

## Reply to Sir Robert Stout's Statistics.

*From the "New Zealand Tablet," March 4, 1892.*

SURELY we had thought that Sir Robert Stout was nothing if not scientific. But here is a work of a scientific character that seems to exhibit him to us as merely taking superficial views, and knowing nothing of the true meaning of some things he deals with. Of course the explanation is always at hand that Sir Robert knows more than he pretends, but, even at the expense of his reputation as a *savant*, we would gladly shield his reputation as an honest man, if it were possible for us. Has Sir Robert Stout, then read a certain work issued in the Social Science Series and named "Crime and its Causes," by William Douglas Morrison, of H.M. Prison, Wandsworth. We conclude the work is esteemed of some value or it would not be so issued. If Sir Robert Stout has read it he must know that the figures quoted by him in his article in the *Melbourne Age* were of very little worth in proving the point in support of which he argued, namely, that godless education is calculated to raise the standard of morals. "Primary schools," writes Mr Morrison, in his preface, "will not accomplish much in eliminating crime. The merely intellectual training received in these institutions has little salutary influence upon conduct; Nothing can be more deplorable than that sectarian bickerings, respecting infinitesimal points in the sanctions of morality, should result in the children of England receiving hardly any moral instruction whatever. Conduct, as the late Mr Matthew Arnold has so often told us, is three-fourths of life. What are we to think of an educational system which consents to its being ignored?" Sir Robert Stout affirms that the figures quoted by him prove the moral advancement of New Zealand, but, according to Mr Morrison, "it is impossible, by looking only at the bare figures contained in criminal statistics, to say whether a community is growing better or worse" (p. 10). If New Zealand, moreover, shows the clean record that Sir Robert Stout claims for her, she is an exception to the general rule. There is another exception, as we shall see by-and-by, which certainly does not give the proof for which Mr Robert Stout pleads. Mr Morrison tells us there is some divergency of views on the subject, but that most of the principal authorities in Europe and America are emphatically of the opinion that crime is on the increase. "In the United States," he says, "we are told by Mr D. A. Wells, and by Mr Howard Wines, an eminent specialist in criminal matters, that crime is steadily increasing, and it is increasing faster than the growth of the population." "Nearly all the chief statisticians abroad tell the same tale with respect to the growth of crime on the Continent. Dr Mischler, of Vienna, and Professor von Liszt of Marburg draw a deplorable picture of the increase of crime in Germany. Professor von Liszt, in a recent article, says that fifteen million persons have been convicted by the German criminal courts within the last ten years; and, according to him, the outlook for the future is sombre in the last degree. In France the criminal problem is just as formidable and perplexing as it is in Germany; M. Henri Joly estimates that crime has increased in the former country 133 per cent, within the last half century, and is still steadily rising." The following paragraph has a special bearing on Sir Robert Stout's wish that someone would do for the Australian colonies what he himself had done for New Zealand. "Taking Victoria," writes Mr Morrison, "as a typical Australasian colony, we find that even in the Antipodes, which are not vexed to the same extent as Europe with social and economic difficulties, crime is persistently raising its head, and, although it does not increase quite as rapidly as the population, it is, nevertheless, a more menacing danger among the Victorian colonists than it is at home" (p. 12 13). We said last week it was remarkable that the stated improvement in the moral condition of New Zealand was contemporary with a period of depression. "It is a melancholy fact," writes Mr Morrison, "that the moment wages begin to rise, the statistics of crime almost immediately follow suit, and at no period are there more offences of all kinds against the person than when material prosperity is at its height" (p. 59). As showing results similar to those quoted in favour of New Zealand for a certain term of years by Sir Robert Stout. Mr Morrison refers to the state of England in the five years ending with 1888. He compares this period with the five years ending with 1874, which had been a time of unwonted prosperity. "It hardly needs to be stated," he says, "that the five years ended 1888 were years of considerable depression. Some of them were years in which there was a good deal of distress and in none of them was the bulk of the population so well off as in the preceding period. It is, therefore, plain that an increase in the wealth of a country is not necessarily followed by a decrease in the amount of crimes against property; that, in fact, the growth of national and individual wealth, unless it is accompanied by a corresponding development of ethical ideals, is apt to foster criminal instincts instead of repressing them" (p. 133.) Mr Morrison, in fact, denies that poverty is generally a cause of crime. "The wealth of England," he writes, "is perhaps twice the wealth of Italy; but, notwithstanding this fact, more thefts are annually committed in England than in Italy. The wealth of France is enormously superior to the wealth of Ireland, both in quantity and distribution, but the population of France commits more offences against

property than the Irish. Spain is one of the poorest countries in Europe, Scotland is one of the richest, but side by side with this inequality of wealth we see that the Scotch commit, per hundred thousand of the population, almost four times as many thefts as the Spaniards. With the exception of Italy, it is the poorest countries of Europe that are the least dishonest, and, according to our table, even the Italians are not so much addicted to offences against property as the inhabitants of England" (p. 131). The most exact comparison, however, says the writer, is that which may be made between England and Ireland. "It shows that the Irish, with all their poverty, are not half so much addicted to offences against property as the English with all their wealth, and it serves to confirm the idea that the connection between poverty and theft is not so close as is generally imagined" (p. 132). A like comparison with regard to America shows similar results. "It is perfectly certain," says the writer, "that the foreign-born population of the United States is not, as a rule, so well off economically as the native-born citizen. The vast proportion of the emigrant population is composed of poor people seeking to better their condition, and it is well known that a large percentage of the hard manual work done in America, is performed by those men. The economic condition of the average native-born American is superior to the economic condition of the average emigrant; but the native American, notwithstanding his economic superiority cuts a worse figure in the statistics of crime" (pp. 135-6). The writer again takes Victoria as a colonial example. He alludes to her prosperous condition. "Nevertheless," he says, "on examining the criminal statistics of the colony of Victoria, what do we find? According to the returns for 1887, one arrest on a charge of crime was made in every 30 of the population, and, on looking down the list of offences for which these arrests were made, it will be seen that Victoria, notwithstanding her widely-diffused material wellbeing, is just as much addicted to crimes against person and property as some of the poor and squalid states of Europe" (p. 137). As a more detailed instance the writer quotes from the *Revue Scientifique* of September 13, 1890, the following paragraph relating to the Canton of Luchon in the Central Pyrenees. In this canton, we are told, "the old simplicity of life has departed, in consequence of its prodigious prosperity"—"Vices formerly unknown have penetrated into the country; the frequenting of public houses and the habit of keeping late hours have taken the place of the open air sports, which used to be the favoured method of enjoyment. Illegitimate births, formerly very rare, have multiplied, syphilis even has spread among the young. Food of a less substantial character has superseded the diet of former times, and, in short, alcoholism, precocious debauchery, and syphilis have come like so many plagues to arrest the development of the youth and seriously debilitate the population" (p. 147). We may mention, in passing, that, according to this writer, independence, in at least one notable instance, has the same effect that prosperity generally seems to have. In dealing with the sex of criminals Mr Morrison tells us that as a rule there is less crime among women than among men. Scotland, however, forms an exception. "The proportion of female offenders in Scotland to the total criminal population is moving in an opposite direction. The late Professor Leone Levi, in a paper read before the Statistical Society in 1880, stated that Scotch women formed 27 per cent of the persons tried before the criminal courts; they now form 33.7 per cent, a most alarming state of increase (p. 155). Mr Morrison accounts for this deterioration by the nearer approach of Scotch women to men in their social activities. He draws a moral with regard to the movement now so prominent, and to Sir Robert Stoot, as a leading advocate of women's rights, it ought to be especially interesting, The general law revealed by the study of criminal statistics as a whole, he tells us is that "the more women are driven to enter upon the economic struggle for life, the more criminal they will become." "This," he adds, in allusion to the circumstances of the times, "is not a very consoling outlook for the future of society." But this is a digression. *Revenons à nos moutons*, What is true of communities, the writer says, is also true of individuals. "According to the report of the Prison Commissioners" he says, "between 5 and 6 per cent of the persons committed to gaol during the year ended March 1890 (omitting court martial cases) were debtors and civil process cases. Now it may be taken as certain that in a very small proportion of these cases were the prisoners working people. Nearly all these offenders are to be considered as belonging to the well-to-do classes. Yet we see that they form 5 per cent of the criminal population, and it has to be remembered that the fraudulent debtor is just as much a criminal in many instances as the thief who snatches a purse. In addition to this 5 per cent there is at least 3 per cent of the ordinary criminal population belonging to the higher ranks of life. At the lowest estimate we have 6 per cent of the criminal population springing from the midst of the well-to-do, and if all cases of drunkenness and assault were punished with imprisonment instead of a fine, it would be found that the well-to-do showed just as badly in the statistics of crime as their poorer neighbours" (pp. 139-40). "According to Garofalo, one of the most learned of Italian jurists," he writes again, "the poor people in Italy commit fewer offences against property, in proportion to their numbers than the well-to-do, while in Prussia persons engaged in the liberal professions contribute twice their proper share to the criminal population. A somewhat similar state of things exists in France; there the number of persons engaged in the liberal professions forms four per cent of the population; but, according to the investigations of Ferri, in his striking little book, 'Socialismo e Criminalita,' the liberal professions were responsible for no less than seven per cent of the murders perpetrated in France in 1879" (p. 143). From what has been said, therefore, we conclude that, as we

