealand railway system could perform its work as cheaply as the Midland Railway system, or that rates and fares can be placed so low here as in England unless a much lower percentage of net earnings is looked for.

J. P. Maxwell,  
General Manager, New Zealand Railways.

Wellington,

17th September, 1885.

## Whose Opinion Should be Taken?

As whether in actual working the new system of railway administration would give satisfactory results, must be more or less a matter of opinion until it is tried, it is perhaps right that I should give some proof of my ability to form sound opinions on railway matters. I do so with all deference. I do not pretend to any exceptional ability, but I do claim to have had a thorough commercial training, to have carefully studied my subject, and to have arrived at sound conclusions as to the *principles on which railway finance should be based*. The following facts will, I think, prove this:—

In March, 1883, certain alterations were made in passenger fares, which it was claimed would increase the revenue. I at once said this would mean loss. £25,000 was lost the first year, and the rates were again raised.

In March, 1884, the celebrated "grain rate" tariff was imposed. Two of our Commissioners estimated that it would add £150,000 to the revenue.

I analysed this tariff, and stated that it was more likely to produce £50,000 than £150,000. The result showed an increase of, £52,000.

When the Victorian Board was appointed I publicly stated that five or six years would prove the thing a failure. The time has passed, and we all know that it has failed.

Speaking in our Chamber of Commerce I said, "I venture to say that this Victorian Railway Board will make a complete financial failure, and that the social effects will be still more disastrous. In Victoria will first be reproduced in these colonies all the worst social inequalities, miseries, and vices of the older countries of Europe and America. I expect that for some years the revenue will be considerably increased, but that it will be done by the usual process—that is, by absorbing the country districts of Victoria into Melbourne."

Before the Hungarians started to work their "zone" system, I wrote that it would prove a great financial success. It has done so.

Before the Austrians commenced their system, I wrote that it would give little or no financial improvement. They have made a small loss.

If I could thus correctly estimate what could be done under other systems, is it likely that I shall be far out as to my own?

## The Railway Reform League Proposes:—

### ***1. The Total Abolition of Differential Rating.***

# Differential Rating.

BY SAMUEL VAILE.

I AM often asked, What is differential rating? Tell us exactly what it means.

To describe all that the term "differential rating" means, in a way that will be understood by the general public, is a somewhat difficult task.

Differential rates are known by various names, as—Discriminations, preferences, drawbacks, rebates, discounts, allowances, through rates, etc.

It will be well to go back a little, and trace how and why the practice arose.

Railways originated in England, and the Government of that country made the mistake of allowing them to be constructed by private people, and held as trade speculations.

The only object the constructors of railways had in view was to make money out of their investments, and this, indeed, is their only object now. To such an extent has this been carried on in some countries, and so much have their powers been abused, that in many parts of Germany, for instance, to call a man a railway "constructor" is more offensive than to call him a liar.

At the commencement of the railway era, fares and charges appear to have been arranged on a fair and equitable basis. On the first railway, the Stockton and Darlington, passengers were charged one uniform fare of one shilling each for the whole, or any portion of the 12½ miles. Parcels also were charged one uniform rate. This line was not intended to carry goods.

As time passed on railway construction and working became more expensive, and as making money was the only object, means must be found by which this money could be obtained.

It soon occurred to the railway managers to "classify" goods; that is, to charge one price for one kind of goods and another price for another class. Thus the price charged for conveying a ton of carrots would be much less than for a ton of broadcloths. This is not differential rating; it is "classification" and to a certain extent, it is not only justifiable, but necessary. For instance, it would be neither convenient nor profitable to attempt to carry live stock and crockery in the same vehicle. They must be separated. Classification, however, in the effort to get "all that the traffic will bear," has been pushed to an undue extent, and been made a grievous burden.

The Stockton and Darlington railway was opened on the 10th October, 1825. The Manchester and Liverpool followed in 1830, and the first *through* line, the Birmingham and London, in 1838. Then it was that the real trouble began, and the present vicious system was rapidly developed.

The change in the cost of carrying goods long distances by rail instead of by horsepower was so great, that the heavy charges made by the railway companies were hardly felt for a time, but prices soon began to adjust themselves, and experience showed that the rates charged killed the long distance traffic.

The companies, by their charters, were empowered to levy *tolls* (note the idea of a toll-bar) at so much *per mile*. After a time, it was found out that these mileage rates could not be enforced, because the constant piling up of an additional toll or charge for every mile passed over, could not be borne except by goods which carried a large profit. This was the difficulty that first gave rise to the differential rating system.

The controllers of railways soon apprehended what a mighty engine this system

Price, 2d.

All profits go to the funds of the Railway Reform League.

was for extracting money from the pockets of other people, and transferring it to their own. Not only did it give them great opportunities for making money directly for the use of the railways, but as I shall show further on it gave them an immense command over the trade, commerce, and land values of the country.

It is probable that the earliest form of differential rating was giving "through rates," that is to say, rates from point to point, as from Birmingham to London. These rates were often given at less than the price charged for only half the distance. This constitutes a differential rate in favour of the large centre, and against the weaker districts. It is manifestly unfair, especially when mileage rates are used.

As the necessities of the railway companies became greater, worse forms of differential rating crept in. Thus the companies, if they could not get their regular rate from a customer, would take a lower one, while a less powerful customer would have to pay the full rate, and in process of time it became such a matter of bargaining that everybody had to "inquire at the station" for their rate; and, according to Sir Edward Watkin, there were over *ten million* (10,000,000) different rates in existence in 1881, on one railway alone, the Great Northern of the United Kingdom.

Up to quite a recent period a pretence has been made of regulating railway charges by the "cost of service". We hear but little of this now, the railway men claiming instead that they have the right to charge "*what the traffic will bear*" That is to say, to take all they can get.

The forms of differential rating are very various. Perhaps the most common is the result of inquiring at the stations for a rate. Mr. Maxwell, in a letter to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce and in one of his reports, which I shall afterwards quote, has openly expressed his wish to drive the users of New Zealand railways into this position.

A man "inquires at the station" for the rate for conveying, say, 2000 sheep to a given point. He is told the rate as per tariff, and if he is absolutely dependent on the railway this rate will be adhered to, unless he has a friend at court, in which case, or if he can drive or send them by water, he will probably get his sheep carried at half the rate.

A poor man with only 30 head applies at the same station. He will get no consideration whatever, but must either pay the full rate or drive his sheep.

This is a differential rate in favour of the rich and against the poor man, as indeed all differential rates may be said to be. The railway men say it is given to "develop industries." Whatever the intention, the effect is to develop monopoly.

The following are some other forms of differential rating.

Large users of railways arrange that in their monthly freight bills they are to receive a certain portion of the amount back by way of discount, rebate, drawback, or allowance of some kind. This practice has been almost universal in England and America.

A worse form is "secret rating." A speculator or manufacturer will enter into a secret contract with a railway company or owner to take his goods at a certain rate. He on his part undertakes to pay them not less than so much per month or per annum, and the railway owners on their part agree not to carry the same class of goods for any other producer at less than say double the rate they charge the contracting party. Both parties to this contract enter into heavy bonds not to divulge its nature.

Imagine a transaction like this, being, as it now is. *perfectly legal on our New Zealand railways.*

Another form is to call 100 miles 50, 60 or 70 miles only. We have more than one example of this class of differential rating in New Zealand. On one railway in Canterbury 31 miles is "deemed" to be 15 miles only, and on another 21 miles is also "deemed" to be 15 miles.

There are differential rates in favour of Christchurch and against the rest of the colony.

Another form is to call 15cwt. or 30cwt. a ton, according as the railway controllers may wish to fix a rate in favour of or against any particular individual. This is the way the recent railway frauds in New South Wales were perpetrated.

Sometime ago differential rates were in existence in favour of certain districts in the Waikato; the object was not to favour these districts, but to ruin the Waikato Steam Navigation Company, which the Government succeeded in doing, and then immediately raised the rates.

Another form is to charge one district a certain rate, and in another a rate and a quarter or a rate and a-half for precisely the same service rendered; or to say with regard to certain districts all goods belonging to a certain class shall be charged as if they belonged to goods of a higher classification—that is, a class paying a higher rate.

Both these two last forms have been and still are extensively used on the New Zealand railways. A few years ago agricultural produce generally (class E) was charged a single rate in the South Island, and a rate and a quarter in the North Island. This has been removed as regards Auckland, but still remains against Wellington, Napier, and Wanganui. Very heavy differential rates are also imposed against the weaker districts in the South Island.

Both these forms constitute differential rates in favour of the wealthy and against the poorer districts.

Parliament votes subsidies and bonuses to protect and assist weak industries, and at the same time passes an Act to empower the Railway Commissioners to levy rates that will effectually crush these weak industries and also weak districts.

Differential rates have often been given in favour of one manufactory, say, a woollen mill, or a coal mine, and against another mill or mine in the same district. The object of this form of differential rating was to ruin the mill or mine the rates were made against, so that those interested might not only get rid of the competition, but also acquire the property of the ruined owners at their own price.

This form of rating is also now legal on the New Zealand lines, and as, if the abominable Act of 1887 is not speedily repealed or amended out of existence, we run an imminent risk of having it put in force, I will quote instances of what has been done in this direction.

Professor R. T. Ely, of Baltimore, who has aptly described the present way of administering railways as "Our abominable no-system of railways," speaking of differential rating says, "It is difficult to tell where to begin or where to end on account of abuses, as they are so numerous and momentous. Equally difficult is it to find Language in which to portray the sober, scientific truth in regard to these abuses, for their enormity is such as almost to baffle description."

He speaks of one company "of odious memory, whose history is marked not only by theft, wholesale bribery, and legislative corruption, but even *by violence, and murder.*" He says that effective essays might be written on differential rating under such titles as "Corruption no Harm," "Lying no Sin," "Theft no Crime."

I emphatically endorse Professor Ely's condemnation of this system. It is the vilest thing the trading world has ever produced. There is no other thing, *not even excepting the liquor traffic*, that has brought so much social, moral, political, and commercial degradation and misery in its train as the present "no system" of railway administration.

Years ago I published the following paragraph:—

*"If the whole history of commerce, from the earliest times, was searched with the minutest care, I do not believe it would be possible to find in its darkest records anything to equal the differential rating system for unmitigated dishonesty. How it could have come into almost universal use I cannot imagine, and still more do I wonder that our great writers have failed to notice and point out the enormous influence for evil it must have on commercial and social affairs."*

Yet we have passed an Act, one of the main objects—if not *the* main object—of which is to fully develop this evil amongst us, and we have appointed as administrators of that Act two men who are its ardent advocates. Here is what one, if not two, of them says:—

Mr. Maxwell, in his report for 1884, says: "The system of rating differentially in this colony is not carried far enough, and the difficulty that stands in the way is the impatience of the public in submitting to different treatment in different cases, and the reluctance to place in the hands of the railway officers the power which would be necessary for carrying out the principle extensively. While retaining publicity by gazetting each rate, were such a principle more widely introduced, the public would not be able to do what it now, to some extent, essays to do—read and interpret the rates generally; but the practice followed elsewhere would be necessary; the customer would appeal to the station each time he required a rate quoted; and, whether the railways were managed by a Minister or a Board, more power and freedom in respect to rating would have to be placed in the officers' hands. The sensitiveness of the public is, then, the chief difficulty; but this is not allowed to intervene in cases where many millions of revenue are concerned, and can be, no doubt, overcome here by patience and time, provided the colony recognises that the principle is a desirable one, and gives the proper power to administer it. Maximum rates might be fixed by law, and a suitable court of appeal constituted to prevent abuse of the powers given."

Anyone wishing to see what two of our present Commissioners can say in favour of this system, cannot do better than peruse Parliamentary Paper 1.-9, 1886. Mr. Maxwell's evidence, when he was under cross-examination by myself, is particularly instructive.

He first of all took up the ground that it was justified by cost of service, and that it secured "equality of treatment." Driven from pillar to post in his defence of this abominable system, he then said that "you can get it" (equality of treatment) if the conditions were precisely similar. Which is simply saying, if two things are exactly similar, they must be alike. Finally, he was compelled to say that the sole object of the system was to "*get revenue.*"

In most countries the passenger fare, for distances of from 10 to 15 miles round the great cities, is half the rate per mile that is charged for the longer distances. That is to say, dwellers in the country or small towns have to pay twice the price that dwellers in the city do. It will easily be seen how this must cripple the weaker districts, and make them poorer still.

This is one of the worst forms of differential rating in favour of the great cities and against the country.

As to the meaning of the term "differential rating" when applied to railway working, *I define it as meaning any system which gives to the officers or controllers of railways the power to alter or vary fares, rates, or charges at their pleasure, or to suit their idea of the requirements of trade.*

At the Parliamentary inquiry in 1886 the officers of the Railway Department asserted that my system was a differential rating system. I therefore submitted the following question to the author of "State Purchase of Railways," the late Mr. Charles Waring, of London.

Mr. Waring, I may state, was formerly a member of the British Parliament, and a very prominent man. His opinion is certainly worth more than that of Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay.

This is what I said to Mr. Waring, "If you can spare the time, I shall esteem it a favour if you will answer me this question:

"As in the system I propose all the fare? and rates will be definitely fixed, for at any rate a number of years, and the officers will have no power to alter or vary them—Can my system be called a differential rating system?"

This is his reply:—"In answer to the specific question you put to me, I hardly see how any system in which rates and fares are established on a fixed basis can be properly called a differential rating system. *That is not what we mean when we speak of a differential system in England, and describes, indeed, the exact reverse.*"

My contention is that all fares, rates, and charges ought to be brought down to the lowest possible point, and then arranged on a fixed basis for a period of years, and only altered then on a regularly defined system. There is no difficulty whatever in doing this; the only obstacle in the way is the self-interested prejudices of the railway officials.

Speaking of the differential rating system Mr. J. F. Hudson, of America, says:—"It cuts down the profits of one competitor, and enhances those of another; and thus acts as a perpetual disturbing force in trade, against which sagacity, energy, and integrity contend in vain."

This is absolutely true, and it is also true that we have legislated with the special object of working this system to the fullest extent. To such an extent has this system been worked in America, that the evidence with reference to it taken by the Legislature of New York alone fills nearly 5000 pages.

The author quoted above says: "Discrimination (the American, and better word for differential) between different localities or cities involves the daily exercise by railway officials who adjust freight tariffs of a power greater than that possessed by any civilised Government—except perhaps that of Russia."

What would this writer say to our Act? He would not need to except Russia, there is nothing there to equal it for absolute tyranny.

To give a very limited account of the evil effects of differential rating will occupy the full space of another paper.

vignette

## A few Examples.

As our Railway Commissioners have now full power to impose "differential rates" in any and every form, and the public has no remedy whatever, either at law or by an appeal to Parliament, it may be as well if I give a few instances of what has been done under the iniquitous system which has now been legalised in New Zealand.