argued in our last issue, a period of depression may be attended by a decrease of crime. We conclude, moreover as we also argued, that offences may be committed among the wealthier classes which do not find their way into the police courts, and do not go to swell the criminal statistics. In both these arguments Mr Morrison bears us out. And here it may not be out of place to submit to Sir Robert Stout certain evidence as to the moral condition of New Zealand which he would do well to take into consideration when he next writes on the subject in the newspapers. Referring to the Presbyterian General Assembly held the other day at Auckland, the *New Zealand Herald* of February 11 quotes as follows from the report of the Committee on religion and morals. "It was appalling to hear of the vast sums of money squandered on horse-racing, billiards, and card-playing, and to learn that these were encouraged by individuals holding high social positions in the colony." Sir Robert Stout who, for example, lately administered so sharp a rebuke to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in relation to gambling, will fully appreciate the alarm of the Committee. Everyone must perceive the gravity of their next statement. "As to social impurity, the Committee stated that its evil influence was widespread and extremely disastrous, and expressed regret that nothing special had been done by the Church to lessen what some considered to be the outstanding and revolting sin of the colony." But all this time we have neglected the condition of England. Mr Morrison examines at length the question as to whether England is an exception to the rest of the world with regard to the increase of crime. His conclusion is "that crime is just as serious as it was twenty years ago, and that it is growing in dimensions year by year" (p 17). That crime in England is not, as it is in France and the United States, growing faster than the population, the writer attributes to the establishment of the Reformatories and Industrial Schools. "At the present time," he says, "there is one conviction to about every fifty inhabitants, and the proportion of convictions to the population was very much the same twenty years ago. If we remember the immense development that has taken place in the Industrial School system within the last twenty years, a development that has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with keeping down crime, we arrive at the conclusion that, notwithstanding the beneficent effects of Industrial Schools, the criminal classes in this country still keep pace with the annual growth of population. If we had no Industrial and Reformatory institutions for the detention of criminal and quasi criminal offenders among the young, there can be no doubt that England, as well as other countries, would have to make the lamentable admission that crime was not only increasing in her midst, but that it was increasing faster than the growth of population. The number of juveniles in these institutions has more than trebled since 1868, and it is unquestionable that, if these youthful offenders were not confined there, a large proportion of them would immediately begin to swell the ranks of crime. That crime in England is not making more rapid strides than the growth of population is almost entirely to be attributed to the action of these schools (p 18)." We have quoted the writer's opinion as to the futility of looking to the training of the intellect for the improvement of conduct. He afterwards gives us instances in which the attempt at such an improvement has been a failure. He tells us that, while only 10 per cent of the English population is wholly ignorant, 25 per cent of the prisoners can neither read nor write, and 72 per cent can only read or read and write imperfectly. "The vast difference in the proportion of uninstructed among the prison, as compared with the general population," he adds, "is not to be explained by the defective early training of the former. This explanation only covers a portion of the ground; the other portion is covered by the fact that a certain number of criminals are almost incapable of acquiring instruction. The memory and the reasoning powers of such persons are so utterly feeble that attempts to school them is a waste of time" (p 195). The uselessness of mere appeals to the intellect in cases like these is evident. In conclusion, the case to which we have referred as exceptional, although of a different character from that claimed by Sir Robert Stout for New Zealand, is that of India. "According to the returns for the two countries in the year 1888, it comes out that in England one person was proceeded against criminally to every forty two of the population, while in India only one person was proceeded against to every 195. In other words, official statistics show that the people of England are between four and five times more addicted to crime than the people of India" (p 134), Mr Morrison attributes the immunity of India from crime to the action of Brahmanism through the system of caste. To institute a comparison between the action of godlessness in New Zealand by means of its secular schools and that of Brahmanism in India by means of caste would be a task too nice for us to undertake, though, perhaps, some element common to both might, without much difficulty, be discovered by those fitted for the inquiry. Heathenism and atheism, at least, are extremes that may possibly meet, and why should not those who are subjected to their influences display some affinities. Brahmanism, for example, notwithstanding its excellent effects, makes ample provision, as Mr Morrison admits, for infanticide. Godlessness, perhaps, in some respect, also excuses its votaries. Is there not some suggestiveness in that report of the Presbyterian Committee? Had Sir Robert Stout read this book, we ask again, or, as a savant, has he made an oversight? We would gladly, if possible, screen his reputation as an honest man, even at the expense of that he bears as a man of science. Possibly some little sacrifice of honesty seems allowable to Sir Robert with regard to his Catholic, not his Irish, fellow-colonists. As Irishmen, we acknowledge he would give us fair play, but as Catholics we are not quite so sure. Sir Robert must know that, if we are exceptionally bad, we are bad, whether

it be our hot Celtic blood, or the misgovernment of our country, or anything else, that has made us so. It is the results not the cause that our fellow-colonists have to deal with. In fact, we appreciate the forbearance of that worthy man who gave the dog a bad name—"Mad dog, mad dog." Whether he had been bitten by another dog or had gone mad of his own corrupt nature what did it matter? "Irish thief,"—whether the criminal taint be inherited or independently acquired, what does it signify? Or whether as Catholic or Irishman, a man be branded in the eyes of his fellow-colonists and kicked down beneath their prejudices, apparently justified, where is the difference? But if Sir Robert Stout will act consistently with his pretensions as a man of science, and not as a quack determined at any cost to cry up and champion—for-quack-like purposes—a mischievous and destructive system, he will find that, as the Irish at home are a law-abiding and virtuous people, so also are they abroad. *Coeum non animum mutant qui tram mare current.* As a man of science Sir Robert Stout must certainly recognise the worthless nature of his bare figures. As an honest man it would be his duty to do his best to counteract the false impression he has produced by means of them. Will he do so? His action in the matter may possibly afford us a subject for a concluding post-script.

### Compulsory Insurance

In Order to Make Provision for Old Age and Accidental Permanent Disablement.

The Subject for Discussion at the Meeting of the Wellington Liberal Association

*Opening Address delivered at the Foresters' Hall, Tory Street, on Monday Evening, 10th December, 1892,*

By Alfred Barnett, J.R.

*Vice-President of the Society.*

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## ***Compulsory Insurance in Order to make Provision for Old Age and Accidental Permanent Disablement.***

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

The administration of charitable aid, the relief of the needy and infirm, and the advisability of pensioning those who from old age are unfortunately unable to maintain themselves, has now become a very serious and important question in this Colony.

In the short address I am about to deliver, and in the time prescribed by the rules of this council, it is impossible for me to touch on all the ramifications of the charitable aid and relief questions. I shall therefore at present restrict myself specially to the subject of Compulsory Insurance in order to provide pensions for old age, and include those also who suffer from accidental permanent disablement.

Allow me here to remark that I am greatly indebted to the NEW ZEALAND TIMES for having given publicity to several letters that I have written on the question of provision for old age. In the course of my arguments I shall have occasion to refer to observations contained in them. I would like to add that the prominence our morning paper gives to leading social questions and its unflinching advocacy of our Liberal platform entitles it most worthily to the earnest support of every member of this association.

The first argument that will open out on this matter is, Upon whom devolves the responsibility of assisting the unfortunate aged and destitute? Shall it be the State, private benevolence, Friendly Societies, Trades Unions, or Assurance Associations? I will not immediately discuss the relative share that each should bear of this load, and what is expected from them respectively; but will draw your attention to the positive fact that in our midst we have numbers who are afflicted and who are destitute in their old age, and now we have to grapple with this stern reality and do our best in mitigation of suffering.

I will admit that it should be, or should have been, the bounden duty of every individual to make or to have made, if at all possible or practicable, some investment or laid by some store to aid him in his declining years should he need it; but what should be is being neglected and omitted, and what should have been done by many is past and irretrievable, and the result is, the old and infirm stand before us in their helplessness and with their poverty-stricken surroundings. I therefore contend that whilst the best system and plan for relief is being argued and thought over by various philanthropists, statesmen, and political economists, this at least has to be done forthwith by the State—it must step in and provide for these indigent aged to the following extent and in the manner I will shortly define.

Before proceeding further, I am desirous of explaining that in my proposals and scheme the same advantages and benefits that may be extended to males should be given to females. In contemplation of the

Female Suffrage Bill shortly becoming law, I know of no reason why, in the investigation of this subject, men and women should not be treated with the same consideration and equal solicitude.