In order to work this vile "no system" effectively, the first thing to be done is to multiply and confuse the rates as much as possible, so that no one can understand them, and thus compel the public, as Mr. Maxwell says, to "apply at the station for their rate." Anyone who will take the trouble to study the Gazette will see how rapidly our Commissioners are bringing about this state of things.

On the Midland Railway of England there are over 30,000,000 rates. Who could pick the legal one from such a mass?

In my last paper I quoted Mr. Maxwell's statement that differential rating was not carried far enough in New Zealand, and also that "maximum rates might be fixed by law, and a suitable Court of Appeal constituted to prevent abuse of the powers given."

One hardly knows what to think of this suggestion of Mr. Maxwell's. Is he simply trying to throw dust in the eyes of the public, or is he so supremely in the dark as to what is going on in the railway world, as to believe that such a course could be any protection to the public.

Such a tribunal has been in existence in Great Britain since 1873; and here are a few examples of what the Railway Companies do every day in open defiance of it; indeed, with such thorough contempt do the Companies treat the law and the Railway Commissioners (whose business in Great Britain is to protect, not oppress, the public) that they do not hesitate to publish these excess charges in their rate books.

### London and North-Western Line.

Fifty-five miles: Maximum legal rate for minerals, 5s 5½d per ton; rate charged 11s 8d, or 6s 2½d in excess.

Fifty-five miles:—Manchester goods, &c.: Legal rate, 10s 10d; rate charged, 22s 6d; excess charge, 11s 8d per ton.

Fourteen miles:—Boots and shoes, &c.: Legal rate, 24s 3d; rate charged, 55s; excess charge, 30s 9d, for transporting a ton only 14 miles.

### Cork and Bandon Line.

Cork to Bandon, 20 miles. The following charges are made over and above the legal maximum rates per ton:—

Drain pipes, 2s 6d; hides, 3s 9d; wool, 2s 11d.

Cork to Drimoleague, 45 miles: 5th class, overcharge, 11s 11d per ton; 6th class, 26s 11d.

## Birkenhead Railway.

Coal Rates: Legal rate per ton for 6 miles, 3d; rate charged, 9d. 10 miles: legal rate, 7d; rate charged, 1s 1¼d. 17 miles: Legal, 1s 1¾d; charged, 1s 8¾d.

As examples of preferential rating, I quote the following, given on the Caledonian Railway in favour of the Aberdeen Commercial Company

Ordinary rate: 3 miles, 1s 3d; rate to Commercial Company, 5d. 22 miles: Ordinary rate, 4s 6d: to Commercial Company, 3s 4d. 42 miles: Ordinary rate, 8s 4d; to Commercial Company, 5s 4d.

I speak within bounds when I say that thousands of similar instances to the above could be produced. I have selected these few at random; they are by no means the worst that can be found. Professor Hunter gave evidence before the British Royal Commission of 1881, that the companies charged from *three to ten times* their legal rates.

Mr. Findlay gave evidence before this Commission to this effect, "I believe that to certain stations north of Sudbury or Harrow we charge a higher rate than we do to London, *simply because it is within our power.*"

Mr. Waring says that "The unalterable rule of the railway directors is to *get all they can*" and shows that the law is futile to protect the public.

However, we need not talk of law in New Zealand. There is no law for the public in this country. The law has been most care-fully drawn to protect the Commissioners from the effects of wrong doing in their efforts to "get revenue "from the public, but as to the people, they must take their chance as best they may.

Seeing that our railways are now worked as if they belonged to a company, and on "commercial principles," if such a term can be applied to a thing that is utterly and absolutely without principle, it may be as well to pursue the subject a little further, and show some of the things that have been done in America under the system we have legalised here. I present only a few of more notorious cases.

In America there exists, or recently did exist, a set of men called "eveners." A number of railway companies agree to "pool" their traffic and profits, each line taking a certain agreed-upon per centage. The "eveners" enter into a contract to "even up" these percentages, in consideration of certain rebates allowed to them, but refused to everybody else.

A party of these men in Chicago entered into an engagement with the various trunk lines running East from that city, by which they were to receive from the companies forming the trunk line "pool" a rebate of £3 on every car load of live stock that passed over their lines. This rebate was paid them not only on live stock shipped by them-selves, but also on all the live stock sent over these rails by other people. The effect was that they secured an advantage of £6 per truck load over those competing with them, whom they soon brought to ruin, and thus secured a virtual monopoly of the trade.

As showing the power this differential rating system gives the controllers of railways over any particular industry these gentlemen may chose to speculate in, I direct attention to what was done with the coal trade of Pennsylvania.

The owners of certain railways in that State were also owners of certain coalmines and they wished to acquire a monopoly of the coal trade, and also to keep down the wages of the men employed in the mines. The miners had struck for higher pay, and the private mine owners yielded to their demand. The railway companies, however, determined not only to keep down the price of labour, but also to ruin these owners, and acquire their property for themselves.

They therefore raised the freight rates to the private owners to three times the former rate, the result being that they soon secured 195,000 out of a total of 270,000 acres of coal land. Having thus acquired the monopoly they proceed led to limit the output so as to keep up the price. This they did by suspending operations for a quarter of the working time in each year.

I commend this fact to the careful consideration of what are called the working classes, and would impress upon them the fact that our Railway Commissioners have it quite within their power to do these things here, and that there is no law or power of any kind that can punish them for so doing.

There is no class of trade or commerce that the abominable system it is intended to fully develop among us cannot reach and destroy, or turn to the private advantage of the controllers of the railways, or those they may wish to favour.

The New York Central Railway Company entered into a contract with a firm of millers by which they undertook to carry all their freight for *forty seven per cent*, of the current rate, "provided, however, and this agreement is made upon the express understanding and consideration that the said millers shall regard and treat this agreement as confidential, and will use all reasonable precautions to keep the same secret."

By means like these dozens of mill-owners were ruined and their property acquired by the favoured few who had "gotten in on the ground floor" with the railway magnates. To one unfortunate fellow who complained

that the freight charged him absorbed nearly the whole of his profit, they said "Send us a statement showing the details of your business, in order that we may see that your profits are not more than you represent them to be." Knowing that he was entirely in their power, and hoping to make friends, he sent them the statement. They immediately raised his freight rates, so as to absorb the whole of his profits, and very speedily had him in the Bankruptcy Court and his property in their possession.

The most notorious of all these cases is that of the Standard Oil Company. It would be impossible in the space of this paper to give a description of the transactions of this company with the Railway Companies. Briefly, the railway people entered into a secret contract with the Standard Company, by which they undertook to give them such special freight rates as should effectually secure them against all competition in the petroleum oil trade. The result has been that the Standard Company soon ruined all their competitors, and now enjoy a complete monopoly of the oil trade, a monopoly the effects of which have been felt all the world over.

It has been proved in evidence that the differential rates given in favour of this company amounted during ten years to the enormous sum of *one hundred million dollars* (£20,000,000). This was almost as disastrous to the shareholders in the railway companies as it was to the competitors of the Standard Company. This case is a good illustration of what the *controllers of railways* have the power to do.

I commend the examples given above to., the earnest, careful consideration of my fellow-colonists, and I direct their special attention to the fact that we have given to three absolutely irresponsible men—two [*unclear*: o] whom are known to be wedded to this system, such powers to enforce it as have never before been held by any company or other set of men in any part of the world.

If we are simple enough to imagine that sooner or later these powers will not be taken advantage of, we deserve the fate that will surely come upon us.

I know that our Commissioners say that these practices "are not in force on the New Zealand railways and never have been." Perhaps so, but in their mad attempt to "get revenue" out of their "abominable no-system" they will soon be driven to their wits' ends, and what then? Ah, what then? I say they will resort to more differential rating.

The question is, is there any necessity for using this system? I assert emphatically, that if the intention is to use railways honestly, in the interests of the whole people, that there is none whatever.

The only legitimate excuse that has ever been urged in favour of differential rating is the statement that it brings the distant producer nearer to his market. The introduction of a stage system would effectually do away with this excuse. Then all fares, rates, and charges ought to be taken down to the lowest possible point and made fixed and definite for a number of years.

If this were done, and there is no legitimate reason why it should not be, the expansion of trade and commerce would be something enormous. People would have confidence in establishing industries in suitable localities; now they never know when the railways may be used to ruin them, therefore manufacturing industries are only started in the immediate neighbourhood of great towns.

Under such a system our railways would act as fosterers of our national industries. As it is, the Railway Commissioners use our railways, and exert themselves to the utmost to destroy our coastal and river steam companies, our tramcar, coach, omnibus, dray, and lorry proprietors.

What an act of folly! How can we expect to prosper? If our railway transport charges were made fixed, and at the lowest possible point, these other transport agencies, instead of competing with the railways, would naturally adjust themselves to their proper positions, and act as feeders to them. They would, as it were, work at right angles to, instead of, as now, on parallel lines with our railways.

Auckland,

4th December, 1889.

vignette

Wilson and Horton, Printers, Queen and Wyndham Streets.

By Samuel Vaile.

## No. 1.

[NOTE.—I have been asked by many people who take a deep interest in the railway question to publish in condensed and consecutive form the whole argument on the railway problem, which has hitherto only appeared in scattered letters and papers. This I propose to do in it series of articles, of which the following is the first.

Those who will take the trouble to peruse them will, I hope, obtain a clear view of the whole question as it affects New Zealand.]

WE complain, and not without cause, of commercial and financial depression, but few, very few, of us take the least trouble to search out the underlying evil that has brought this state of things about.

When a large commercial house fails, numerous smaller businesses must fail in consequence, and the larger the transactions of the house that fails first, the more widespread the disaster.

We most of us remember the consternation, disasters, and trouble that followed the failure of the Glasgow Bank. We have a mild example nearer home. Our local bank is not as prosperous as it used to be. So one able to judge doubts its ability to regain its former position; but in the meantime we feel the effects of shaken confidence.

What placed the Bank of New Zealand in its present position? Incapacity, or worse, on the part of its management and directors, say Mr. Buckley and others. I hold a totally different opinion, and believe that the Bank's difficulties have arisen chiefly from causes outside of itself and beyond its control. They arise from the failure of a still larger concern.

Those who have managed the affairs of the Bank have no doubt made serious mistakes, but these would not have been felt had not the value gone out of country kinds to such an extent that the owners were compelled to abandon them to the Bank, and the Bank directors have been unable either to realise or utilise them. It was never thought that the Bank would have become the owner of these properties. This loss of value is due to maladministration of public affairs.

What is the chief business of any country? Is it not its public business, the administration of its Government; and are we not all convinced that for years past this has been a serious failure? And why has it been a failure? Simply because it has become a fashion with the leading men of all classes to say that a business man ought not to take any part in politics, and thus public affairs have been allowed to drift into the hands of inferior men, and our merchants and others have gone on "minding their own business" till now they have very little business of any kind to mind.

If this country, or, indeed, any country, is ever to be really prosperous, its citizens must recognise the fact that, from the highest to the lowest, we all have *public* as well as business and private duties to perform, and that if we neglect public duties, private interests must necessarily suffer.

Of all the departments of our public business there is not one that exercises so great and immediate an influence for weal or woe as the department of working railways.

In it we have invested £15,000,000 of capital, or considerably over £24 per head for every man, woman, baby, imbecile, and gaolbird in the country. This, then, next to the whole public business, is the largest concern in the colony. It is purely a business department. Alongside of it the Bank of New Zealand is merely a baby. The Bank's capital is but £1,000,000; the railway capital is £15,000,000.

The Bank is not prosperous, and the country suffers in consequence. But what influence can this have compared with the failure of our railway department? I do not suppose there is an individual in the colony who has bestowed the least thought on the subject but what knows, and feels, that the administration of our railways is a complete, an absolute, and most contemptible failure.

The most ardent advocates of the present system cannot pretend that in any respect it has been a success. The one object has been to "get revenue," and here it has failed miserably. As a means for settling the country it is a still worse failure, while as regards the transportation of goods, and providing facilities for the travelling public, the whole colony loudly complains.

Price 2d.

All Profits go to the funds of the Railway Reform League.

If, then, this great department is really a failure, it follows that the whole colony must suffer seriously.

In a small and thinly-populated country like this £15,000,000 is a vast sum of money to expend in any one direction; and if the object aimed at is not obtained, serious disaster must ensue.

No one can pretend to say that any one of the objects we had in view when we consented to burden ourselves with our vast public debt has been attained by the construction and administration of our railways.

What, then, is the cause of our failure? I believe there are two causes:

- The policy, or rather want of policy, pursued in the administration.
- The want of capacity in the men we have placed at the head of the department.

As to the policy pursued, the only idea has been to use our railways as great tax-gathering machines, to make them get as much revenue as possible, without the least thought as to whether the system pursued could last, or the least regard for the wants and requirements of the country. Such a system must necessarily come to grief. It was only a question of time.

The miserable failure of the attempt to "get revenue" is due to the fact that no effort has been made to use our railways so as to meet the requirements of the country, and develop its resources. They have been worked

not as though they were State property, but as though they were the private property of the railway managers, as indeed at the present moment they virtually, if not in fact, are.

We want a national railway system. We must put out of our minds the false idea that the first business of a railway is to directly make money; we must rather regard them as instruments for the creation of national wealth, by providing quick and easy transit facilities *at the lowest possible charge* and on equitable terms. We must come to consider our railways as national highways, that are not to be used for the purpose of raising taxation.

If we were to make the same effort to "get revenue" out of our ordinary roads that we do to get it out of our railways, what would people think of our folly? And yet if the one thing is right, why is not the other? Compared with our railways, our ordinary roads are merely byways; the railroads are, or at any rate ought to be, our highways, the great channels through which commerce should flow.

If we would but reflect on the fact that everything in this world depends on *the power to move*—that without motion there cannot be any life, we should see how important it is to make our transit system as easy and free as possible.

*Motion* is just as necessary to commercial life as it is to animal or vegetable life. Arrest motion in either case, and death is the inevitable result. Why, then, do we allow the commerce of our country to be blocked by an additional charge for every mile its people or its products pass over?

It is in this false and pernicious system that we have the real cause not only of the failure of our railways, but also of nine-tenths of the commercial and social troubles the world suffers from.

The railway system of transit stands alone. There is no other, and there has been no other, where the charge is made *by the mile*. There is no other, and there has been no other, where it has been claimed that it is impossible to lay down an intelligible scale of charges.

I assert that the whole thing is an unutterable absurdity; and I say that it is just as easy to lay down a fixed, fair, and equitable tariff of railway charges as it is to fix one for postal and telegraphic charges. There is no honest reason whatever why the present complicated and fraudulent system should be kept up.

My contention, then, is: That the real cause of our commercial and financial troubles lies in the fact that we have so managed our national transit system as to ruin our great producing districts. We have rendered it impossible for anyone to make a profit out of land situated at a distance from a large centre, and have thus completely destroyed its value, with the inevitable result, which we are all now feeling, that the value is fast going out of our cities, and their suburbs also.

By pursuing this insane policy we have rendered it impossible for the country to bear its fair share of taxation, and have thrown that burden almost wholly on city and suburban property, a burden which it is found increasingly difficult to sustain.

I venture to say that the day is not far distant—it will come in a very few years—when curiosity-hunters will eagerly buy up copies of the present railway tariffs and regulations, and when they will be exhibited to the wondering gaze of thousands as monuments of commercial and financial imbecility.

As to the second cause of the failure of our railway system, let the following table speak:—

## Nine Years' History of the New Zealand Railways.

Note.—Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay received their appointments as general manager and sub-manager in 1880. Year. Population. Miles open. Capital expended. Passengers carried exclusive of season tickets. Tons carried. Train miles. Coaching revenue. Gross revenue. Net revenue. Interest earned. £ £ £ £ £ s. d. 1881 489,933 1,277 9,228,334 2,849,561 1,377,783 3,247,492 346,280 836,454 314,497 3 8 3 1882 .. 1,333 10,974,000 2,911,477 1,437,714 3,375,121 361,705 892,026 368,927 3 7 3 1883 .. 1,373 11,863,576 3,283,378 1,564,823 3,710,405 396,763 953,347 360,526 3 8 2 1884 .. 1,396 12,795,125 3,272,644 1,700,039 3,871,061 371,521 961,304 305,314 2 10 2 1885 .. 1,479 13,218,560 3,232,886 1,778,140 3,982,125 400,626 1,045,712 355,686 2 15 4 1886 .. 1,613 13,726,166 3,362,266 1,856,732 4,114,577 396,648 1,047,418 857,078 2 12 0 1887 .. 1,727 14,219,116 3,426,403 1,783,524 4,135,578 390,002 998,763 299,696 2 2 2 1888 .. 1,758 14,603,109 3,451,850 1,770,637 4,009,714 387,453 994,843 307,515 2 2 1 1889 607,000 1,777 14,875,187 8,132,803 1,954,125 3,794,080 357,548 997,615 350,570 2 7 2

NOTE.—This table teaches us that during the last nine years we have:—

- Increased the mileage of our working railways by 39.1 per cent.
- Capital invested by 61.2 per cent.
- Passengers carried by 9.9 per cent.

- Tons carried by 42 per cent.
- Train miles by 16.8.
- Coaching revenue (this includes ordinary passengers, season tickets, parcels, horses, carriages, and dogs) by 3.2 per cent.
- Gross revenue by 19.2 per cent.
- Net revenue by 11.5.
- Rate of interest earned *decreased* by £1 1s 1d per cent.
- In 1889 we carried 150,565 *fewer* passengers than we did in 1883.
- The train service to the colony was *less* by 76,981 miles than it was in 1884, and this notwithstanding that we had 381 more miles of railway open.
- Our coaching revenue was £4157 *less* than it was in 1882.
- The gross revenue was £48,097 *less* than in 1885, while our net revenue was £18,357 *less* than in 1882, and the rate of interest earned *less* by £1 1s 1d per cent, than in 1881.

During the period under review the population of the colony was increased 24 per cent.

These are the startling facts we have to face and deal with; and, if we are wise, we shall no longer put up with the trifling of the men who have brought our railways and the country to this pass.

Let it never be forgotten that the men who control our railways now are the same men who have controlled them all through this period. They are solely responsible for the policy pursued. It was not only within their power, *but it was their duty*, to initiate any reforms they were able to make, but the results prove that they are thoroughly incompetent to deal with the question.

The sooner the ill-considered Act of 1887 is repealed and the Government resumes the direct control of the railways—which they never ought to have parted with—the better it will be for the country.

What is the use of any longer continuing a system which, year by year, shows increasingly worse results—a system which the more millions we invest in it, the less rate of interest we receive; a system that, after an increased expenditure of over £3,000,000, gives us a less passenger traffic by 150,500 than we had six years ago, when our population was much less; a system that gives us £50,000 less gross revenue than we had four years ago, and £18,350 less net revenue than we had seven years ago? Is it not time to pause and ask ourselves the question, Is there not something seriously wrong both with the system pursued and the men who administer it?

If our railways were owned by 10,000 of our New Zealand colonists instead of by the whole community, what a feeling of consternation a perusal of the above table would create. Is it possible that the effects can be less disastrous because the evil is more widely spread?

Auckland,

December 14, 1889.

vignette

## No. 2.

WHEN it is proposed to reform any institution the first step is to show the need for reform, and to show that the men in charge have failed in making it carry out the objects for which it was brought into existence.

I do not wish to "pile up the agony," or to bring unmerited odium on our Commissioners, but this question of railway administration has become a very serious matter to all of us, so serious that we cannot allow personal considerations to come in.

Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay have now had a ten years' trial, and the table given in my last shows where they have landed us. To that table I ought to have added another column showing the loss made yearly. I now append it. In former statements of loss I have calculated interest at 5½ per cent., but as the rate we now pay is somewhat reduced, in this instance I have taken it at 5 per cent. only.

It will be seen that in 1889 an apparent gain of £29,451 was made. I say apparent because it is easy to show that it is not real. This is how it has been done. The train service of the colony was reduced in this one year by 315,634 miles. This, at the cost of the train mile in 1888, 4s 8d, is equal to £73,647.

This is a very wonderful way of making money, or "saving," as our Commissioners call it. It has, however, the advantage of being extremely simple and easy, and of not requiring much brain power. The revenue by some means or other must be made to show an increase; therefore, cut off train services to the extent of

£73,000, in order that £29,000 may be "saved." By this process, all we require to do is to shut up the lines, and so save the whole expenditure.

It appears to me that the real problem is, how to increase our train mileage, and make profitable use of our railways, not how to shut them up. At an immense expense we have acquired a very useful and powerful machine, and in the name of common sense let us make some good use of it, and not allow it to rust to pieces.

Here is a curious instance of an effort to make railways pay. It seems that until within the last few days the various newspaper proprietors have had the privilege of sending their papers to country agents and customers free of charge, they in return doing a certain amount of the advertising of the department also free of charge.

Our Commissioners, however, must "get revenue," and in their wild efforts to accomplish this object they have conceived the brilliant idea of charging one halfpenny for each loose newspaper passing over the lines, and a somewhat smaller sum if sent in parcels.

Now I wonder what they expect to make out of this. In the first place, they will have to pay for their advertisements; and in the next, seeing that the charge by post is the same as by rail, the chances are that nearly all the papers will be sent by post.

This is another instance of how our Commissioners "kill the goose." Newspapers are certainly a powerful agency in the promotion of trade, and anything that tends to limit their circulation must, to a certain extent, retard the development of railway traffic.

Judge by what standard we may the administration of our railways seems to me to be a miserable failure. Compared with the United Kingdom they stand thus:—New Zealand, one mile of railway to every 349 inhabitants. United Kingdom, one mile of railway to every 1766 inhabitants. New Zealand tons moved, 3 per inhabitant; United Kingdom tons moved, 7 per inhabitant; New Zealand journeys made, 5 per inhabitant; United Kingdom journeys made, 21 per inhabitant. This is exclusive of season ticket business, which in England is enormous.

I am very far from believing the English system of railway administration to be good; I consider the policy that governs it to be as bad as it can be, and I merely give the above figures to show that under the same system, with much greater transit facilities in proportion to population, and with a more wealthy people to operate upon, we do an infinitely less proportionate trade.

It appears to me that under these circumstances there must be something very wrong with our administrators.

The natural use of railways is to distribute population and wealth, but the selfish and unprincipled way in which they have always been administered has led to exactly the opposite result, and they have been made to concentrate population into the great cities, and wealth into the hands of a few families.

In the neighbouring colony of Victoria the railways are under the control of a well known English railway expert, and this is what is taking place there.

The following table shows the proportion of the whole of the population of the colony of Victoria contained in the city and suburbs of Melbourne:—

From this it will be seen that two years ago (the latest figures obtainable) over 40 per cent of the total population of Victoria was concentrated in Melbourne alone. It will also be seen that during the last 27 years the population of country towns and districts has declined from 74.11 per cent, of the whole to 59.87 per cent. It will further be seen that this decline is not only continuous, but is going on with ever accelerating speed. Where will it end?

It is only those who have devoted considerable time and study to the subject who can form any idea of the commercial and social trouble that must shortly ensue if this state of things is to continue.

I have used the Victorian statistics because they illustrate what is going on close at hand, and I would draw particular attention to this fact. The railways of that colony were handed over to the Commissioners on the first of February, 1884, and the policy of converging everything on the capital was more fully brought into force, and the command went forth to work the railways on "*commercial principles*."

For the decade from 1861 to 1871, the proportion of increase of population in the capital to population in the country and country towns was 2.98 percent.; for the next decade, 1871 to 1881, the increase was 3.94. During the next two years the increase was 37, and during the next five years, 1883 to 1888, it was 6.95 per cent.

During this five years the Commissioners have held sway for four and a-half years, and pursued their concentration policy, with the result that the proportion of population in the capital has increased by 6.95 per cent., whereas, under the previous administration, it took 22 years to increase it 7.29 per cent. Dearly has Victoria paid for the temporary increase in her railway revenue. I say temporary advisedly; it will not continue unless the system is altered.

More than two years ago I published the following sentence:—"Melbourne is now enjoying the result of the absorption of her country districts. She rejoices; her turn will come—come more swiftly than she expects." Are

not my words coming true?

What is going on in Victoria is going on here, going on in England, America, every-where where railways are working on this pernicious principle.

All over the world the value is rapidly leaving country lands. For a while the value of city and suburban land is increased abnormally, and then the value goes out of that also, as to a large extent it has already done here.

In studying out the railway problem, two facts have very forcibly impressed themselves on my mind, and seem to me to be of great significance. The first is that the value of land, more especially country land, is seriously depreciated almost everywhere. The second is, that as a rule the profit on working railways is becoming less and less every year.

Land is far and away the greatest and most valuable interest in the world, and next to that I suppose come railways, which have cost four thousand three hundred millions of pounds (£4,300,000,000).

We cannot doubt the fact that these two vast interests are year *by* year becoming less and less profitable. Is there not a great field for thought here? What is the underlying evil?

It cannot be pretended that either the land or railways are in themselves an evil. The fault must be in the way we make use of them. Fortunately we are impotent to do the land itself much injury, but we can, and we have done much mischief in the way we handle and deal with its products and producers.

Railways are the greatest transit system in the world. They enjoy a virtual mono-poly of land transit, and yet it is only with the greatest difficulty that they can be made to pay a small rate of interest.

Next to the railways as a transit system, comes the mercantile navy of the world, but as a rule this pays well. Why? Mainly because the system of charging freights and fares is a sensible one. The charge is made *per journey*. If ship owners' regulated their charges at so much per mile passed over, how much long distance traffic would they get?

It is population that gives value to land, and so long as we pursue a railway policy that continuously drains the population *from our producing districts*, and piles it up in the great cities, so long shall we not only suffer commercially and socially, but our railway working must continue to become less and less profitable. No scheming of experts, no charging halfpennies on newspapers, no giving differential rates here and there, will alter this.

*Nothing but a complete, a thorough and radical change in the whole system will ever give us any real relief.*

My contention is that the prosperity of any country or any district will be and is in proportion to its transit facilities. It must not be assumed that because a country has railways that therefore it has transit facilities. That does not necessarily follow. It is true the instrument is there, but if it is not used there can be no result. Here we have the instrument, a more than fairly good one, but we play a very small and miserable tune upon it.

Our present policy is to levy the highest possible tax on the transit of the people and the products of the country. Could we by any possibility levy taxation in a worse direction? Could we by any possibility devise a more direct plan of arresting the commercial and social development of the country? Surely we ought to be able to find some better plan of raising revenue.

The question may, however, be very fairly asked, Is it necessary to continue to work our railways at a loss? I answer that it is not, and I emphatically assert that if our railways were worked intelligently in the interests of the *whole people that our passenger fares could be reduced to about one-fifth of the present charge and goods rates to less than half and our railroads yet to be made to pay greatly better than they do now.*

I say this deliberately and with a full knowledge of what I am saying, and I claim that I have given repeated proof that I have an intelligent knowledge of what can and what can not be done in railway working.

To me it seems an absurdity to suppose that a monopoly of the inland carrying trade of this country cannot be made to pay, and at the same time be made to meet the requirements of the people. The plain truth is this, that under the present no-system our railways do not provide for the wants of more than a fourth of the population, and that is the reason why they do not pay, either directly or indirectly.

It is now a year since we gave our railways away to the Commissioners. Can any-body tell of any benefit we have derived from that silly transaction? Is anybody better pleased with their administration Has there been the change of policy that was expected? Has there been any improvement?

My contention is that the railroads of any country are but its roads, its main roads, its great highways, and I maintain that it is one of the first duties of any Government to keep the direct control of the great lines of intercommunication, and not give them away in fee simple to three men to deal with exactly as they please, and without any responsibility whatever to anybody as to how they may use or abuse them.

For the Commissioner craze, which arose in Victoria and spread to this and other colonies, Australasia will yet pay dearly. In justice to Victoria, it must be said that there is nothing in common between their Act and ours; theirs contains some admirable provisions, ours is simply a helpless, contemptible abandonment of

everything.

Let me repeat what I have many times said before. *They that rule the roads must and do ride the trade and commerce of the country, they hold it in their hands with an iron grip.* This is power that should only be held by the Government.

If, instead of creating the Railway Commission, the Government had set up a Commission, and had handed over to it the control of the Post Office Savings Banks, the Government Life Insurance, the Public Trust Office, &c., a real service would have been rendered to the country, for there is no doubt that the ease with which the funds of these institutions have been made available has led to much of the extravagant expenditure of the past.

Auckland,

January 22, 1890.

vignette

## Railways: Mr. G. Findlay's Book.

*The following article was written in reply to a review of the chapter on Passenger Traffic, in Mr. G. Findlay's book, recently published in the "New Zealand Herald"*

I HAVE carefully read the notice which appeared in the NEW ZEALAND HERALD, of Saturday, December 4, of the work recently published by Mr. George Findlay, General Manager of the London and North-Western Railway, on the "Working and Management of an English Railway." The object is to make it appear that, no matter what the fares may be, people will not travel, and that a reduction in fares must necessarily mean loss.

I have more than once had occasion to remark that our railway authorities appear to be incapable of reading the lessons that railway statistics teach, this reviewer seems to be in the same position, and before I have done I shall show that Mr. Findlay's facts and figures, so far from controverting my position, in the strongest manner support it.

All who know anything about railways know the name of Mr. George Findlay. He is one of the foremost of English railway experts, and no one is better able to argue the question from his point of view.