Reverting to what the Stove must do, I assert that every old man or woman who has reached the age of 70 and is infirm and needy, may demand support from the public funds.

When an infant is left without parents or guardians, or when a child is left with an estate and no administrator, the Government intervenes, and says these are so-called wards in Chancery, and we have to exercise supervision over them. So it should be when mortals have reached the allotted span of life and become incapacitated poor, and unfriended, and still live on. Then the State may, in the cause of mercy and humanity, come to the rescue, and consider that these have become our wards and we will allow them, say, 10s per week for their sustenance for the rest of their days.

You will note that I divide my scheme by differentiating certain stages of life in the age of the individual. After the age of 70 I believe there will not be many objectors to my proposals for relief; and, further, too many questions need not be asked, or rigid enquiries made of applicants who have reached this age. Beyond the necessity of guarding by legal enactments against persons from other colonies and countries flocking in to participate in our benefactions, I think we can easily prepare an Act, doing justice and Combining mercy therewith, for the purpose of making provision for those exceeding 70 years of age.

The most important question comes to the front at this stage, Whence the fund to defray this charge? From what source shall this additional burden on the community be drawn? You are all sympathetically and compassionately disposed, of that I am convinced; yet that alone is insufficient; we have a financial problem before us—Where is the supply to come from? The answer is, from wealth that has been amassed, from real and personal property that has grown enormous, and from the accumulations of the opulent. It is difficult to tax every wealthy individual fairly and equitably whilst living, but when death interposes and is the victor, then our purpose can be effected and we can the better carry out our object of drawing from the accumulated wealth fund.

We have an Act in force here entitled the Deceased Persons' Estates Duties Act, and the consolidated revenue of this Colony occasionally reaps a harvest from the taxation already imposed by this Act. Let me give you a solitary example of what has just recently occurred. The value of the estate left in New Zealand by the Hon A. G. Tollemache was £464,201 15s 11d, on which £35,640 Probate Duty is payable to the Government. You can see for yourselves by search in the Supreme Court what duties are coming in from all the other various deceased estates. It is all, however, required by the present needs of our Government; even the probably accruing amounts from that quarter are assessed and anticipated in the annual Financial Statement of the Colonial Treasury. In order to effect our aim and purpose we shall have to put on a little extra scale of taxation in that direction. For your information I will read you the clause showing what we now obtain from this source. Here is the Schedule—On the estates real and personal of deceased persons upon the final balance of the estate—not exceeding £100 no duty. Upon any amount exceeding £100 but not exceeding £1000 £2 per cent. Upon any amount not exceeding £5000: on the first £1000 £2 per cent and on the remainder £3 per cent. Upon every additional £5000 or any part thereof up to £20,000 as follows: On the first additional £5000 or any part thereof £4 per cent. On the second additional £5000 or any part thereof £5 per cent and on the third additional £5000 or any part thereof £6 per cent. Upon every additional £10,000 or any part thereof up to £50,000 as follows: On the first additional £10,000 or any part thereof £7 per cent. On the second additional £10,000 or any part thereof £8 per cent and on the third additional £10,000 or any part thereof £9 per cent. Upon any excess over £50,000 £10 per cent. Let me stray for a few minutes from my subject and mention what I sometimes see in the Illustrated London Weekly newspaper, a periodical that makes it a specialty to report the probates and wills of the wealthy and aristocratic circles in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. You may therein read, as I have, that, out of say 20 estates, the ordinary weekly number, and these estates will now and then range from £50,000 to £500,000, rarely has there been a legacy to charitable or benevolent institutions, educational establishments or for the cultivation of the arts and sciences. When this is done it is exceptional. I find that in the largest majority of the deceased estates reported, the bulk of the property real and personal is left to the relatives of the deceased. Beneficent and generous deeds for the good of the public are few and far between. The inference you will draw from this is, that these wealthy men and women could not whilst living have done their duty toward the poor and unfortunate classes of society. I am not invited here to moralise, and I fear, when I allude to man's duty to his fellow-man, I am trenching on delicate ground. I will therefore retrace my steps. We must again have before us the deceased Persons Estates Duties Act.

I would advocate a few brief amendments thereto. To the schedule already in force I would add 5 per cent on all estates exceeding £25,000, 10 per cent over £50,000, and 15 per cent over £100,000. Here is the source whence this charitable contribution for the help of the very aged poor should come (those exceeding the age of 70), and I am sanguine enough to believe that the amount derivable from this specially increased probate taxation will be found ample and sufficient for our requirement.

It should be a comfort and a solace to the wealthy and very opulent, when the hand of death approaches, to know and feel that a portion at least of their riches will be mercifully and charitably distributed by the Government of the country in which they have been so fortunate and prospered.

The easiest part of my task is completed in endeavouring to deal with the few, I hope I may say, very few, who would be applicants for aid after reaching the age of 70. I have brought these forward first as being the most helpless people, to whom we cannot refuse assistance and whose cases are therefore the most urgent. The formation of a National Assurance Fund to make provision for those who have reached the age of 60 is the second part of my project and will be found the more difficult problem to solve. There have been so many schemes already propounded that one is at a loss which to accept or approve of. However, it has to be grappled, especially as at this period of life 60 years is the time when age and infirmities most frequently begin to make themselves felt, and, although the party may not be entirely incapacitated from work, yet assistance is then often needed and these appeals become so painful and distressing. Now what should every man and woman in the community have done in their individual capacity to entitle them to relief. This is the point that has caused the difference and contention with so many who have taken the subject in hand. I fear it has been made too much of an actuarial question, the calculations have been regulated on payments for life annuities in insurance companies, and has not been sufficiently made a state policy question; that is primarily to regard it as an experimental method to endeavour to benefit and improve the condition of a number of our aged people by an attempt to inculcate in the minds of the young, methods of prudence and foresight. At present we have scarcely any examples of long standing National Assurance before us, we must, therefore, work along tentatively and be satisfied to gain experience as the good and noble work progresses.

In the investigation of this National Assurance some contend for an allowance to the aged, of 5s, 6s, 7s per week, even to the extent of making it 17s 6d per week and insist on a payment, at an early age, of £30 to £40, in order to become entitled to such pensions. The writers and philanthropists who hold these varied opinions and whose views differ so materially cannot all be right and the probability is a compromised amount between the lowest and highest scale will be submitted to by all and become acceptable. I would suggest that the smallest pension or allowance in this colony should be fixed at 10s per week. This is the lowest amount for which bare sustenance can be obtained. The pension must also be inalienable and not amenable to any process of law for the recovery of debts.

The payment to be made into the National Assurance Fund or Public Trust Office, by every man and woman in the Colony of New Zealand, over the age of 21, in order to entitle them to this weekly allowance, must be at least £10, payable in one sum by those who have the means, or, if through inability to do this, by instalments of 10s per annum or 1s per month until the whole sum of £10 is paid up.

I know full well that £10 paid in at the age of 21 will not satisfy the Government Insurance annuity scale, nor would it pass the actuarial calculations of any other life insurance company. This is not to be regarded altogether as a mercantile investment transaction, I wish it to be considered as an important social question concerning the good of the people. To no inconsiderable number it will mean a great sacrifice to be called on to pay this additional £10 tax to provide for so distant and remote an object. I feel, however, that the desire is inherent to try and become self-reliant and to help one another to become so, and every effort will be made by the poorest to pay in their instalments in order to secure a right and thereby avoid being a dependent on charitable aid in their advanced years.

The plan that has been adopted in some Continental countries of making deductions from the wages of labouring men or tradesmen in order to secure an old-age pension, will, I am convinced, not recommend itself, nor meet with the concurrence of the colonial workman: he wants no interference with his wages or pay but he will conform readily to a Government measure of equal taxation on all, and will, I trust, approve of this being done in the mode I have just described. Later on I shall allude again to deductions from wages as practised in Germany.

We have gone thus far, and have now reached the most trying point—the real bone of contention, that which justifies me in calling my plan Compulsory Insurance. With reluctance and hesitation I now come to the difficult ordeal; but it must be faced, and the question arises, What is to be the penalty for non-performance of this obligation on the part of the individual? I would reply: The deprivation of all electoral rights, and the impossibility of being placed on any electoral roll in New Zealand until the provision for old age is made, by the payment of the amount named, or an instalment on account thereof. This measure would assist very materially in adjusting the registration of parliamentary and municipal voters both male and female.

I feel that this penal clause will not at once meet with your approval. After the struggle we have had to obtain universal suffrage, you will say, to disfranchise anybody is wrong and impolitic, and injurious to the liberal platform. I answer: In the course of your worldly experience you have all no doubt discovered that you have to pay for benefits and advantages. If you went to insure your life you must pay for it; if you wish to insure against accident you must pay for it. You have to purchase a deferred or immediate annuity if you

require one and if you want benefits from Friendly Societies or Trades Unions you must pay for them as long as you live. I now offer to insure you, by allowing 10s per week in case of accidental permanent disablement, should it occur at any period of your life, however young or old you may be; and, further, offer 10s per week when incapacitated after the age of 60, and for the rest of your days. I ask then: Is all this not worth a payment of £10?

On the other hand, if you can show me a more feasible way than that of disfranchisement as a penalty for non-performance I am ready to submit, and will follow you. At the present moment I can think of no other forcible process. It may be owing to the fact that I am so wrapped up with my own measures that I do not see things in all their bearing. You will soon enlighten me with your opinions, and whatever they may be, it will not remove from my mind the strong conviction that the realisation of this scheme will bring peace and comfort to so many.

Need I mention that an important step this compulsory insurance, if passed into law, would be, and what vast incidents it would open up. There would become shortly available, let us say in the Public Trust Department, between two and three million pounds sterling of national assurance money; and before the year 1900 will dawn on us are we not likely to have a population in New Zealand of over a million people, and then we might safely infer that a quarter of this number would have paid their provision fees.

I will just cursorily glance at the various schemes that have already been proposed. If you are interested in them you can read for yourselves. The first on my list is that of Canon Blackley, demanding £10 before the age of 21, and then allowing 5s per week after 65.

Then we have General Booth, of Salvation Army fame, stating that everyone over 65 should, if in need, receive 5s per week: to realise the requisite amount additional taxation would be needed in the Old Country estimated at £17,000,000 annually.

Mr J. Fletcher Moulton recommends the public to purchase annuities for their declining years, and to extend the practice to children, especially daughters.

Mr Fatkin, in the Leeds Mercury, approves only of voluntary insurance as a provision for old age.

Sir Harry Atkinson, whose memory may be revered, also made efforts in endeavouring to establish a national assurance policy, and which is duly recorded in our own Parliamentary Hansard.

Sir Robert Stout brings forward a scheme and is desirous of allowing the aged the highest weekly pension yet named, it being 17s 6d per week.

Sir Julius Vogel is giving utterance to his opinions on this question in one of the English magazines, but I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing his line of argument.

The German scheme introduced by Prince Bis [*unclear: narck*] allows 4s per week to those over 70, and a compulsory deduction is made from the workman's wages, the employer adds a similar amount, and this is further supplemented by the State. There is an annual subsidy allowed by the German Government towards defraying the costs and charges on the National Assurance Fund. You shall hear what the Fortnightly Review has to say on this German workman's pension scheme:—

At first sight there seems to be much to recommend it. The theory that the master contributes one-third gives to it the semblance of a benefit to the workman, while the obligation on the master to pay makes collection simple. But the contribution by the master is more apparent than real, for it is impossible to prevent this contribution being taken into account in the adjustment of wages which are continually varying. The master will regard it as part of the cost of the labour of the workman, and thus it will lessen the amount that he is willing actually to hand over to him in return for his labour. In the long run, therefore, it will tend to diminish the wages paid to the workman, and will be borne *e facto* by him to that extent. But here the fatal difficulty as to forfeiture comes in. If a man fails to contribute for live years he loses the benefit of the pension scheme. It will be unfair to make him continue to pay, and thus he will have the present advantage over his fellows that he is free from the scheme so that the master is no longer under the obligation to pay on his behalf, and he will get higher wages than his fellows because no contributions to the pension fund will be deducted directly or indirectly from his wages. To be consistent, the Government ought to compel the contribution from the master irrespective of whether the individual workman in respect of whom it purports to be made, would be benefited or not, but this would too plainly [*unclear: recal*] the real nature of the impost, i.e., a general tax on labour for the purpose of defraying the expense of relief given to the aged poor.

The difficulties of these schemes and the probability that they would only divert and not increase the savings of the working classes, has led to the third class of schemes, viz. those that boldly propose that the whole of the cost of the pensions should be borne [*unclear: b*] Government and [*unclear: defrafted*] out of general taxation. In other words, the supporters of these plans propose that every person above 65 years of age should receive 5s a week from the State. There is much to recommend this proposal. It leads to no difficulties in the way of collection or forfeiture. It does not divert the savings of the poor into channels not chosen by them. In administration it would cost far less than any other scheme. Little can be said against it, except, that it would

require that an annual charge of some twenty millions should be raised by general taxation for the purpose!

My attention is just directed to the following newspaper extract:—

The Prince of Wales, Lord Brassey, the Hon J. Chamberlain, Mr C. T. Ritchie (late President of the Board of Trade) and Mr H. Broadhurst, M.P. for Nottingham, are among the members of the Royal Commission set up to enquire into the question of making provision for the aged poor. The Times condemns the exclusion of members of the clergy of the Church of England from the commission.

In Denmark the law came into force in the year 1891 that the aged poor should be supported by the State and receive a weekly stipend. In Russia an order has just been issued by the Minister of Finance, that in every workshop employing more than 5 workmen deductions shall be made from wages, somewhat on the same plan as rules in Germany.

His Holiness the Pope, in his last Encyclical Letter, advocates the cause of the aged poor with intense feeling of tenderness, solicitude, and benignity. The head of the Roman Catholic Church is their grandest and noblest champion. The rights and dignity of Labour is also made the subject of one of the most eloquent and impressive appeals in this Papal exhortation.

In France and Italy the subject is under investigation and I am not in a position to furnish you with the results.

The Hon Mr Chamberlain, of Birmingham, propounds the following:—That every workman shall pay in £5 before 25, the state to add a bonus thereto of £15, and then he must continue to pay £1 a year until 65. He is then entitled to receive a pension of 5s per week. Women to pay £2, bonus by the state £8, and at 65 receive 3s per week. Why this difference between male and female? I do not altogether see the justice or grace thereof, rather to add to the comforts and conveniences of the weaker sex would be our colonial feeling and to allow them a few extras.

I could enumerate other plans but the foregoing sufficiently proves that the subject is engrossing the attention of many prominent leaders of society. I am glad to see, too, how eager the public are to learn all about these pensions, it is significant and manifests a desire to be of service one to the other. The great defect to my mind in all the proposals is the want of a system making it compulsory, and which I regard as essential in carrying out the noble idea that poverty and destitution in old age must be unknown in the land we live in.

A word or two with the Friendly Societies, the Odd fellows, Foresters, Druids, Rechabites, and kindred societies. I learn that these widely spread institutions do not as a rule make provision for old age for their members, and who may have paid contributions with regularity for 30 or 40 years, many of them never having received a single pound benefit during the whole term of their membership; yet, if they reach old age and are destitute they have no claim on the funds of their respective societies. It is deplorable to think that so-called Friendly Societies should exclude their members from receiving benefits, if they are only a few months in arrears, regardless of how many years they may have been contributors. I regret very much to hear this; probably the same conditions are to be found in trades unions. It is therefore the more convincing that private efforts are insufficient and that it is only the State that can bring everyone into its fold of National Assurance.

It is only by everybody being compelled to pay his £10 that an approximate amount will be realised necessary to carry out the plan. Before I conclude I anticipate being asked, why you have forgotten that there is already machinery in force here to purchase an immediate or deferred annuity, for instance the Government Life Insurance have it prepared for you. It is so, but I will give you one or two examples of its work and I leave you to draw your own inferences.

Supposing you are 40 years of age, and being a male, you wish to purchase an immediate annuity of £6 7s 8d—about 2s 6d a week, you have to hand in the sum of £100; and in case of death it is gone, for there is no surrender; or, should you be a female, for your £100 you will only get an annuity of £6 0s 4d. Another example: say at £50 you are desirous of purchasing an immediate annuity, you will receive £7 11s, about 3s a week. At 60, males receive annually £9 12s 8d; females, £8 16s 4d. Poor interest this in New Zealand for your £100, especially when subject to no surrender. Therefore, in discussing our matter we need not take the Government Life Assurance as applicable.

This I am assured of that although the people pay for a right, the high-minded feeling that permeates all our New Zealand colonists will induce them to battle on bravely and independently without availing themselves of their right to pension as long as possible. I hope I only re-echo the sentiments of one and all here assembled when I state that it would be a mercy and a blessing never to need or to have occasion to ask for the benefit derivable from this national fund. Sir, I will now listen with the gravest concern to the opinions of our members here, and await with anxiety to hear the views of the Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, and other Liberal Associations; for you know our organisation is extensive, and in the multitude of counsellors there will be found, I trust, one or two who will give me a little encouragement to persevere in the effort of making compulsory insurance the law of the land. I have concluded my task, and am grateful for your marks of approval: have only this to add, that I believe we may rely on the Government bringing in a measure during the

next parliamentary session. I understand the Minister of Justice is preparing a Bill on the subject. Your opinions and resolutions will not be slighted by the Ministry. The aims and aspirations of Liberal Associations accord with those of our Government: they are the welfare of the people, the advancement, and prosperity of New Zealand.