Mr. Findlay's statement simply amounts to this: That certain reductions in fares were made, and that those reductions have not paid the English railway companies.

It is a marvel to me that it ever could have been thought that they would pay.

In saying this, I am aware that I lay myself open to be charged with presumption. I know that some of the leading financial men of the great financial country were concerned in making this arrangement. Still, the result proves that they were out in their calculation, for it is certain that their only object was to make money.

At the risk of being thought egotistical, I must direct attention to the fact that on more than one occasion I have foretold that certain financial operations in connection with railways would not realise the expectations of the operators.

In March, 1883, three months after my first letter on railway reform appeared, the department reduced ordinary passenger fares by 25 per cent. As soon as this alteration was announced I wrote as follows:—"I am strongly of opinion that the concession made will simply mean loss so far as the revenue is concerned."

The result for the year showed a loss of £25,242, and 10,734 fewer people carried. Of what use was this reduction? It was similar to that made in England. The sole object of Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay was to make money, and they failed.

In 1884 Mr. Mitchelson put forward his famous tariff, which was to add £150,000 to the year's revenue. I pointed out that the gain was more likely to be £50,000 than £150,000. The result showed £50,372.

I could multiply instances, but these are sufficient to show that with the most meagre information at command, I am able to form a correct estimate of the effect of an increase or decrease in railway charges.

Let us now examine the reductions made on the British lines. They were as follow:—

The object was, of course, to increase the volume of first and second class traffic. It could not have been intended to operate on third class traffic, because no reduction was made in that class. We shall see how they succeeded.

I have not the figures before me showing the numbers carried in the various classes in 1872, but in 1875 they stood thus: First and second class, 22 per cent, of the whole; and third class, 78 per cent.

With all due respect I submit that the ridiculous reductions quoted above, and these operating on only 22 per cent, of the traffic, could only mean financial disaster. I wonder how any sane men could have expected

anything but loss from them. They were not enough to open up fresh trade, and must lead to increased proportionate expenditure.

That the operators intended, and expected, to increase the first and second class passenger traffic is obvious, or the reductions would not have been made. That they failed miserably in their attempt is proved by the fact that this class of traffic, year by year, steadily declined till from 22 per cent, in 1875 and no doubt a higher percentage in 1872, it fell to only 13½ per cent, in 1885.

It cannot be pretended that this falling off in trade was due to the fact that these reductions were made—they simply had no effect whatever, and were only a gift to certain people.

In 1872 the revenue of the London and North-Western Company from first and second class passenger traffic was £1,378,032. In 1882 it had shrunk to £951,313. Thus we see that notwithstanding the great increase in the population and trade of the Kingdom the revenue received from these two classes was actually less by £426,719 than it was ten years previously. Could there be a more complete failure of any financial operation?

During the same period the third-class traffic of the kingdom increased from 392,741,177 to 603,762,117 fares, and the revenue from this source from £12,985,829 in 1872 to £17,588,730 in 1882, but it is evident that this increase was not in the least respect due to the financial operation mentioned above.

By the end of 1888 the revenue of the London and North-Western Company showed a further *decrease* of £112,729 from first and second class passengers, and a further *increase* of £187,071 from third-class passengers.

The article goes on to show that on the London and North-Western line the receipts per passenger train mile have fallen from 52.30 d. to 43.08 d., and the statement is made: "This is due to the increased mileage run, the greater weight of the trains, and the reduction of fares."

If this statement is put forward in good faith (I understand it to be the statement of the writer of the article, and not Mr. Find-lay), it is another proof of the inability of the reviewer to understand the teaching of statistics he ought to have perfectly at command.

Here are the facts. This is the result of the working of the whole railways of the United Kingdom:—

Did the reductions, etc., in 22 per cent. of the passenger traffic cause the falling off in the receipts from goods traffic?

This falling off has been steady and continuous year by year for the last sixteen or more years, and shows clearly that there are influences at work affecting the whole railway traffic. What are they? Clearly not—as our department would have us believe—the reduction in the fares charged for 22 per cent, of the passenger traffic.

I think I have shown that the statement made that, "The introduction of reduced fares and increased facilities since 1872 has led to these results" is not in accordance with facts and is misleading.

So far I have dealt with the construction the writer of the article puts upon Mr. Find-lay's work. I have not yet seen his book, but where his words are quoted he seems to me to say something very different.

He very distinctly states that a large trade is to be created by giving "low fares and season tickets between all the larger centres of population and places within a radius of 20 miles so as to build up a residential traffic." This is precisely what I propose to do.

Mr. Findlay further states that his remarks as to long distance traffic, "*of course*" do not apply "to the traffic between large towns and seaside or other holiday resorts." Now, if you take this out, what have you left? Is not the traffic mentioned fully nine-tenths of the whole? It is more likely nineteen twentieths.

What we may gather from Mr. Findlay's facts and figures is this:—

- They prove incontestably the soundness of my oft-repeated assertion that a moderate reduction in fares must lead to financial loss.
- They also prove that the wants and requirements of the people are such that they can only avail themselves of the cheapest transit facilities.
- That when cheap and good transit facilities are provided the people eagerly avail themselves of them.
- That a reduction of 25 per cent, did not lead to any increase in the number of travellers.
- That there has been a large increase in the passenger traffic of the United Kingdom.
- That after the usual fashion of railway controllers, the companies in England withheld cheap fares and improved facilities until the demands of the public and the pressing requirements of trade forced them from them. It was not the companies that developed trade, but the increasing trade forced the hand of the companies, and wrung "concessions" from them that were very reluctantly given.

Thus I claim that Mr. Findlay's statements, so far from disproving my position, in the strongest manner support it.

I will now deal briefly with the conclusions drawn by the reviewer from Mr. Findlay's book.

He states that "it would appear that any great reduction in fares is likely to lead to heavy financial loss." I want to know why? The result depends on the system and extent to which the reductions are made.

There is no analogy whatever between the small reductions made on 22 per cent, of the traffic in England,

and the sweeping reductions on the whole of the traffic which I propose to make here.

The reviewer is, evidently, quite unable to see the difference between reducing fares and rates on an even mileage basis, and giving low fares *and* rates on a stage system; and our Commissioners seem utterly unable to comprehend the vast difference in financial results obtainable by reckoning fares and rates by a stage system, *having severed stopping stations within one stage*, and a system (mileage) where there are *several stages between any two stopping stations*.

On the one system low charges pay, because *each seat or truck may, and, as a rule, does, earn the, through fare several times in each stage*, while in the other the *through fare can only be earned once*.

This is the reason why low charges pay on the one system, while on the other they mean loss.

I ask attention to the following statement:—"The third-class fare for 50 miles of travel being in England 4s 2d whilst a scheme has been considered to make the fare for the same distance in certain parts of New Zealand fourpencee."

This is a repetition of the misrepresentation to which the advocates of the present system persistently subject me. They try to create the impression that I rely for financial results on carrying passengers 50 miles for 4d. They know well that in nearly every instance my *lowest through fare* for a 50 mile distance is 1s 8d, and this fare may be paid several times over.

In England 50 miles of third-class travel can only produce 4s 2d. Here under my system, even on the 50 mile stage for 4d, which is such a terror to our department, from 5s to 6s would often be obtained. The charge is fourpence for the whole or any portion of the stage, but there are from fifteen to twenty stopping stations *within these stages*.

The accountant of the railway department. Mr. A. C. Fife, has proved demonstration and signed his name to the statement that two travellers paying my low fares will give a better financial result than one traveller paying the high fare they now charge him.

I have constantly pointed out that the chief cause of the failure of the railway system is the practice of reckoning fares and rates by the mile, which causes the area or circuit of profitable railway working to gradually but surely and continuously contract upon the great centres of population. Mr. Findlay seems to say that in the United Kingdom this circuit is now limited to 20 miles. In this colony it certainly does not exceed 30 miles.

The reviewer states that the conditions of railway working in England and New Zealand are very different. Most certainly they are, and our railway department ought to be able to see that the conditions are all in our favour and not against us as they imagine.

In England railway traffic is very fully developed. Here, although we have railways, practically we have no traffic, especially the best paying portion—passenger traffic.

In England they work with two, four, or more lines of rails; here we work with one only. In England many, if not most, of the railways are taxed to their utmost carrying capacity. In some instances trains are started at a minute and a-half intervals, consequently even a small increase in the traffic must mean considerably increased cost—in some cases it means absolute loss.

For this reason it is doubtful if the passenger traffic of England could be increased even 10 per cent, without greatly increased cost. Here we have the testimony of Messrs. W. Conyers (late Commissioner of South Island Railways), R. W. Moody, James Stoddart, and T. D. Edmonds, all railway men, that we can treble our passenger traffic without increased cost. We all know that our carriages run practically empty.

Before the Railway Committee of 1886, Mr. Commissioner Hannay gave evidence that the average number of passengers per car on the Hurunui-Bluff section was seven (7) only, whereas they are able to carry forty (40). Yes the conditions are certainly very different. In England the traffic is all developed, here it is all *to be* developed. It is a pity our Commissioners cannot see the difference.

There is one other condition, population. We are told we have not sufficient population. It will be time enough to say this when we make use of the population we have. With more than five times the railway accommodation, in proportion to population, we do less than a fourth of the passenger traffic they do in the United Kingdom, also in proportion to population.

vignette

Wilson and Horton, Printers, Queen and Wyndham Streets.

## The Railway Problem in New Zealand.

By Samuel Vaile.

## No. 3.

THE excuse for passing the Government Railways Act of 1887 was the pretence that it would remove our railways from political influence. A very ordinary amount of reflection will show that it is utterly impossible to remove any railways from this influence.

The real question at issue in this matter is this: Shall the Government of the country influence and control the railways, or shall the railways influence and control the Government?

For many years the railways of America controlled the Senate, and did what they liked in railway legislation. There was political influence here of the worst possible kind, although every mile of railway was owned by private people.

In Great Britain, the railway interest exercises a most powerful political influence. Fifty-one railway directors are members of the House of Lords, and eighty-four are members of the House of Commons. It has already been found difficult to deal with this interest in the British Parliament.

If the ill-considered Act of 1887 is not speedily repealed, our railways will soon govern this country.

All that has been done is to remove them from the direct control of Parliament and place them under the control of three absolutely irresponsible men *and the Ministry of the day*. If the Ministry has no power over the railways, why do the Commissioners require to consult the Minister so frequently?

I do not believe in the sincerity of the wirepullers who promoted the Act of 1887. The worst form of political influence in connection with our railways is the log-rolling as regards lines of railway to be constructed. This matter (construction of railways) is left just where it was, except that under certain conditions corrupt influences could more easily be brought to bear.

Construction being still left as it was before, there are but two other ways in which the members of Parliament might exercise undue influence. First, in soliciting appointments for friends. I understand this to be the chief complaint; and second by securing concessions in rates and the granting of free passes.

The ready reply to charges of this kind is this: If the officers of the Department are so weak, and so corrupt, as to be amenable to influences of this sort, the evil has not been made less by their being placed in a position where no one can call their actions in question, and where they cannot be called upon, even by Parliament, to account for anything they may choose to do.

If it was desired to do away with the evils said to exist, there were far more effectual means of dealing with them.

When our Act was being framed, those who framed it had the Victorian Act before them, and Parliament and the country were deceived into the belief that this and our Act were identical. They have little or nothing in common.

In the Victorian Act there is a most admirable provision for the selection of employes; neither the Government nor the Commissioners appoint them. The Government appoints examiners for the various grades of railway work. When the Commissioners want men they are obliged to advertise for them. All who choose may apply to be examined, and those who pass *ballot among themselves* for the vacant posts.

Thus it will be seen that not only is it impossible for the Victorian railways to pass into the hands of a clique, but that fresh blood is always being introduced.

By passing an Act embodying this plan of appointment, our railways in this respect would be in reality, and not in name only, removed from political influence.

As to rates and free passes. The way to deal with that difficulty is to take all rates, fares, and charges down to the lowest possible point, and make them fixed for a number of years, and when alterations are made let them be made on a properly-defined system that shall be applicable to the whole colony. Free passes ought to be absolutely abolished.

By adopting these measures our working railways might remain under the direct control of the Government, and yet be completely removed from such political influences as are complained of.

It is in the matter of construction that the worst form of political influence has always been exercised.

Price, 4d.

All profits go to the Funds of the Railway Reform League.

It is well worth considering whether it would not be a wise thing to form a commission, say of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and four commercial men—two from each Island—and leave it to decide what lines in future shall be constructed.

If a system so open to corrupting influences as our system is to remain in force, corruption will sooner or later creep in; it is only a question of time; because we may commence with right men is no reason why we should continue with them, and we must never forget that the Commissioners have the right to delegate their

powers. They also have the right to grant as many free passes as they choose.

What influence are our railways to exercise on the elections of the future? They may, and probably will, exercise a very serious influence. Of course it is dreadful to hint that this influence might be corrupt; but I have something to tell.

I contested Auckland North at the last general election. My committee went through the electoral roll, and struck out all that they knew to be "dead-heads," a very large number. Then they marked off all that they knew would vote for certain either on one side or the other. Finally, they sent through the post some 1500 circulars to those who were regarded as uncertain.

As I write I have before me 433 of these circulars returned through the Dead Letter Office, and marked "not found," although all these names were on the roll which had only recently been made up.

During the last eight months of 1889 my firm has sent through the Post Office nearly 13,000 letters and circulars. These were sent, not only all over Auckland city and suburbs, but all over the colony, and of these only 344 have been returned.

Thus we see that during an election 433 could not be found out of 1500 people whose addresses were on a recently-formed roll, and in one quarter of the city, while of 13,000 people, but not at election times—all are found with the exception of 344.

Is it possible that the Post Office was used for a political purpose; and if so, who used it, and what is to prevent our railways being used in a similar manner?

By the passing of the Act of 1887, the entire power and patronage of our railway system, with its 4326 appointments, has been placed in the hands of some six or eight families. A nice close borough has been formed here, and a plentiful crop of future trouble will arise. It is surely easy to see that a political influence is rapidly being created of a far worse character than anything we formerly had to contend with. Imagine what is meant by giving three absolutely irresponsible men the power to make 4326 appointments, and remember that in a few years, in the ordinary course of things, the number of these appointments must be enormously increased. Is there no political influence here? Will it not be far worse than anything we have hitherto experienced.

It is difficult to see what this matter may lead to. All these thousands of men hold their posts absolutely by the goodwill of the Commissioners. They therefore dare not offend them. Whatever may happen, they have no appeal, no remedy of any kind. If such powers are not sooner or later abused, then we shall have developed a new phase in human nature.

It must be remembered that there are no other railways in the colony on which discharged men can find employment.

In whatever interest the Government Railways Act of 1887 was framed it is quite certain that that interest was not the public interest, for there is not one syllable in it for the protection of public rights and interests. The whole thing looks to me like a bold, daring attempt on the part of an interested few to seize the whole power and patronage that a supreme and unbridled control of the railways of the colony would give them. If this was their object, for a time they have succeeded.

A heavy responsibility rests on the Hon. Edwin Mitchelson for forcing this important measure through a wearied House at the fag-end of a session. Very few of the members gave it a cordial support, most of them spoke very doubtfully as to the prospect of its leading to any good results, and many opposed it strongly. It was simply forced through the House by the Government majority.

A great deal more could be said, but I think it is apparent to everybody that the present system of railway administration is about as bad as bad can be. Its days are surely numbered.

## What We Want.

We want a truly national transit system, one that shall meet the wants and requirements of *the whole people*. Our system does not provide for the wants of one-fourth of the community, hence its utter failure, financially and socially.

No man having a family to provide for, and an income of less than £300 a-year, can afford to use our railways, except to a very limited extent. This cuts out the whole artizan and labouring classes, shopmen, clerks, small shopkeepers, small farmer?, and numerous others. What I say is this: that this vast mass can only use our railways very occasionally, and to a very limited extent, while a very large portion of it, would if it could, make very great use of them.

If my statement is correct, and I will show further on that it is, it follows that what railway revenue—more especially passenger revenue—is now earned, is obtained from a very small proportion of the people.

*We want and must have, a system that will develop the trade that lies hidden among the great bulk of the people.* This I say is a very easy matter, and our railway administrators must have been simple indeed not to have seen how to do it long ago.

We want, and badly want, cheap transit, but we want far more, an *equalisation of transit charges*, on a fair and just basis.

We want a system that will open up, not close, our great producing districts, a system that will enable the distant farmer to bring or send his produce to market without having all his profit eaten up in transit charges.

We want a system that will enable the city artizan, clerk, or labourer to make use of his special knowledge or strength in a town or district 100 or 300 miles away from the city he may now happen to find himself jammed up in.

We want a system of *fixed charges*. A system that will enable our producers and manufacturers to calculate accurately the cost of their various productions, and that will enable them to erect their factories in those situations that nature has pointed out as most suitable for their requirements.

We want a system that shall attract population to our shores, and promote settlement on our land; a system that shall make the barren lands of this country able to contribute their fair share of taxation, and go relieve the pressure of the heavy burden that now rests on a few only.

We want a simple system that can be understood by everybody; a system under which it shall no longer be necessary to "inquire at the station for your rate," but under which everyone will know what he has to pay, and will have to pay, for the same service for several years to come.

We want a system that shall reverse the present order of things, and make our railways act as *distributors of population and wealth* instead of concentrators of wealth into the hands of a few families, and population in a few great cities.

In short we want a system that shall practically annihilate distance as regards the cost of transit of passengers and goods; a system that will meet the requirements of every class, the poorest as well as the richest; a system that shall be thoroughly clear of the trickery, fraud, and mystery of the present one; a system that will go on ever widening instead of contracting its sphere of beneficial action; a system that, stead of showing a yearly increasing loss, shall show a yearly increasing gain, both directly and indirectly; and one that shall add to our happiness and prosperity; instead of to our misery and poverty as the present system does.

The question is, Can we have all this, and will not the cost be too great? I emphatically assert that we can have it all, nob only without any increased cost, but with immense relief to the taxpayer.

The great financiers of the old country have many times increased revenue by reducing taxation. We could do the same if we would. Here the only idea seems to be that to increase revenue you must increase taxation.

It is quite true that in this country no great increase of revenue could arise from reductions in the taxation on the necessities of life. The population is too small and too well off for that to have any effect. As regards food and clothing, nearly everybody is fairly well supplied. In the matter of travelling it is very different. There is a large field for development here, and I unhesitatingly assert that by largely reducing our charges we can greatly increase our revenue.

To do this, however, means a revolution. We want no namby-pamby work; no man at the head of affairs who must wait till the experiment has been tried somewhere else. No "concessions:" no mere "modifications in the direction of lowering rates on produce and merchandise for long distances," will do. Nothing short of the entire abolition of the present system, and the substitution of an entirely new one, will effect our purpose. This is now being done in other countries, and the sooner it is done here the better it will be for all of us.

Auckland,

February 12, 1890.

NOTE.—Nos. 1 and 2 of this series were published in the HERALD of December 24, 1889, and Februarys, 1890, respectively.

MEMO.—The papers on "Differential Rating," published previously should have formed No. 4 of this. They were published out of the regular order to supply the information asked for by the Railway Commissioners as to what was the meaning of the term "differential rating."

## No. 5.

# The Difference between Mileage and Stage

# Rating.

IN order to fully understand the railway problem, it is very necessary to have a clear idea of the essential difference between reckoning fares and rates on the present and on the proposed system: the vast importance of the difference between these systems is very imperfectly understood. This is not to be wondered at, as, indeed, the issue has only recently been raised. So far as I am aware, the proposal to reckon fares and rates by stages was first made in this city in 1882, and subsequently in 1886 in London by the late Mr. Charles Waring.

Up to quite a recent period the railway men have asserted that their *basis of rating* was actual "cost of service" per mile, and they contend that charges can only be fairly made *at per mile*, modified by differential rates, the controllers of railways to have the right to make these differential rates as they please.

Other writers and myself have so mercilessly assailed and exposed this fraudulent system, that we now hear nothing of the pretence of "cost of service," but the railway men openly assert that they have the right to regulate their charges by "*what the traffic will bear.*" In plain English, to take all they can possibly get from the users of railways, the only limit to their impositions being the fear of losing their trade.

I speak of this system as "fraudulent" advisedly, and assert that it was invented for the sole purpose of defrauding the public. That I am justified in speaking thus strongly is proved by the recent severe legislation of England and America against it. In those countries it is now prohibited under very severe penalties.

In March, 1889, the American Senate passed an amendment to their Inter-State Commerce Bill, imposing penalties of any sum up to £1000, *and two years' imprisonment* for each and every differential rate given. Must not differential rating be worse than fraudulent to draw such an Act from the Americans, of all people in the world?

This then is the system in force on the New Zealand railways, and the real object of the Government Railways Act of 1887 was to give special facilities for working it to the fullest possible extent. Differential rates are now being imposed as fast as possible on some of our branch railways, that is to say, against the poorest and most undeveloped districts, with the inevitable result that these districts must become poorer and poorer every year. Could any policy be more insane.

I am well aware that this was not the intention of Parliament, but I emphatically say, that it was the intention of those who framed and procured the passing of this most disastrous piece of legislation.

The great defect of any mileage system is that it must of necessity, and actually does, force trade, commerce, and imputation back on the great cities, and depopulates the country districts.

What I mean is this: Under the present system, almost invariably, the *rate per mile* for passenger fares in city and suburban districts is greatly less than the rate per mile in country districts. For 15 miles round Melbourne the rate is only half the country rate. This is also the case in most city and suburban districts in England, America, and, indeed, almost everywhere.

Now, this system of rating appears to me to be extremely vicious. It is unjust to a degree, its social effects are most disastrous, and it is financially unsound.

It is unjust, because it places country residents and producers under such fearful disadvantages. Its social effects are disastrous, because it is, undoubtedly, the chief cause of the congestion of population in the great cities of the world, and this, again, is the chief producer of disease, poverty, and crime. It is financially unsound, because it preys on its own vitals, by destroying the country districts and towns, and thus, ultimately, crippling the trade of the great cities and seaports.

That thus must be the effect of mileage rating the railway officials themselves have given the most convincing proof.

In Parliamentary paper I.-9, on page 89, will be found a table prepared by Mr. A. C. Fife, the accountant of the Railway Department, and this is what it tells us:—

The total number of passengers that travelled on the Auckland lines during 1885-86, was 424,914, and the gross amount they paid was £39,909.

Of this number 292,949 travelled distances of 10 miles and under, and paid £9596. They represented the city population, and formed 68.8 per cent, of the whole; they, however, paid only 24 per cent, of the revenue.

Travellers of over 10 miles and not exceeding 50 miles numbered 107,202, and they paid £15,647. They represented the most favoured of the farmer class as regards railway rating, and formed 25.2 per cent, of the whole, but they paid 39.2 per cent, of the revenue.

The unfortunates who had to travel over 50 miles numbered only 24,762, and they had to pay £14,666. Thus only 5.8 per cent, of the travellers paid 36.7 per cent, of the whole revenue.

It must be remembered that all goods rates are levied on the same system. Is it any wonder that people crowd down upon the cities? Is it possible for them to do anything else? Can we ever settle the country and

develop its resources under such a system?

I commend these facts to the consideration of my country friends. A great effort has been made lately to convince them that they will secure an advantage over the cities if they obtain cheap mileage rates for manures, produce, and stock. Can any such reductions redress the wrong pointed out?

The railways of the colony belong to the whole people. Why then should 292,949 colonists be able to reach their homes and transact their business for a payment of £9596, while another 24,762, or say one-twelfth of the number had to pay £14,666. I am not arguing for the universal fare, but I say that a discrepancy like this is not only a grievous injustice, but as a financial arrangement is as silly and unsound as it can possibly be. As a colony we shall have no real progress until this is altered.

As to a stage system, it must on no account be a system of equal stages, as such a system would, although in a less degree, embrace all the evils of mileage rating.

I fully expect to find our Commissioners before long endeavouring to introduce a system of equal stages, and I warn my fellow-colonists to resist to the utmost any such attempt.

The system proposed for New Zealand is one of *unequal* stages, and the *basis of rating is average cost and population*. This, I hold, to be the only true basis.

The following letter to the Chairman of the Railways Rates and Charges Committee of 1886, briefly describes this system:—

## Mr. S. Vaile to the Chairman, Railway Management Committee.

Wellington,

9th June, 1886.

SIR,—In compliance with your request, I have the honour to submit in writing a description of my proposals for altering the system of levying the fares and rates payable on the New Zealand railways.

1. I propose to abolish computing fares and rates by the mile.
2. To abolish all differential rating.
3. In place of the present system, I propose to reckon all fares and rates by stages in the following manner:—

Starting from any capital town (for this purpose I treat any town having a population of not less than 6000 as a capital town), I propose to place on every line running out of that town four ticket stations or stages, as near as may be, seven miles apart, and then, should there be a stretch of country of fifty or more miles not having a town of 2000 inhabitants, to make the stages fifty miles each. Outside each town of 2000 inhabitants I propose to place one seven-mile stage on each line, and outside towns of 4000 two seven-mile stages; towns of 6000, as before stated, to be treated as capital towns.

4. All fares and rates to be of one uniform charge, from stage to stage, for the whole or any portion of the distance.

5. Passenger fares to be charged 6d first and 4d second class for the whole or any portion of a stage.

6. All parcels and goods rates to be reckoned in the same manner—that is, one uniform charge for the whole or any portion of a stage; but as there are no statistics published on which I could found a reliable estimate, I am unable to fix any scale of rates; those I have previously quoted being, as I have many times said, merely suggestions.

7. From time to time, as the revenue shall stand it, the fares and rates from stage to stage to be reduced to the lowest possible limit.

8. When the lines become filled up with seven-mile stages, and the revenue will admit of it, then I propose that the outside seven-mile stage from each capital town shall be removed, then the next stage, and so on, until the stages are only between towns of 6000 or more inhabitants. By persistently following this plan we may ultimately see our way, as regards passengers, at any rate, to making one fare only for any distance within the colony.

*Memorandum.*—I do not propose to fix the stages arbitrarily at the distances mentioned, but at the best collecting and distributing points nearest to them.

9. That the Government should be relieved of their present responsibility as carriers.

10. That an insurance department should be established in connection with the Railway Department, where, by payment of a small fee, either life, limb, or goods could be insured.

11. That, in place of the present tickets, railway-stamps should be issued and sold by every licensed stamp-vendor.

12. That stamps of a different colour or description should be issued which would entitle the holder to pass from a station immediately preceding a ticket-station to the next station beyond it, and thus save him from paying a double fare for a very short journey. The same will apply to goods traffic.

From the adoption of the proposed plan I should expect the following results to take place:—

- The rapid settlement of the country;
- The creation of numerous inland towns;
- The doing away with the great evil of massing large numbers of people in a few centres;
- A more even distribution of population and wealth;
- A more equitable adjustment of the burden of taxation;
- A very large increase in the railway revenue.

—I am, Sir, very faithfully yours,

SAMUEL VAILE.

E. Mitchelson, Esq., M.H.R.,

Chairman Railway Rates and Charges Committee.

## No. 6.

# The Difference between Mileage and Stage Rating, Continued.

UNDER the stage system, described in paper No. 5, which is based on population, all the evils mentioned would be done away with. This will be best understood by the following examples:—

At present fares and rates are charged by *the mile*, and thus Cambridge, being 100 miles from Auckland, has to pay for 100 removes or charges. Under the new system Cambridge would be 6 removes away, and would pay only 6 times. The 100-mile man would therefore, as regards *relative cost of transit*, be in as good a position as the 6-mile man is now. Christchurch instead of being 100 would be only 6 removes from Timaru, and only 22 instead of 230 from Dunedin. The whole distance from Waikari to the Bluff would be but 37 removes apart, instead of 436 as now, and every other line and district would be placed in an equally advantageous position.

The present average goods rate being  $3\frac{1}{4}d$  per ton per mile, the man who is 100 miles from the market has to pay 100 times  $3\frac{1}{4}d$ —£1 7s 1d, while the man 10 miles out only pays 10 times  $3\frac{1}{4}d$ —2s 9d, thus the 100-mile man must inevitably fail in competition. *It is this that has taken all the value out of country lands, and rendered settlement in the interior impossible.*

Suppose a man having a farm 150 miles from Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, or Invercargill; this is how he is now situated. Say he has 50 tons of produce ready for transport to either of these markets.

When his produce is at the railway shed, there would be in it a certain gross profit, out of which he would have to pay his transit charges, commission on sales, etc., the balance, if any, being his net profit.

Say 10 tons bear a profit of 10s per ton, 30 tons 15s per ton, and 10 tons 20s per ton

Mr. Maxwell states that the average distance goods are carried in New Zealand is only 25 miles, and that the average price paid is 6s 10d per ton, consequently the average charge is  $3\frac{1}{4}d$  per ton per mile.

I may remark in passing that the average charge in the State of New York is eight-tenths of a cent.; in the State of Ohio, nine-tenths of a cent.; and the average for the whole of America is in cents 1.057, as near as can be one halfpenny ( $\frac{1}{2}d$ ) per ton per mile.

Suppose the New Zealand farmers' rate to average only 2d per ton per mile, instead of  $3\frac{1}{4}d$ , his profit at 10s per ton would all be exhausted in railway charges when his goods had travelled 60 miles, the 15s profit at 90 miles, and the 20s profit at 120 miles. On arrival at his market he would find himself in the following position:—

Thus he would not only lose the whole of his profit of £37 10s, but in addition he would have to pay £25 for railway charges alone, and the heavier his crops were the greater would be his misfortune.