# The Fifth Annual Report and Balance-Sheet of the

## Dunedin and Suburban Coal Company, Limited.

*To be submitted to the Shareholders at the Office of the Perpetual Trustees Estate and Agency Company, on Monday, 4th September, 1893, at 4 o'clock p.m.*

THE Directors have the pleasure to submit their Report to the Shareholders for the year ending 31st July, 1893. The Profit and Loss Account shows a profit for the year of £88 6s. 3d., which, added to £54 18s. 1d. brought forward from last year, leaves an available balance of £143 4s. 4d.

This amount the Directors recommend should be appropriated in the following manner:—

The whole of the Directors retire, but are eligible for re-election.

Walter Hislop, *Chairman.*

F. L. Clarke, *Manager.*

## The Dunedin & Suburban Coal Company, LIMITED.

### Balance Sheet for twelve Months ended, 31st July, 1893.

LIABILITIES. £s. £s. d. £s. d. Capital—1000 Shares at £1100000 Less Unallotted—436  
4360 Uncalled—564 at 10/-2820 7180028200 Add Calls paid in advance 1237040570 Sundry Creditors ...  
...14590 Itcsrv Fund 10000 Profit and Loss account...14344 £79404. ASSETS. £s. d. Stock—Coal and  
Firewood...2879 Plant—Horses, Drays, Harness and Office Furniture 123100 Bank of Australasia ... ..  
...9752 Sundry Debtors ... .. 544175 £794 0 4

### Profit and Loss Account.

1893. £ s. d. £s. d. July 31—To Wages, Salaries and Auditors Fees 475126 Working Expenses ...  
...24211 Had Debts ... .. 25109 Balance ... .. 14344 £880881892. £s. d. July 31—By Balance 541811893. July  
31—Stock account ... 831107 £88688

### Reserve Fund.

1892, Aug. 18—By Balance ... £100 0 0

Having examined Books and Accounts pertaining to the above Balance Sheet, I hereby certify that it truly represents the position of the Company as at the 31st July, 1893.

Dunedin,

19th August, 1893.

Thos. Kew Harty, *Auditor*.

Gisborne, *3rd june, 1893*. Re Puhatikotiko Nos. I, 3, 4, 5, & 7 Blocks.

Sir,—

I have the honor to forward you herewith a copy of His Honor Judge BARTON'S judgments in the matter of my applications, under "Native Land (Validation of Titles) Act, 1892," to investigate my titles in the above Blocks, delivered after a full and searching inquiry, lasting for nearly two months, when the voluminous evidence for and against the shares claimed by me was brought forward and argued by Counsel, both on behalf of the Natives and myself, and adjudged upon, with the result that certain shares claimed under deeds of purchase by me will be certified as honest and fair transactions for validation; while other shares, which I claimed, have been disallowed by the Court for reasons given in the judgments.

As Section 17 of the said Act provides that the Certificate given by the Validating Court shall have no effect until such Certificate has been confirmed by Act of the General Assembly, in consequence of which at the ensuing session of Parliament it will be asked to give effect to the Certificate by passing an Act to that effect. As I anticipate that the Natives, with their usual pugnacious disposition, will make all opposition possible, backed up by their legal adviser, Mr. W. L. REES, who is a member of the General Assembly; *I earnestly ask, in order that I may get justice*, that you yourself will, before Parliament meets, read through and consider the judgments which I am now forwarding you, in order that you may be placed in possession of the full and able manner in which the Court has inquired into and adjudged upon the purchases through which I claim, and that you may be in a position to judge for yourself as to whether the conclusions come to by the Court are not just and right in case they should be questioned through any source whatsoever when the matter comes before Parliament. And upon a careful perusal of these judgments I do not fear but that you will approve of the conclusions come to by the Validating Court, and will support any necessary measure to give effect to the Certificate of the Court, at the ensuing session of Parliament.

I may state that I have paid about £16,000 for this property up to the present time, independent of the expensive and heavy law costs that are now being incurred in order to prove my rights under the Validation Act of last session.

In no one instance during the whole course of the enquiry has there been any color of fraud shewn in any individual transaction, and it has been shewn that at the time that each Native signed the deed of conveyance they fully believed and understood they were parting with their interests in the land absolutely, and that the consideration for the sale was actually paid to each individual Native at the time they signed, with two exception,—viz., to Panapa Waihopa (referred to on page 3 of the judgment), and to Wi Kihitu's Trustee (referred to in page 7 of the judgment), the particulars of which are fully dealt with there. All available Natives who had sold were called upon to give evidence before the Validating Court in the matter of their sales, and with the exception of those who had some particular grievance, which was thoroughly sifted by the Court and adjudged upon, they consented to and acknowledged their sales.

Since these judgments have been delivered, and in course of attempts on my behalf to come to an amicable settlement with the Natives at this stage of the enquiry, and thereby avoiding the troublesome work of the Court having to inquire and ascertain each individual Native's share according to ancestral rights, it has been urged by Mr. Rees, on behalf of the Natives, as grounds for objecting to meet me in a liberal and fair manner, and in asking me to forgo quite half of my rights in these Blocks (so far as my rights at present can be judged) in favor of the Native non-sellers, that the Validating Court has passed the shares of infants, and also that there are Natives in these Blocks that have not sufficient lands left for their support and maintenance, and thereby increasing the probability of Parliament not giving effect to the Certificate of the Validating Court, as I anticipate that these matters will again be urged to the Parliament.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that there is only one share of an infant that the Court will certify for validation, and that being the share Mini Kerekere, dealt with and referred to in in pages 9, 10, and 12 of the judgments, which I would ask you to take special notice of. As regards the other obstacle that has been raised on behalf the Natives, it is answered at once by the fact of the Trust Commissioner's certificate being affixed to every one of the deeds; and by section 6 of the Native Lands Frauds Prevention Act, 1881, which was in force when the Trust Commissioner affixed his signature to the deeds, the duty is cast upon the Trust Commissioner

to inquire and see that each Native has sufficient land left for their support before he grants his certificate, which has in every case been done. This is further supported by the declarations made by the Native vendors themselves. In clause 5 of these declarations they expressly declare that they have sufficient land left for their support, independent of the land they are then alienating, and sets out the particular lands. In the majority of cases these declarations were produced to the Validation Court, and, by consent, certified copies were lodged with the evidence in these matters, which you could refer to, if necessary.

The only other remaining difficulties are the cardinal difficulties surrounding all such purchases. Under the Native Lands Act of 1873, and amendments thereto, which are declared void by recent decisions of the the Supreme Court, for which the Validation Act of last session was expressly intended to cure, and upon reference to my sworn testimony given before the Validating Court, which will be transmitted to Parliament, you will see that on the 22nd August, 1885, when I purchased this property and paid £11,000 for it, I purchased it in good faith and *bona fide*, believing that the purchases already made from the Natives were valid and effectual, and upon that belief I made further purchases of shares from the Natives, until the decision of *Poaka v. Ward*, declaring such purchases to be invalid was made known, when I at once ceased to make any further purchases in these lands from the Natives, and had I known that the purchases from the Natives were invalid and not in accordance with law, I should certainly not have had anything to do with the property whatever.

In conclusion, I would ask you to give the matter your attention when it comes before Parliament, and in the meantime to peruse and consider the judgments which I am now forwarding to you.

I have the honor to be,  
Yours obediently,

F. J. Tiffen.

Sketghes of the Electors of by J. Sturaj allan Wellington 1893

Electors of Wellington Going to and coming from the Poll, you are particularly requested to smoke Mallo Cigars.

Voting cartoon. Contains sign with text Vote for Fraser. Has the heading: Too much of a good thing. If I drink any more "Lemonaide" I'll bust. Is it true yez voted for Bell? Yis an begotta there's a ladd on the committee what could make the Archbishop of Canterbury vote for the Pope 'o' Rome!

Your patronage is solicited by Davis & Clater who hold the largest stock of men's and boy's Mercery, Hats, Gaps, Gloves, Ties, Collars, shirts &c in the Wellington Electorate

Romans Franchise "Let me out Bidy au' I'll vote any way ye loike!". "Champion long distance walking candidate against all comers under 9 and over 90".

THE LIQUOR TRAFIC EMULATED WITHOUT COMBNSATION. HOV? BY ONLY DRINKING  
Man standing by tree stump with axe.

How are your Poor Feet? Try BERRY'S

It is understood that the "Snags" family will "Plump" for Stout. One of the candidates advertised for vehicles free of charge - and the populace responded to a man!

Vote for Stout

Election cartoon. Features Two woman and a man in a top hat. Promotes candidate Bell.

VOTE FOR VOGEL

GOLF! GOLF! GOLF! Just Received a Shipment of the above Goods. As many are already ordered please apply at once to D. D. HYDE & Co., HAIRDRESSERS & TOBACCONISTS WELLINGTON, NAPIER & HASTINGS.

Election cartoon containing a woman hiding in an alley way from a man and two men talking. Has heading: I'm afraid it won't work this time and "DryI I should just think I was. Look at my blooming thirst!"

Painless Extraction of Teeth, —AND— Painless Stopping of Teeth. Children's Teeth Regulated.

VOTE FOR DUTHIE

Electin cartoon with man with pencil body on a box with house of representatives written o side.

CONSULT THE PHYSICIANS OF TME FRIKART MEDICAL ALLIANCE Who Guarantee the Scientific Treatment and Speedy Cure of CHRONIC & COMPLICATED COMPLAINTS. Dr. FRIKART, M.D., L.K.O (Registered in New Zealand), PRESIDENT AND CHIEF P Dieases of Women: CARLTON HOUSE, CUBA ST. WELLINGTON.

Front Cover

# The New Zealand Loan Mercantile Agency Co.

# Limited

## Directors:

- H. J. Bristow, ESQ.
- THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, BART., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., M.P.
- THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN E. GORST, Q.C., M.P.
- SIR GEORGE RUSSELL, BART., M.P.
- THOMAS RUSSELL, ESQ., C.M.G.
- SIR EDWARD W. STAFFORD, G.C.M.G.

## Manager, London:

- Henry Moncreiff Paul, ESQ.

## General Manager, Australia

- David Elder, ESQ.

## General Manager, New Zealand:

- Frederick Battley, ESQ.

## Head Office: Portland House, Basinghall St., London, E.C.

## Colonial Offices:

### In Australia.

- NEW SOUTH WALES—SYDNEY, Bridge Street.
- VICTORIA—MELBOURNE, Collins Street.
- SOUTH AUSTRALIA—ADELAIDE, King William Street.
- PORT ADELAIDE.
- QUEENSLAND—BRISBANE and ROCKHAMPTON.
- CORRESPONDENTS IN SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—MESSRS. PARROTT & Co., 306 California St.

### In New Zealand.

- AUCKLAND
- BLUFF
- DUNEDIN
- HAMILTON
- LYTTELTON
- OAMARU

- SOUTH BRIDGE
- WELLINGTON
- ASHBURTON
- CHRISTCHURCH
- GISBORNE
- INVERCARGILL
- PALMERSTON N.
- TIMARU
- BLENHEIM
- CHERTSEY
- GORE
- NAPIER
- RAKAIA
- WANGANUI

With Correspondents at all other places throughout that Colony.

The Company makes Advances in the Australasian Colonies on Produce, on the Stations and Stocks of Run-holders and on the Growing Clips of Wool, and receives the consignment of Wool, Grain, Tallow, Leather, Hides, Skins, Horns, Preserved and Frozen Meats, Butter, Cheese, Fruit, Cotton, Hemp, Kauri Gum, Metals, etc., etc., for sale in London, at rates of commission which may be learned on application to the Manager in London or to the Managers or Agents of the Company in Australia, New Zealand, etc. It may be well, however, to state that the Company enters into no mercantile ventures on its own account.

The Company is prepared to execute Indents, forwarded through its Agents in the Colonies, of British, Continental, Eastern and American Goods and Products, at usual rates of commission. The Company also accepts the consignment in the Colonies of Produce and Manufactures for Sale there at customary rates of commission and guarantee. Constituents may rely upon every care and attention being bestowed upon their consignments and indents, and all account sales, current accounts and remittances will be promptly rendered.

The Company acts as Agent for Freeholders and Run holders, undertaking the financial management of their properties, negotiating and effecting sales of their Freeholds and generally superintending their interests.

A complete Register of Properties placed in the hands of the Company for Sale in the various districts of New Zealand is kept at the London Office and all Branches of the Company.

For further information concerning the business of the Company, apply to  
Or at any of the Branches of the Company.

THE MANAGER,

PORTLAND HOUSE, BASINGHALL ST.,  
London, E. C.

Rural New Zealand: THE BRITAIN OF THE SOUTH.

## **Lincoln Sheep, the Property of Mr. S. T. Seddon, Hamilton**

BY John Houghton,

BARRISTER AND SOLICITOR OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NEW ZEALAND AND ATTORNEY AND  
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CALIFORNIA, U. S. A.

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## **Petition.**

Gt. Wairua Falls J.N.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of the Author of RURAL NEW ZEALAND—

SHEWETH THAT the right to petition the Crown for the redress of grievances is one of the most cherished

rights of an Englishman.

THAT your Majesty's colony of New Zealand has a very large area of fertile soil and a very small population.

THAT your Majesty's colony of New Zealand has a temperate climate, and is adapted to the rearing and perpetuating of the British race.

THAT large sums of money have been spent on making roads, railroads, bridges and harbours in your Majesty's colony of New Zealand and that it is well supplied with schools, churches, libraries, and all institutions necessary to the comfort and advancement of a civilised people.

THAT all perishable products of the farm and dairy can now be conveniently and safely transported from your Majesty's colony of New Zealand, by means of steamships fitted with refrigerating machinery, to your Majesty's dominions in Great Britain and elsewhere.

THAT many grievances have arisen because many of your Majesty's subjects are not sufficiently informed of the matters hereinbefore alleged.

WHEREFORE YOUR PETITIONER HUMBLY PRAYS—

THAT your Most Gracious Majesty will look with favour upon this humble effort, partly to show to your Majesty's subjects in the United Kingdom what your Majesty's colony of New Zealand is AND YOUR PETITIONER WILL as in obedience and duty bound ever pray, etc.

The Author.

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND EMPRESS OF INDIA.

Dated at Auckland, New Zealand, the 3rd day of February, 1893.

## **A Group of Jersey Cattle the Property of Mr. F. L. Wright, Raventhorpe, Drury.**

### **Rural New Zealand.**

*"A colony which, with a population no bigger than that of Liverpool, exports £10,000,000 in a year cannot be in a very bad way. It offers an enormous field for investment of capital by small men."*

THE above words were spoken by a British peer to a Sydney newspaper reporter on the 1st March, 1892. After occupying the position of a Governor of New Zealand for some three years, Lord Onslow returned to England, and on passing through Sydney gave expression to the above-quoted remark in response to enquiries made there by a representative of the Sydney "Daily Telegraph," in the issue of which paper of the 2nd March, 1892, they are to be found.

They may fairly be considered to be the sum and substance of the impressions formed by Lord Onslow during a lengthy residence in New Zealand, and whilst he occupied a position that gave him the amplest opportunity of obtaining the fullest information from the most reliable sources. Of his disinterestedness of any thought but a desire to give expression to the inmost conviction of his mind there cannot be the smallest doubt.

No other governor that ever occupied the viceregal chair in New Zealand took more pains to make himself acquainted with the resources of the colony over whose affairs he presided, for not contenting himself with the reading of statistics and reports issued from official sources, he laid his vice-regal dignity aside, and like a hearty English gentleman, jumped into the saddle, rode round amongst the farmers, talked with them, saw with his own eyes, and did not in the least mind a little roughness of accommodation when occasion required.

We propose to point out shortly in what respect New Zealand offers an enormous field for investment of capital by small men—to use Lord Onslow's words: and to use our own—a good field for investment of capital by large men, for there is room for all.

We will assume that the reader knows no more about New Zealand than he does about Madagascar, and beginning at the foundation point out that the colony of New Zealand consists of two islands in the South Pacific Ocean, called the North and South Islands of New Zealand. There is a third island called Stewart Island, but it is small and unsettled. This one we will not more than name, and say it has fine timber and grass, but there are no roads or railroads on it, so it is not yet fit for agricultural occupation.

### **CLIMATE AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION.**

These two islands then—the North and South Islands of New Zealand—are nearly as large as Great Britain and Ireland, which contain 121,000, while New Zealand contains 104,000 square miles, and occupy a somewhat similar position in latitude in the Southern Hemisphere that Great Britain does in the Northern one. The actual latitude of New Zealand is nearer that of Southern France and Spain—Dunedin, the chief town in the South, being about the latitude of Lyons, in France; Auckland, the chief town in the North, being about the latitude of Lisbon, in Portugal—but the insular position of the country modifies the temperature. Of course, being in the Southern Hemisphere, the North part is the warmer, and the South part the colder. Being islands there are never any very great extremes of heat or cold. In the extreme North oranges and lemons, figs, olives, and quinces grow well. Snow is never seen in the North Island except on the mountain tops. It rarely falls, except on the mountains, in the South Island. Sometimes there are four or five winters in succession without snow on the low lands, and when it does fall it rarely lasts more than a few hours. The writer has been in Dunedin, in the South Island, for twenty years, and only remembers two snowstorms when the snow lay two days on the ground in the town, although on the hills in the suburbs it lay ten days or so. Of course in a climate like that sheep, horses, and cattle live out of doors without shelter and thrive splendidly. There is an ample, but not excessive rainfall, except in the heavily-timbered and almost uninhabited parts of the west coast of the South Island. A high range of mountains runs through the middle of the South Island which breaks the rain clouds that accompany the strong westerly winds that blow at intervals in the winter, and stores them up in the shape of snow to feed all summer the many streams that flow through the fertile valleys on the East Coast.