This is no exaggerated picture. It is what occurs every day, and shows how impossible it is under such a system to settle the interior of the country. What possible value can there be in land so situated, and how can it bear its fair share of taxation?

From the example given above it will be seen that a system of equal stages would have the same defects as

the mileage system, though for a time in a less degree. It will also be seen that no mere reduction in rates, no matter how great, can remedy the evil, for if the rate were taken down to  $\frac{1}{4}d$  per ton per mile, the man at 150 miles would have to pay 3s  $1\frac{1}{2}d$ , while the man at 10 miles would only pay  $2\frac{1}{2}d$ , and prices soon adjust themselves.

It is to remedy this defect that I propose a system of unequal stages placed in the manner I have described.

I propose to readjust these stages after every census. Thus, should the population of a small town have increased to 2000 souls, or a 2000-town to 4000, an additional stage would be placed on each line out of it.

Should no alteration be made in *the stage rate* this would, of course, increase the through rate; but it is manifest that if the increase or alteration in the location of the population admitted of an increase of 33 per cent. in the number of stages, *the stage rate* could be reduced by 25 per cent., and thus the through rate would remain the same, while the burden of transit charges would be more evenly distributed.

It is an open question whether it would be advisable to increase the number of stages and reduce the stage rate, or whether it would not be better instead to remove an equal number of stages from the weaker districts, and so give them a chance of acquiring strength. My own opinion is that this would be the best plan for some time to come, if not always, for it will be seen that by following it up persistently we should ultimately arrive at the nearest approach to the *universal fare* that the finances of the colony would admit of.

As regards the position of the stages in relation to population, when my system was first placed before the public the universal opinion was that railways ought to be managed on "commercial principles." I therefore knew that it was useless to propose any system that would not show good financial results, so I located my stages accordingly, as I will explain when we come to consider the financial aspect of the question,

Now, a better feeling is rapidly gaining ground, and most thinking men acknowledge that the first duty of a railway is not to "get revenue." Had the feeling in 1882 been even as it is now, instead of proposing four stages of seven miles on each side of a great centre of population, I should have adjusted them thus:—First stage, seven miles; second stage, 10 miles; third stage, 15 miles; fourth stage, 25 miles; making the first four stages cover from 57 to 60 miles instead of from 28 to 30 miles. I believe that this would be a more fair and just distribution, and that it would ultimately give the best results, but in the meantime it is very doubtful if financial success could be assured; with the seven mile stages this is absolutely certain.

I have said that the mileage system of railway rating is chiefly responsible for the congestion of population in the great cities of the world. This is necessarily so, for the example I have given above as to how the farmer is treated applies with equal if not greater force to the manufacturer. Having large quantities of goods to transport, he must crowd as closely on the city as he can, because every mile he is away from his market he has an additional toll to pay on all his products. His workpeople, too, must crowd round him; for every mile they move away adds to their daily expenditure.

Workpeople must be near their work; they cannot, under mileage rating, getaway if they would. Under this miserable system both factories and population are forced into unnatural positions, and into a few great centres, to the detriment of trade generally, and the physical, mental, and moral degradation of vast multitudes of people, and to the ultimate loss of profit in railway working.

Under a system of unequal stages all this would be altered, for the rating instead of being as now, all in favour of the great centres, would *for the time being* be in favour of the weaker districts, and thus enable land in those districts to be utilised, and population to settle there. While the cost of transport to and from the great centres would be enormously reduced.

Take the town of Hamilton in the Waikato, as an example of numerous other towns in the colony. All round this town there are large areas of land very thinly populated, and very poorly utilised. It is a junction town. The north and south trunk line, the Cambridge branch, the Rotorua, and the Thames-Te Aroha lines all converge upon it, but notwithstanding this fact, its population has for years past steadily decreased and is now considerably less than 1000 souls. There must be some-thing wrong.

Naturally, we should say, these railways ought to be a great advantage to this town, as a matter of fact, they are its curse; but under the system proposed they would help it greatly. It would command three long and two shorter stages. The inevitable result must be that certain manufacturers and traders would establish themselves there, because they would be able to send their goods over a distance of, say, 50 miles in three different directions at the same uniform price. They would not have to consider whether they could afford to send 20 or 30 miles, but would know that they could command the whole 150 miles just as easily as they could command ten miles.

The effect of such a system must be to create fresh centres of trade and commerce, and to develop an inland or internal trade, which is what we want, and the railways themselves more especially want. As it is we have really no internal trade. The colony is now fifty years old, and yet it does not possess a single inland town worthy of the name, and such towns as we have are fast losing their population. During the ten weeks' discussion of this question by the Parliamentary Committee of 1886 the railway officials never once used the

words "internal trade," the export trade was eternally on their lips. It appears to me that their great effort then was, and is now, to export everything, the value of the land and its inhabitants included. Where would America and its railroads be without their internal trade! It does not require any deep thought to see where we shall be soon if more attention is not paid to this important matter.

It must always be borne in mind that under the proposed system the aid given to the poorer districts is only temporary, and that as their population increases, so will their share of the burden of transit charges increase, and other districts be proportionately relieved, until ultimately the charges will be the same everywhere.

It is my belief that *the great aim of railway administration ought to be the distribution of population.*

Regard it from what point of view we may, this is the sound theory. Distribution of population must mean distribution of wealth, for it is population that gives value to land, and if the value of land was more equally distributed, a much greater number of people must possess a fairer share of wealth.

This question of the more equal distribution of wealth is the greatest of all social problems. What we want is a less number of men possessed of millions, and a far greater number possessed of from £5000 to £50,000, while everybody ought to be able to provide themselves with the necessaries of life.

Such a state of things, I contend, can only be brought about by a wise administration of the railways of the world.

Auckland,

February 28, 1890.

## No. 7.

# Financial Results.

I SHALL now proceed to argue out the financial aspect of the question, and to prove that the proposed stage system will give greatly better financial results, both *directly and indirectly*, than the mileage system now in use.

Having proved my position as regards finance, I shall point out the effect the new system will have on some of the great Social questions of the day, and also draw attention to the difference in this respect between the proposed plan and the Hungarian "Zone" system. I shall also show how I would apply the New Zealand system to the British railways.

Before plunging into this part of the subject, it may be well to pause and ask ourselves the question, Ought the direct payment of interest to be the first business of a railway? I have always held, and after seven years of the closest study, hold still more firmly, the opinion that the direct payment of interest ought to be a very secondary consideration.

Is there any government of any English-speaking—I think I might say, any civilised people under the sun—that would dare to propose to sell or lease the common roads of its country, to any man or set of men, for the purpose of making money out of them? Why then should they do this by the rail" roads?

The only difference I can recognise between a railroad and a common road is this, on a common road the user provides and works his own rolling stock, while on a railway that portion of the service is necessarily done for him, and, consequently, in all fairness, must be charged for. My contention then is, that the user of the rail-road ought not to be charged for interest on the cost of construction of the permanent way, but that he ought to be charged for the use of the rolling stock and its manipulation, with a fair profit added. That is to say, that the charge made should be the same in kind as that made by an ordinary carrier on the common roads. If this were not done it would not be fair to those who are obliged to content themselves with the use of the common roads.

As to the financial outcome. The fair business profit on a monopoly of the inland carrying trade, if it were intelligently carried on, would be so enormous that it would far more than pay working expenses and interest on the £15,000,000 we have invested.

Our Railway Commissioners have a valuable monopoly in hand, but they do not know how to make use of it. I repeat my assertion that the sole cause of our railways not paying is due to the fact that those who have control of them have neither the breadth of mind nor the business ability to enable them to frame a policy of

administration suited to the wants and requirements of the *whole* people. Our present no-system does not provide for more than one-fourth of them.

In devising a new system of railway administration, the great object I have kept steadily in view is *distribution* as opposed to *centralisation*, and to produce a system that would provide for the wants and secure the business of the poorest as well as the richest classes. It is only in such a scheme that we can hope for financial success.

I take up the ground, that it is absolutely impossible to secure *permanent* financial success in railway working by any system of mileage rating, no matter how skilfully it may be manipulated. We have now had fifty years' experience of this system, modified by differential rates, twisted, distorted, contorted into every conceivable shape, and not only has it failed utterly to meet the world's requirements, but the Board of Trade returns conclusively prove that it is a financial failure also.

The only reason why it has existed so long is because the conditions have been different from what they ever can be again. In Great Britain, for instance, the railways, when they first came into existence, had to deal with a country thickly populated, vastly wealthy, and with a trade having an enormous margin of profit. It took a long time to make such a country feel the evils of its new transit system. In America the railways had to deal with a country having a large and wealthy population located on its sea coasts, a vast and fertile unappropriated inland territory, a constant and immense inflow of population, bringing with them great sums of money, and a ready market in Europe for their grain and other products at a large profit on the cost of production. These conditions have either disappeared or are rapidly disappearing, and can never appear again.

The conditions in Victoria were somewhat similar to those of America, but the country being smaller, poorer, and the inflow of population much less, it has taken less time for the evils of the system to manifest themselves. In New Zealand the conditions applying: to America exist in a still less degree, and it will take a very few years of the present administration to use this colony up entirely.

Having arrived at the conclusion that mileage rating must be abolished, my task was to find something to take its place. Naturally a system of even stages, say, of seven or ten miles each, presented itself, but a little thought made it obvious that such a system would have all the evils of mileage rating, although for a time in a less degree. Then I thought of the arrangement of stages at 7, 10, 15, and 25 miles, as described in my last paper, but I was pulled up by the financial difficulty.

It is a pity that on this great question of public policy the present pound should be of such paramount importance. It is, however, sometimes necessary to bow to circumstances.

To insure financial success I had to consider the following points:—

- Should we commence with goods or passenger traffic? It did not take long to decide for the passengers, because, in the first place, it is the natural order of things. We cannot have products without producers, therefore we must first place our men on their land. Next, men do not follow goods, but goods follow men, that is to say, goods have no wants to be provided for by men, but men have numerous wants to supply, for which goods have to be provided, and wherever you place men a goods traffic must follow. Then again as to finance, if sufficient inducement is given there is hardly any limit to the number of times passengers will pass up and down the lines, but no matter what the price charged, no sane man would send his goods twice over the lines if once sending them would do. If we increase passenger traffic an increased goods traffic must follow.
- It was necessary to ascertain the present *average* passenger fare. This proved to be 1s 11½d.
- It was also necessary to ascertain the *average* distance travelled. This I found was 13 miles.
- The relative position of first to second class passengers. I found that three and a-half second-class tickets were issued for one first-class.
- How to adjust the stages so as to make sure of securing an amount, at least, equal to the present average fare, in one, two, or three sums. This would, of course, depend on the inducement offered to people to travel, and the average length of journey they could fairly be expected to take.

Now the question of financial success or failure rests on the answer to this question: Have I so adjusted these stages, and will an average fare of one shilling (1s) be secured?

In order to make quite sure of this point, I ought to have had before me a table of the passenger bookings from every station to every station. Three times through various members of Parliament I asked for this return, but the department always refused it, on the ground that it was too costly. I therefore had nothing to guide me but the tables attached to the annual report on working railways.

After full consideration, I decided to make the passenger stage fares sixpence (6d.) first and fourpence (4d.) second-class, and to endeavour to secure the present average fare in two sums of one shilling each.

In order to do this, it was necessary so to locate the stages that the average distance travelled would land the passengers past the second and into the third stage. I calculated that the great reductions made in long distance fares would extend the average distance travelled at least from two to three miles, say, from thirteen to fifteen

or sixteen miles. This it was that made me decide for the seven-mile stages, the second of which is from one to two miles within the estimated travelling distance, and the other two seven-miles stages were so placed as an extra financial precaution. This arrangement, I have always maintained, made me absolutely certain of an average fare of 1s., and, as I have said, the whole result hangs on the answer to the question: Is this a correct estimate?

When I laid my plans before Mr. Maxwell, he simply met me, by telling me in plain, straight English that I did not understand the question at all; that he had no doubt I thought I did, but that I had not the necessary information, that the officers of the department alone could deal with the question, as they alone had the correct information, and that I could not obtain it. I tried to show him that it was only the policy of administration and financial portion of the subject I was dealing with. But it was of no use; he wound up the interview by recommending me to try and educate the public up to my ideas. I need hardly say that this is the only personal interview I have ever had with Mr. Maxwell.

Well, I have taken his advice, and done some little in public education. I hope he is satisfied with the result. Most certainly I am not; the apathy with which the general public treat this vitally-important question is a marvel, and a great discouragement to me. We shall, however, wake up to its importance before long—I hope before it is too late.

The hostile attitude Mr. Maxwell then took up he and his chief subordinates have ever since maintained. There has been no attempt on their part to investigate; simply an assumption of superior knowledge, which their own accountant has conclusively proved they do not possess, it would be scarcely possible for any set of men to be so hopelessly beaten by their own figures as these men have been.

As this matter of the financial result is very important, I may again remind my readers that all my calculations and estimates in regard to revenue have been carefully examined and reported upon by Messrs. W. Conyers (late Commissioner of South Island Railways), R. W. Moody, J. Stoddart, and T. D. Edmonds.

These are all railway men of, to say the least, equal experience with our Railway Commissioners, and they have all signed a statement to the effect that the introduction of my system would lead to an increase of 200 per cent, in the passenger traffic; that my average fare could not sink below one shilling (1s), and that the increased traffic "would not perceptibly increase the working expenses." This means that £200,000 per annum would be added to the net railway revenue.

This, then, is their statement and mine; the statement of five men who have carefully examined the whole question.

On the other hand, we have the unsupported, and certainly not very disinterested opinions: that is, if people who have not investigated can be said to have opinions, of four railway officials, Messrs. Maxwell, Hannay, Grant and Hudson. I must now show what these opinions are worth, or rather show how utterly worthless their own figures prove them to be.

After some contention, the committee ordered the production of the return I had asked for, so far as regards the Auckland lines. In order to prepare it I was asked to lay down a diagram of my system as applied to the Auckland lines, and to mark on it my fares from every station to every station. This was handed to Mr. A. C. Fife, the accountant for the Railway Department, and he was instructed to prepare a table showing the number of passengers that actually travelled at various distances in 1885-6, with the amount of money received for those distances, and he was also to say what number of fares would require to be taken under my system to produce the same financial results.

The references which follow in parenthesis are to the minutes of evidence taken by the Parliamentary Committee of 1886 on "Vaile's System of Railway Fares and Charges," I—9. It can be seen in the Public Library. The figures refer to the question and answer.