The North Island is warmer than the South Island and more adapted for sub-tropical fruit growing. Oranges and lemons flourish in the far North, and apples are cultivated to a considerable extent, although we believe the warm interior valleys of the South Island would grow deciduous fruits to greater advantage on account of the sharp frosts which occur in those parts in the winter. Walnuts thrive well in the North, and are a profitable fruit to cultivate, while the favourable conditions of a combination of warmth and moisture give a luxurious growth of grass, even on comparatively poor soil, and for dairy farming, sheep and cattle raising, and horse breeding, the North Island cannot be excelled; while for all-round agriculture, such as requires a climate and soil suitable for wheat, oats, turnips and barley, it would be hard to beat the South Island.

The accompaniment of a mild climate with sufficient rainfall, with neither scorching heat nor freezing cold, makes New Zealand, as a whole, pre-eminently a land of green grass and running water like the land of promise. "A land of hills and valleys that drinketh of the rain of heaven," and surely for its British rule we may finish the verse and say, "a land that the Lord thy God careth for, for the eyes of the Lord thy God are upon it from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the year." And, as a whole, it is especially adapted to carrying on with great success all those operations of mixed husbandry that are so suitable to the English home-life, and which will some day make New Zealand worthy of the name of the Britain of the South.

## **Social Matters.**

We have plenty of well-established towns and villages, with gas and water, good streets, public libraries, schools, universities and churches, civilisation and all the advantages that spring so naturally and beautifully out of municipal loans. Dunedin has 46,000, Invercargill, 8,000; Christchurch 48,000; Wellington, 33,000; Napier, 9,000; Auckland, 51,000 inhabitants; all of whom have that mixture of conceit, pugnacity, recklessness, general good-humour and love of order that are so endearing in the British race. With the exception of the tongue, the fist is the only offensive weapon in use amongst us. The revolver has not yet become an institution with us, and the constable's baton is all that is wanted to keep order, and not much of that.

## **FREEZING PROCESS.**

Being like Great Britain an island—or rather two islands, and not very large ones—no place is very far from the sea, and as there are plenty of railroads running to good safe ports, there is no difficulty in sending produce to market. Of course in a country with so few inhabitants, and a productive soil, we grow far more than we can eat. At first wool was almost the only article that could be exported. Sheep were boiled down for their tallow, which was shipped to England. The invention of the freezing process, by which mutton can be shipped in New Zealand, and landed as fresh in England as the day it was shipped, has altered all that.

## **SHEEP.**

To give an idea of how the sheep thrive with us the following figures may be of interest. We exported last year from 18½ million sheep, wool of the value of £4,129,686, and frozen mutton of the value of £1,076,713; other products of the sheep, as skins and preserved meats, make the total exports from this source £5,662,081.

## COMPARISON WITH AMERICA FOR REARING SHEEP.

So much for that valuable animal the sheep. Nowhere in the world does the sheep thrive better than in New Zealand, and practical farmers will know what that means when they consider that in most parts of America the sheep cannot live out of doors in the winter at all. A Canadian farmer has to house his sheep in the winter, and feed them by hand with food specially grown for their use. In fact, so hard a time has the sheep in America, that that country cannot grow wool enough to clothe its people, and has to be constantly importing it. Fifty sheep is quite a flock in the Eastern States or Canada, but in New Zealand we have flocks of 50,000 and over. Our wool export shows what our climate is better than bushels of meteorological reports. Then we only shear once a year. In America they shear twice—their spring and fall clip as they call it. Their grass is so full of burrs that they take all the wool they can off in the spring as the autumn wool is spoilt by the burrs. In all the United States of America with their 3½ million square miles of country they have only 43 million sheep. On 100,000 square miles we have 18 million, and can carry at least double the quantity.

## CATTLE.

Probably the most valuable animal on the farm is the cow, and here again New Zealand is second to no country in the world. Before the invention of the freezing process butter could not be carried long distances in good condition, but it is now shipped from New Zealand to England, landed in first-class condition, and commands a good price in the English market.

In pointing out the advantages of our own

## City of Auckland, from Queen Street Wharf.

country we can only do so most forcibly by comparison with others. Says Mr. X. A. Willard, A.M., Lecturer at Maine State Agricultural College, in his book on Practical Dairy Husbandry in the United States, after describing the characteristics of a good dairy country: "We have no large and continuous stretch of country like that to which we have referred, where the business would naturally develop itself into a speciality."

An American writer, presenting presumably the most favourable view of the State of Montana, in "Harper's Magazine" of June last, has the following on the sheep and cattle industry in that state, and the contrast it offers to the conditions of life for man and beast in New Zealand in respect of the severity of the climate and the terrible life of isolation that those engaged in the pursuit have to lead, is most marked. Further we shall not comment—the words are those of an American speaking of his own country.

"The reader would not suppose there was cruelty in the mere feeding of cattle on the plains, but let him go to Montana and talk with the people there, and he will shudder at what he hears. The cattle owners, or cow men, are in Wall Street and the South of France, or in Florida in the winter, but their cattle are on the wintry fields where every now and then, say once in four years, half or 80 per cent, or one in three as it happens, starve to death because, of their inability to get at the grass under the snow. Sheep are taken to special winter grounds and watched over. It is a prime country for sheep. They are banded together in herds of 2,000 head and each band is in charge of one solitary lonely forsaken herder, who will surprise his employer if he remain a sane man any great length of time. In the winter the grazing is done in sheltered places especially chosen. On the winter grounds a corral is built and thirty to forty tons of hay are stored there for emergencies when the snow lies thick on the ground. The tendency of the sheep herders to become insane is one of the most unpleasant accompaniments of the business. Since I found insanity terribly common among the pioneers in the plains of Canada, where no sheep are kept, I prefer to leave the incessant bleating of the sheep out and put it down to loneliness."

So much for Montana, which is perhaps rather far North, so we will take a look at the great cattle state of Texas, extending south as far as the Gulf of Mexico. In another American periodical, "Scribner's Magazine" of June, 1892, there is an article on the cattle trails of the prairies, which speaks of Texas as the chief live stock producer in the Western States, and which has 3½ million head of cattle.

It says; "The peculiarly favourable climate of Texas gave the State almost a monopoly of the business." As we read further we get a glimpse of some of the contingencies this peculiarly-favourable climate is liable to. "At the beginning of the winter of 1871-72, came a storm of sleet putting an icy coat over the sod, and multiplied thousands of cattle and hundreds of horses died of cold and starvation. Some of the carcasses were skinned, but the majority were left for food for the wolves. A hundred thousand hides were shipped from three stations after the storm. The winter was severe throughout, and it was estimated that less than 50,000 cattle (out of 3½ millions, fancy that) lived through it. From herds of 60,000 to 70,000 only a few hundred survived. Like other booms in which the West had over-reached itself, this one had its collapse. In 1873 450,000 head of cattle

were shipped from Kansas, and then again came a back-set in prices and weather conditions, but not equal to that of two years previous."

In the development of the dairy industry of New Zealand alone, if anywhere in the world, is to use Lord Onslow's words, "an enormous field for investment by small men." The dairy farmer wants the least capital of any class of men that make their living out of the soil, and his returns commence from the day his operations begin—unlike the fruit grower, who has to wait years, or the wheat grower, who has to wait a season, and his first may be a bad one, his income commences with the calving of his cows, and proceeds if he attends to his business with the regularity of the motion of this planet. For the smallest capitalist—be he but an industrious careful man, as well as for the larger one who can afford to employ and superintend labour—no investment in the world offers so secure an income so steady a return, such room for development for enterprise, as that of a dairy farm in New Zealand.

The exports of butter and cheese from New Zealand were in 1891, £236,933. When it is considered that England imported, in 1891, butter and cheese to the value of £19,964,753, it will be seen at a glance that a better field for expansion was never offered.

For [unclear: inter] feed we grow turnips and mangels. The British farmer has but to transplant himself and family and go right on with his operations. His previous experience will not require to be much modified, except that he ploughs in May and raps in January, there is not much difference, and although he is 16,000 miles away from a market, it is all water carriage at a cheap rate, and it does not cost a tithe of the money to send his produce that 16,000 miles by water that it does to send it 1,000 miles by rail, if he should be foolish enough to pitch his tent in a continent instead of an island.

## **GRAIN.**

We grow wheat, oats, barley, and in the North Island, maize; and send them to London for far less than it costs to ship them from Kansas or Manitoba, for we are comparatively at the water's edge everywhere, and we have merchants and companies that will buy the farmers' produce at his door, and ships enough fighting for the privilege of carrying it.