Mr. Fife first brought up the table on page 86. This the committee declined to receive as sufficient, because it made no alteration in the relative position of first and second-class fares, and he was instructed to produce the table which appears on page 89. Most, if not all, of the committee being of opinion that under the new system there would be at least an equal number of each class, while some thought there would be two first to one second.

I should mention that these tables were only brought up the day after the committee work closed. I managed to get a sight of the first table, and sent in a few hurried remarks. Had it been produced a week earlier it would have been hardly possible for the committee to have done other than report in favour of an unconditional trial. Auckland, March 22nd, 1890.

## No. 8.

# Financial, Results, Continued.

IN order that my readers may be able to clearly comprehend what follows, I reproduce the table which appears on page 89 of Parliamentary paper I.9. A perusal of it in connection with the remarks that follow, will show how completely the committee was misled by the evidence of Messrs. Maxwell, Hannay, Grant, and Hudson.

New Zealand Railways. Summary of Passengers carried on the Auckland Section, under different Stages (Helensville to Morrinsville), for the Twelve Months ended 31st March, 1886. The column is added by Mr. Vaile. This Calculation is based on equal numbers of each class. Distances. Total No. of Passengers carried at Gove'nment Fares. Total Revenue. Number of Passengers computed to give the same Revenue at Mr. Vaile's Fares. The Increases I require for the various distances are as follows:— Equal Nos. of each Class. Two 1st class to one 2nd. £ s. d. Not exceeding 3 mile .. 55,518½ 1,215 12 1 59,588 55,860 3 miles and under, 1-14th of a fare Over 3 and not exceeding 5 miles .. 94,781 2,801 17 b 130,100 121,975 3 to 5 miles,? of a fare Over 5 and not exceeding 7 miles .. 96,604½ 3,435 2 0 157,176 147,356 5 to 7 miles, 3-5th of a fare Over 7 and not exceeding 10 miles 46,045½ 2,144 4 3 60,012 56,259 7 to 10 miles,? of a fare Total .. .. 292,949½ 9,596 15 9 406,876 381,450 Over 10 and not exceeding 30 miles 75,562½ 8,324 10 10 194,445 182,292 10 to 30 miles, 1½ fares Over 30 and not exceeding 50 miles 31,640 7,322 17 6 81,842 76,731 30 to 50 miles, 1½ fares Over 50 miles .. .. 24,762 14,665 13 1 134,291 125,900 50 miles and upwards, 4½ fares Gross total .. .. 424,914 39,909 17 2 817,454 766,373 Accountant's Office, Wellington. A. C. Fife, Accountant.

Most, if not all of the committee were of opinion that under the new system at least an equal number of each class would be carried, and many of them thought there would be two first-class to one second. For this reason they ordered the production of the above table.

Those who wish to follow the whole argument can do so by referring to the above-mentioned Parliamentary paper.

The railway officials argued that my system could not prove a financial success because they said:—

- That for the distances the bulk of the people travelled over, ten miles and under, I proposed to *increase* not decrease the fares.
- That, for this reason, it was impossible that I could secure two fares where one is taken now.
- That my average fare could not possibly reach one shilling, and consequently that two fares for one would not give the required result.
- That, no matter what the inducements given, people would not travel.
- That carrying two passengers for one would vastly increase the working expenses.

In 1885 Mr. Maxwell was ordered to report on my system.

His report forms Parliamentary paper D-3, 1885. In it he states clearly and distinctly that my proposals, "if adopted, would involve an *excessive increase in fares* " for more than *one-third of the journeys taken*, and he seeks to establish his position by comparing a purely imaginary and fictitious season-ticket fare with my ordinary fares.

As regards ordinary fares, he as clearly states that "by far the larger proportion are for distances under ten miles, for which Mr. Vaile's proposals provide either increased fares, or fares not very materially differing from those prevailing." He further states that to Onehunga I propose to charge 1s first-class and 8d second, when I have never proposed any other fares for this distance than 6d and 4d, and he makes many other statements equally truthful.

This, then, is Mr. Maxwell's statement in support of their first contention.

Mr. Hannay, in the most unqualified manner, stated (491A), "Twenty per cent, of passengers, that is, five miles and under, are not reduced," and further on led the committee to believe that no reduction was made for "*half of the passengers travelling now.*"

Mr. Grant stated (173) that "up to three miles our scale is under Mr. Vaile's, up to five miles I do not think there is so much advantage as would increase our traffic at all."

Mr. Hudson stated (335) "for the three mile journey the fares would be somewhat more than they now are."

A reference to the table on (86) will show that their own statement is that for distances of 10 miles and under 292,949 people travelled and paid £9596, and that I should require 468,120 fares to produce the same result.

What becomes of Mr. Maxwell's statement? If I make no reduction, but as he states *increase*, the fares, how comes it that according to their own showing I require 175,171 more fares to make up the same amount of money?

For distances of five miles and under Mr. Fife says 150,299 travelled and that I should require 222,315.

What becomes of Mr. Hannay's statement? Why do I require an extra 72,016 fares if no reduction is made?

For distances of three miles and under, Mr. Fife says 55,518 people travelled, and that I should require 66,880 to produce the same amount of revenue. What becomes of Messrs. Grant and Hudson's statements? Why do I want the extra 11,362?

Were all these men supremely ignorant of the business of their own department, or did they combine to deceive and mislead the committee? They had their own tariffs before them; they had my tariff; and on every line and to every station in the colony it showed a large reduction except in one instance, and that showed no increase. [See pages 56 and 57.] Their statement was not true in any one particular.

The first and second statements of the officers of the department, therefore, on the showing of their own accountant, completely fall to the ground.

My readers will please bear in mind that the above argument necessarily refers to the table on page 86. What follows refers to the table which is reprinted above.

We now have to consider their third statement, that the average fare under the proposed system could not reach one shilling. This they were determined to convince the committee of, if they possibly could. They had all the information before them: the information without which Mr. Maxwell told me I could not calculate correctly. They then ought to have been able to ascertain my average fare to the greatest nicety, but this is what they did:

On page 21, paragraphs 27 to 29A, will be found an elaborate attempt on the part of Mr. Maxwell to prove that my average fare for 10 miles and under could not be more than 4½d, and for over ten miles, he says, "it is most unlikely that so high an average as 1s and 1½d could be reached." He also deliberately makes this statement, "*and in the country districts the average fare for 50 miles is only 4½d.*"

When Mr. Maxwell made this assertion, not only had he my printed papers before him, but for days he had listened to the most searching inquiry as to this average fare. It is not therefore possible for me to believe that such a gross misstatement could have been made in error.

Mr. Hannay stated (491A) that the average rate for half of all the passengers travelling now "cannot be more than 5d," and that "I do not think the average fare will be 1s."

Messrs. Grant and Hudson were not examined as to my average fare.

As the whole question of the financial result of the application of the new system depends on what would be the average fare under it, it is important to note that on the one side we have Mr. Maxwell's statement.

1. That the average fare for distances of 10 miles and under could not be more than 4½d.
2. That for all distances of over 10 miles it was "most unlikely" that it could average as high as 1s 1½d.
3. That in the country districts it would only average 4½d *for 50 miles*.

Mr. Hannay stated that the average fare for nine miles and under could not be more than 5d, and he did not think the general average could be one shilling.

These wild statements of two of our Commissioners were totally unsupported by evidence, of any sort or kind.

On the other side, we have the evidence of Mr. W. Conyers (769, 770, 818, and in numerous other places), who stated in the most positive manner (979) that "it (the average fare) cannot sink below 1s."

Mr. T. D. Edmonds also stated that the average could not be less than 1s, 1001, 1065, 1105, and in other answers.

Mr. R. W. Moody gave evidence to the same effect, 1119, 1120, 1135, 1170.

Mr. James Stoddart, formerly of the Great Western, and in charge of the Swindon district, was too ill to attend committee, but he also signed a statement that my average fare could not sink below 1s.

My own statement with reference to the average fare was—

- That the general average could not be less than 1s.
- That the average for seven miles and under would not be less than 5d. [Page 58, paragraphs 28-30. J
- That the average fare for the eight to ten miles distances could not sink below 8d. [Page 58, paragraphs 28 30.]

This is what Mr. A. C. Fife, *their own accountant*, has, in the table given above, proved to be *the actual facts*.

- That the general average fare in 1886, based on the average distance then travelled (13 miles only) would be eleven pence three farthings (11¾d).
- That the average fare for all distances not exceeding seven miles would be 5.15d.
- That the average for seven to ten mile distances would be 8.57d.
- That the average for all distances of ten miles and under would be 5.66d.
- That the average fare for all distances over 10 miles would be 1s 5¾d.

Thus, it will be seen that, with the most meagre information at command, I safely and correctly estimated all these average fares, while the estimates of Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay were so wild and absurd, as to be

absolutely childish, and this, too, in spite of the fact, as Mr. Maxwell told me, that they had access to the records, and I could not get to see them.

I claim that the facts quoted above, and the results of their management, as shown by the table given in my first article, *prove that Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay are utterly incompetent to deal with any question of railway finance.*

The fourth statement of the officers was that reduction of fares would not induce people to travel, at any rate to the extent of doubling the traffic.

All the gentlemen who supported me gave evidence that the increase would be at least 200 per cent.

The result of the Hungarian experiment shows that they and I were right. The reduction of fares in Hungary is not nearly so great as that proposed here, but the increase of their passenger traffic is 160 per cent.

This is another instance of Messrs. Maxwell's and Hannay's inability to correctly estimate results.

Is it possible to doubt that a man would travel twice at the proposed fares for once he travels now, or that he would take a wife, child, or friend with him when now he goes alone, or would he give his family a pleasure or health trip twice instead of once?

Their fifth statement was that to carry two fares instead of one would greatly increase the cost of working the lines. Not to weary the reader I will merely refer to Mr. Hannay's evidence.

He was very positive in his evidence (515 to 518) that to double the passenger traffic on the Hurunui Bluff line would add £55,000 per annum to the working expenses. Afterwards, under cross-examination, he stated that on this line the average number of passengers carried *per carriage* was seven (7) only (603—606). These carriages are each capable of seating from 30 to 40 passengers. So much for Mr. Hannay's evidence on this point.

Messrs. Conyers, Stoddart, Moody, and Edmonds, on the other hand, distinctly state that carrying three—not two—passengers for one now carried would not "perceptibly increase the working expenses." The result of the Hungarian experiment again proves them to be right, for the Hungarian Minister of Commerce says that by the adoption of the stage system, and the reduction of rates, he has added 3,000,000 of florins to the revenue at no *extra expense whatever*.

Mr. Charles Waring also, speaking of the English trains, says they often run "with only 100 tons of load when they could just as easily carry 300 tons *at no extra cost.*"

I claim that the above-mentioned facts, which cannot be disputed, prove one of two things—either Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay must be the most incompetent pair that ever had charge of a railway system or they must have wilfully and designedly misled the committee.

To recapitulate: The officers of the Department all stated that for certain distances I proposed to increase the fares, while I professed to reduce them.

The table compiled by their own accountant conclusively proves that not one of them—to put it mildly—gave correct evidence in this respect. The printed tariffs of 1886 and the table of fares on (56 and 57) prove Mr. Fife's statement to be the true one.

With reference to the average fare under the new system, which as regards finance is the most important point; we have on the one side Messrs Maxwell and Hannay's ridiculous assertions unsupported by evidence of any kind. On the other we have the evidence of four trained railway men, my own statement, and, best of all, the indisputable evidence of Mr. A. C. Fife's table, which *proves* that my friends and I were right, and that Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay were as far out in their calculation as it was well possible for any two schoolboys to have been.

Thus we see that on the one hand we have two men, whose own accountant has proved them to be wrong in every one of their statements, who say that the adoption of my system will entail severe loss on the revenue; while, on the other hand, we have five men whom Messrs. Maxwell and Hannay's own accountant has proved have made accurate and safe calculations in every respect, who say that the adoption of my system would add at least £200,000 per annum to the net railway revenue.

Whose advice ought to be taken in this matter?

Auckland, April 9, 1890.

P.S.—In this and my previous article I have made statements reflecting very seriously on the integrity or the professional ability of two of our Railway Com missioners. These gentlemen have lately thought proper to expend some of the public money in printing and distributing some very useless papers with reference to the Hungarian system. I challenge them to publish a paper refuting my statements, if they are able to do so.

## No. 9.

# The Financial Argument, Concluded.

WHEN I first laid my scheme for reforming the administration of our railways before the public, the passengers' fares, first class, were, for 7 miles, 1s 9d; for 21 miles, 5s 3d; for 100 miles, 25s. Three months after they were reduced 25 per cent., and the present absurd arrangement re return tickets made. I immediately stated that this reduction would mean loss. A year's trial showed that I was right. The stupid transaction led to a loss of £25,000, and no increase of traffic.

The fares were then raised again to the present rates, which are for the distances given 1s 6d, 4s 5d, and 20s 10d. When, therefore, I proposed to replace these by fares of 6d, 1s 6d, and 3s, and asserted that two of my fares would produce a larger amount of money than one of the old fares, it is no wonder that most people thought me a lunatic, as the statement seemed to defy the laws of arithmetic. The explanation of the seeming anomaly is simple enough; it lies in the fact that the present average fare is only 1s 11½d, and that I have so adjusted my system of stages that under it the average fare cannot be less than 1s, unless there is such a development of "wayside traffic" that the total revenue would largely exceed the amount calculated upon, and in that case we should of course all be pleased.

I have no doubt, whatever, that in the economy of working the new and much simpler system, at least 20 per cent, of the working expenses might be saved, which would equal £130,000 per annum. This statement is borne out by experience on the Whangarei Kamo line, where my system has been applied so far as it is possible to apply it on so short a railway.

The immediate effect was to reduce the working expenses by no less than 48.9 per cent. In Whangarei it is openly stated that since the appointment of the Commissioners orders are frequently sent from Wellington to debit to the working expenses of that line, items of expenditure that have never been incurred there, but notwithstanding this the working expenses for 1889 were 29.6 per cent less than they were during the last year of the old system.

Experience in Hungary also supports my statement. There the passenger traffic has been increased by 160 per cent, and the re-venue by 2,000,000 florins, while the working expenses have not been increased in the least; indeed, it is claimed they have been decreased.

It may be, and has been, asked, how is it possible that reckoning fares and rates by stages of several miles in length, can give a better financial result than reckoning by stages of only one mile each. For this reason.

When you reckon by stages of one mile only, *there are several stages between each stopping station*, except in rare instances, and even then the charge being by the mile the through fare can only be earned once by each seat in a carriage. When you reckon by stages of several miles each, *you have many stopping stations within each stage*; as, for instance, in the stage from Pukekohe to Frankton Junction there are fifteen stopping stations within that one stage, and the charge being the same for the *whole or any portion* of a stage, it is manifest that each seat *could* earn the stage fare fifteen times over, or 5s instead of 4d, during the one journey, and as a rule the stage fare would be earned several times over. This is how the Manhattan Railway of New York makes such vast sums of money by charging twopence half-penny (2½d) only for *the whole or any portion of 38 miles*.

This Manhattan Railway is a splendid example of what may be done by workings line on the stage system. The Manhattan Company has a lease of this railway, and in 1885—the latest information I have to hand—after paying £291,808 for rent and interest, they disbursed £312,000 in dividends. The net earnings were 41.62 per cent., all out of a universal fare of 2½d, and this on a line that cost £168,743 per mile to construct, while ours cost less than £8000.

The London Metropolitan is the most costly line in the world. It cost £656,000 per mile, and yet it daily carries multitudes of people at a fare of 2d only for the whole or any portion of 16 miles, which is equal to 200 miles for 2s 1d, and yet our Railway Commissioners tell us that on our cheap lines we cannot carry a passenger 100 miles for 2s without severe loss. But what is the opinion of our Commissioners worth? In every line they write, every word they utter, every act of their administration, they prove their thorough incapacity to form a correct estimate of what railways can and cannot do, and I say this country will not be true to itself if it does not insist on their speedy dismissal. They have harried the colony long enough.

Many of my supporters have said to me, "Your proposals are too extreme, your reductions are too great." My reply is, that it is the sweeping reductions that will secure the financial success. We must have such a reduction as will arrest the attention of everybody, and compel them to travel. We have seen that a reduction of 25 per cent., both in this colony and in England, did not secure one additional fare, and I very much doubt if a reduction of 50 per cent, would do much better. Unless the reduction is so great that every labourer in want of work can travel 150 miles to get it there will be no financial success, and the labourer cannot afford to pay

higher fares than those I propose, nor is there any valid reason why he should do so.

One great advantage this stage system has over the mileage system is this, if for revenue purposes it is necessary to collect a larger amount, this can be done without disturbing local traffic at all. Suppose, for instance, on the Auckland lines it was thought desirable to introduce a stage station at Mercer and another at Huntly, the effect would be to raise the through fare to Te Kuiti from all stations north of Mercer and *vice versa* by 1s first and 8d second class, but the local traffic, that is the traffic between the shorter stages, would remain as before. Under the mileage system the effect would be felt all over the lines.

As to the question—can passengers be profitably carried at the rates I propose?—I reply that the examples given above absolutely prove that they can be carried at far less rates. The Manhattan railway costs per mile twenty-one and a-half times as much as ours have cost, but the *only* fare charged on that line is not one-eighth part of my *lowest* through fares. The London Metropolitan cost eighty-two times as much as ours, but their lowest fare is only half that which I propose. There can be no doubt that this low rate pays them, for they are so overloaded with traffic that they can hardly work it, and therefore are not obliged to carry at low rates to secure fares.

I have given numerous illustrations of how cheaply passengers can be carried; and our Railway Department has met me by stating that my calculations were ridiculous, but they have never made even a decent pretence of demonstrating them to be unsound.

A simple illustration will show how cheap transit by railway may be made. The combustion of *one ounce of coal* in a locomotive engine, will move one ton, one mile on a railway, 15 passengers weigh one ton. So after making ample allowance for all other charges it is evident we ought not so have to pay what we do pay in transit charges.

The tact is our railway controllers have been in complete and blissful ignorance of what railways are capable of doing, and they are so wrapped up in official conceit that they will not learn. The Hungarians will soon wake them up. If our railway magnates had been blessed with a little common sense, a little decent courtesy, a little power to investigate, they and this colony might have taken the lead in the great forward movement that is now taking place, as it is we must follow in the rear. They smile complacently in their official chairs, and fondly imagine that by obstruction they can arrest progress and preserve their cherished "no-system," but they are just as powerless to stay the present movement as with their puny arms they are to arrest the mountain avalanche.

This is what the Hungarians have been doing in passenger traffic by means of their stage system.

Thus during four months passenger traffic was increased by 2,677,306 fares, and the revenue by 680,982 florins.

These figures are derived from information very courteously sent by the Hungarian Minister direct to the Railway Reform League. Since then we have the result of five months' working of the new system, the outcome being an increase of 2,000,000 florins in the revenue. Mr. Baross, the Minister, states that this vastly increased traffic has been secured without the Government "having to buy a single additional carriage or to add to their staff of servants. On the contrary, it is proved that the new tariffs have enormously diminished incidental expenses, and particularly the cost of the booking-offices. Formerly 697 categories of tickets were sold at the terminus of Buda-Pest; now there are but 92 categories, which means that six-sevenths of the labour of booking, sorting, controlling, and auditing have been abolished. A single booking clerk can now do the work which formerly required two or three clerks, while in the administrative department of the railways the saving on clerks' salaries is even greater."

This is very important. It fully bears out my oft repeated statement that we could treble the traffic on our lines without increased cost.

On committee Mr. Commissioner Maxwell (see page 57) stated that on the main line alone from Auckland to Te Awamutu, there were 1156 changes, or journeys requiring as many different tickets. On my system there would be only forty-nine (49) changes, which means there would be not one twenty-third part of the above described work to perform. What a saving there would be here.

Again Mr. Hannay stoutly asserted that to double the passenger traffic on the main Hurunui-Bluff line alone would add £55,000 per annum to the working expenses, but he afterwards stated that the average number of passengers carried per carriage in this section was only seven (7). What becomes of his estimate in the light of the Hungarian results?

This is how their carriages were occupied before the recent changes: nine-tenths of the first-class seats were unoccupied, four-fifths of the second class, and about two-thirds of the third class. Mr. Hannay has shown that on the Hurunui-Bluff line 33 out of every 40 seats are empty, and yet he says that to double the traffic on a part of the line only will cost an additional £55,000 per annum.

There is one point of special interest about this Hungarian experiment. Our Commissioners and their friends have always loudly asserted that people will not travel, no matter what inducements are offered, and that

the proposed scheme would fail because the *long distance* travellers could not be obtained. What do we find in Hungary?

Prior to the introduction of the new system, no account was kept as between long and short distance travellers; there is now. During the four months of 1888 the total number of travellers was 1,618,550, while during the four months of 1889 the long distance travellers alone numbered 1,991,944, or 373,394 more than the total of travellers under the old system.

Is not this another glaring proof of the inability of our Commissioners to estimate what railways are capable of doing? Should similar results be obtained here—and they would be better—the financial success would be enormous.

Do not the facts given above prove that I am justified in saying that two of our Railway Commissioners are merely traffic managers, and that apart from that they are supremely and contemptibly ignorant of everything pertaining to a railway; or worse. I ask any candid man to read my article No. 8, and then say if it is possible for me to believe that such evidence was given honestly, or any other assumption than that the men giving it were commercially and financially incapable.

Strong language, says somebody; yes, and why not? It appears to me that there is great need of strong language. These men, by their ignorance or selfishness, have barred the progress of this country for years past, have brought ruin on thousands of its colonists, and they have robbed New Zealand of the glory of leading the world in the great forward movement which is now taking place.

Again, I ask my fellow-colonists to re-member that those who control the roads of any country, absolutely control its trade and commerce, and most of its other social conditions; and I also again ask what can we expect in this colony but misery and disaster, when we allow such men to remain in such positions? I do hope that we shall wake up to a true sense of the position, and during the next session of Parliament repeal the existing Act, and send our Commissioners to some post where they may be more useful.

Auckland,

3rd May, 1890.

## Correspondence Relative to Railway Reform League's Proposals.

*Extract from the Circular of the Railway Reform League, Auckland, forwarded to the Railway Commissioners, Wellington.*

"This is the object of the League, and, in its endeavour to obtain such a rectification of the system of management as will more effectually knit the country producing districts with the centres of industry and population, and both with the outlets of trade, the following are the principal points which it has, as yet, adopted as its platform, viz.:—

- The total abolition of differential rating.
- The abolition of mileage rating, and the substitution of a stage system.
- The stage system adopted must be of such a nature as to give special facilities to districts and settlers far removed from a market.
- A reduction in the charges for the conveyance of passengers and goods.
- A simplification in the classification of goods.
- A simplification and amalgamation of terminal, weighing, crantage, and other charges."

*Extract of a minute forwarded by the Railway Commissioners with letter of 28th September to Messrs. Devore and Cooper, of Auckland, for their opinion.*

The Railway Reform League has for one of its objects, as stated in its circular, "the total abolition of differential rating."

It is somewhat difficult for those who have studied and dealt with railway rates extensively, and who understand the magnitude and intricacy of the subject, to understand the precise nature of this object, as the term "differential rating" may cover a large field. In English law relating to railways such an expression is never met with; nor is it in American law, which is very extensive both in the individual and general State legislation.

The expression has been somewhat loosely introduced in England conversationally and critically, and

during parliamentary inquiries, without a very precise meaning being attached to it. It has no precise technical meaning in railway working.

In New Zealand it has been used very loosely. It is susceptible of various interpretations, and may be held to express daily practice of such great variety, and has such different interpretations put on it by different people, that, if it is possible, it would be desirable to ascertain what is meant by the circular in this respect.

As it appears that one of the members of the firm of Devore and Cooper, the solicitors employed by the department in Auckland, is a member of the Railway Reform League, it might be as well to request the firm to give the Railway Commissioners a brief opinion as to the meaning generally of the term "differential rating" as applied to railway traffic. This opinion is needed to enable the Commissioners to obtain an accurate view of what is involved by the total abolition of differential rating, and to enable them to judge whether the substitution of what is termed "the stage system" will bring about the total abolition of such a style of rating.

*Messrs. Devore and Cooper's reply to the Railway Commissioners.*

Dear Sir,—We have given your letter of the 28th September, and the enclosures forwarded therewith, very careful consideration, and have delayed replying to it until we had obtained from various quarters some definite information as to what the Railway Reform League consider "differential rating"

We may mention that our Mr. Cooper is connected with the League, as is the case with many professional men and merchants here, by virtue of his subscription, but is not a member of any committee connected therewith; and we may also say that the Commissioners are quite right in stating that the term "differential rating" has not received, as far as we can ascertain, any judicial interpretation either in any country under English law or in America.

We have also been unable, although we have examined the authorities within our reach, to find any precise meaning to the term in railway working, and we have no doubt that the Commissioners are correct in saying that the term has in railway technicalities no precise or definite meaning. We have therefore confined ourselves to ascertaining, as far as we were able, what the Railway Reform League here understand by the term.

The result of our inquiries is as follows:—

- They consider "differential rating" to include and to be synonymous with the terms "discriminations," "drawbacks," "rebates," "discounts," and "allowances."
- They define it generally as "meaning any system which gives to the controllers of railway traffic the power to alter or vary fares, rates, or charges at their discretion, or to suit their idea of the requirements of trade"
- As particular instances of "differential rating," and from which perhaps may be gathered the more precise meaning which the League ascribe to the term, our inquiries elicited the following:—
  - "Through rates:" for instance, rates from one large centre to another large centre, with higher charges for intermediate stations.
  - "Rates" which can only be ascertained by inquiring at particular stations, and which are not based upon any uniform rule.
  - "The charge as per tariff to consignors by the railway of large quantities of goods, and the return under a system of draw backs, discounts, or allowances of a portion of that charge.
  - "Secret rating," as instanced by the following example: A secret contract entered into by a manufacturer or large producer or exporter of goods, whereby the railway company or controllers agree to take his goods at a certain rate, he on his part undertaking to pay not less than so much per month or per annum,

We may, however, remark that the adoption of a stage system such as the one proposed would do away with the only legitimate excuse for, differential rating—namely, bringing the distant producer closer to his market.

Further on you say: "The objectionable practices such as are known as unjust discrimination, undue or unreasonable personal preferences, drawbacks, rebates, discounts, allowances, secret rating, &c., are not in operation on the New Zealand Government railways, and never have been."

This statement is perhaps correct, but the League would direct your attention to the fact that the Act of 1887 legalises and gives you the power to enforce them. You may bring them into operation any day at your own pleasure, and the public has no appeal either at law or to Parliament.

The League says Great Britain and America have found it necessary to suppress these practices by very stringent legislation, and the League further says that power to enforce them in New Zealand ought never to have been given to any man or set of men.

The League directs your attention to the fact that these practices, which have been made legal in this colony, are now punishable in America by fines up to £1000, and two years' imprisonment.

You quote certain fares under the proposed system, and state that they "make a local preference to an extent quite unknown in ordinary practice."

The reply is that under the proposed system the existence of the mile is ignored, as it is in postal and

telegraphic practice, and all fares and rates are based on average cost and population.

On the 42 miles referred to as between Buckland and Henderson, and for which the first-class passenger fare is 3s 6d, there is a population located of between 65,000 and 75,000; while on the 42 miles between Mercer and Frankton the population is probably less than 1200.

The facilities for doing business over a district containing 75,000 inhabitants are so great as compared with a district of similar extent, but containing only 1200 inhabitants, that it appears to the League to be a sound policy to charge a higher rate in the thickly-populated district, and to give the lower rate in the thinly-populated one, in order that people may be induced to settle there and utilise the land.

We presume you desire to make it appear that the system the League wishes to have tried is a differential rating system. The League has good authority for stating that it is not.

The minutes of evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee which inquired into this system were sent to Mr. Charles Waring, of London, and he was asked to say if it is a differential system. He replied as follows:—"In answer to the specific question put to me, I hardly see how any system in which rates and fares are established on a fixed basis can be properly called a differential rating system. *This is, not what we mean when we speak of a differential system in England, and describes, indeed, the exact reverse.*"

This is Mr. Waring's opinion; he is an undoubted authority, and as you have publicly stated that you do not understand the meaning of the term, the League is moral than justified in accepting his opinion in preference to yours.

As examples of what is done under the present system, we direct your attention to the table on page 89 of Parliamentary Paper 1-9, 1886. This shows that on the Auckland section of railways, during the year ending 31st March, 1886, 424,914 passengers travelled, and that they paid collectively £39,909 in the following proportions:—

It appears to the League that such a state of things is neither fair nor desirable in the interests of the community generally.

As instances of "local preferences" now in existence, the League directs your attention to the following examples:—

For the worst examples of these "local preferences" you are solely responsible. The three miles of railway between Auckland and Remuera is used by the richest portion of the community, and they are charged at the rate of 2d per mile.

The three miles between Avondale and Kingsland are used by the poorer portion of the people, and they are charged 4d per mile, or just twice as much as their richer fellow-colonists.

Passengers from Avondale to Auckland must pass Newmarket, and yet you charge them 1s 4d, while for carrying them past this station, and two miles further on, you charge only 1s. It appears to the League that "local preferences" like these are not only unjust, but senseless and injurious to the best interest of the community.

Such things could not occur under the proposed new system.

It is the object of the League to introduce a system that shall be alike fair to every section of the community.

Auckland,

November 27, 1889.