## **TRANSPORT, &C.**

Somewhere about 30 millions of British money have been spent on our railroads and other public works. Our country roads are in good order, our streams are well bridged—all we want is a stream of industrious and thrifty people to make our tight little islands flourish. The idle and vicious we have no room for—clerks, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, and other professional men we have plenty of. The English yeoman we have ample room for, and if any of the other classes named like to take to a country life there is no reason why they should not, especially if they begin in a small way, as a little observation, patience, and civil enquiry among their neighbours, will soon give them enough experience to work on, and we can offer them a better home, more of the comforts of climate and civilisation, good orderly government under British rule, all commodities at reasonable prices, and a more convenient market than they can find in all America, North and South, from Canada to Patagonia. Australia is liable to droughts where sheep perish by millions. Even as we go to press comes a telegram from Australia, which we cut out of the Auckland "Herald," of January 9th, 1893, and here insert:—"Brisbane, January 8th. Deplorable accounts have been received of the drought in western districts. On many stations half the stock have perished. The heat is terrible, registering 120 in the shade. It will take the country three or four years to recover." New Zealand has had what its people call dry seasons, but a drought never, and irrigation compared to natural rainfall is as gas light compared to sunshine. Let the Asiatic have his irrigated lands under a burning sun with their accompaniment of malarial fever, for the Englishman the trout streams of New Zealand and the rain of heaven.

## **HEALTHINESS.**

There is no more healthy climate in the world than that of New Zealand. We have neither Arctic winter nor tropic heat, just cold enough to brace up a healthy Englishman, and just heat enough to ripen the corn and make the cattle seek the shade at harvest time. Not a feature is wanting to reproduce the healthy English life

## **Jersey Cow "Gossip," the Property of Mr. F. L. Wright, Drury.**

Gossip (41, Vol. II. "New Zealand Herd Book") won first prize at Hamilton Show, 1892, for highest cream percentage, being 26, beating the Australasian record.

that his made England what she is. John Barleycorn gives as mild a juice in New Zealand as ever he did in

England, and you can rear as stalwart sons as ever drew the bow of yew, and fit to stand as Friar Tuck before King Richard's cuff.

## PASSAGE MONEY.

The cost of passage to New Zealand is 60 to 70 guineas first-class, 35 guineas second-class, 18 to 22 guineas third-class. These may seem high, but when you are there you are there. The [unclear: steamb] at finds you in provisions and bedding all the way, whereas if you go to America you have to pay hotel fare whilst you are waiting for a train, and extra for provisions and sleeping accommodation and your railroad fare to your inland destination, wherever it may be. (See addendum.)

## WAIKATO DISTRICT.

Now let us take a little trip and see a sample of this country, and starting from the substantial city and port of Auckland in the North Island, take the train on this 13th day of September, 1892, for the Waikato country. We will make a few [unclear: noes] on the way, and take a photographer with us for company. We start at 9.30 a.m., passing through a well grassed and well settled country until we get to Ngaruawahia, 70 miles distant in four hours. Plenty of homesteads, green paddocks well fenced, with lots of sheep in them, [unclear: lespeaking] comfort and prosperity. The willows are well in leaf, and the peaches and plum trees breaking into blossom. As a floral display we don't think much of peach trees, for we have our camellia bushes growing in the open air—giant bushes 8 or 10 feet high and wide, with blooms blood red and white as virgin snow—but for any one thinking of emigrating to America it might be as well to inquire if at the corresponding time of the year, say March 13th, the St. Lawrence is clear of ice, and whether navigation is open to Quebec.

At Ngaruawahia (which is Maori for the meeting of the waters) the slow flowing Waipa and the [unclear: swift] Waikato join hands on their road to the sea and as we gaze on the willow-fringed banks of the calm waters of the Waipa, smooth-flowing as the River of Time, the words the bard puts into the lips of the sleepless king unbidden rise before us—

*Oh, God! methinks it were a happy life  
To [unclear: beio] better than a homely swain;  
To sit upon a hill as I do now,  
To care out dials quaintly point by point,  
There's to see the minutes how they run.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*So minutes, hours, days, weeks, months, and years  
Pass over, to the end they were created  
Would bring white hairs to a quiet grave.  
Oh, what a life were this! how sweet, how lovely,  
Gives not the hawthorn bush a sweeter shade  
To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,  
Than doth a rich, embroidered canopy  
To kings that fear their subjects' treachery?*

Away with idle dreams, we have work to do. Atlas took the world on his shoulders, we have to carry a piece of New Zealand to England.

We leave our traps at a comfortable hotel, and take a stroll through the little township to see the dairy factory, the Ngaruawahia Central Creamery and Butter Factory, belonging to Messrs. Reynolds and Co. (Limited), whose head office is at 30 Borough, London. This firm has been established six years, and at first had all the difficulties to contend with which those who establish a new enterprise generally have to face, and the benefit of which the successors of the bold men who first attempt to subdue difficulties so often get. However, that is not the case here. The firm have triumphed over all difficulties, and the industry of butter and cheese making in New Zealand for the English market has now passed through the experimental and is in the thoroughly practical stage, with ample room for extension.

The camera is ready, the milk carts won't wait much longer. We see the milk put into a large swinging can

at the back of the building, and by the time they can drive round to the front the cream is taken off, and the skim milk ready for delivery. Inside is the separator, making its 7,000 revolutions per minute, the cream coming out in a thin and the skim milk in a thick stream. We look at the revolving churns—just great square wooden boxes swinging on a pivot, they are—and then go into the room where the butter is worked up, salted, and put into casks ready for shipment to England. It lies on the floor in hundredweights, with a golden hue as of sunshine on it, and a fragrance as of many flowers. It is just our sunshine they are exporting in casks; there will be plenty left, that is a comfort.

Eight creameries, scattered over the district some fifty miles away, gather the cream from neighbouring settlers, and send it into this central factory; so if you multiply the string of carts standing at the door by eight, you will get an idea what a benefit this butter factory is to the district, and what a convenience to the settlers. Dairying, instead of being the heartbreaking work it used to be, is turned into little more than pastime and healthy exercise. The settlers milk twice a day, but bring their milk only once a day to the creamery. Calves are healthily reared on the skim milk, and pigs, it is hardly necessary to say, revel in it.

There are other dairy factories in the district, one at Newstead, Mr. Reynolds' own farm, where he milks 300 cows, and there is a cheese factory

## Mr. J. Wallace's Farm House and Barns at Papatoitōi.

at Tauwhare, on the Waikato Land Association's land. Altogether there are eleven butter and cheese factories in the district. Messrs. Reynolds and Co.'s eight factories have turned out 200 tons; butter for the season just ended, from one and a quarter million gallons milk; the Tauwhare factory turned out 7 tons butter and 45 tons cheese; the Waharoa factory, 23 tons; the Cambridge factory, some 50 or 60 tons cheese. These figures show that the industry is well established, and Messrs. Reynolds and Co. report the only hindrance to its further development is the want of settlers to take up land and supply them with the necessary milk. Messrs. Reynolds and Co. exhibited at the Islington Show, held in the Agricultural Hall, and "The Dairy," a London paper published in the interest of dairy farmers has the following in its issue of October 12, 1892:—"The exhibits of Messrs. Reynolds and Co, Limited, are interesting from the fact that they have been produced far away at the other side of the world, but more especially because after their long journey of 14,000 miles, both limey and butter are as fresh as any English exhibits. Messrs. Reynolds and Co. have [unclear: fifteen] creameries in New Zealand, and are the largest manufacturers of high-class butter in that colony. With some of their ordinary stock they took 1st prize gold medal at the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition of 1888. The strictest supervision is exercised during every process, from the pasturage and food of the cows, until the final sale from the London depot. The honey is gathered from the white clover and various honey blossoms of the Antipodes, and pronounced by epicures the finest in the world."

The price the factories give for milk is as follows—

- For the months Sept to December. 27/8d per gallon
- For the months January to March 2½d per gallon
- For the months April to May 3d per gallon
- For the months June to August 4d per gallon

with a bonus of one-eighth of a penny for the nine months, September to May, if settlers supply them through the season, this bonus being given to ensure, if possible, a regular instead of an intermittent supply of milk. The milk must be 10 per cent. cream, any milk that is richer than that is paid for at the rate of one-eighth of a penny or every 1 per cent, that it reaches above that standard: if below it, a corresponding reduction made.

The average yield of milk from a cow is found to be for such cows as are supplying the district, 500 gallons, and £7 is put down as a low average yield for a cow for the season, including the value of the skim milk for rearing pigs.

Facilities from a creamery is about as far as it is considered profitable or convenient to cart the milk, but as settlement advances, there is no fear but that this or some other enterprising firm will establish plenty of creameries to meet the requirements of the settlers, and if any one is desirous of and can afford to erect a creamery and butter factory of his own, the cost is not very great, as they can be had of all sizes and classes of power—hand, dog, horse, and steam, so no one ever need be afraid of the firm that owns the factories monopolising all the profits of the industry. Live and let live is, in the nature of things, the rule in the dairying business in New Zealand.

To the market, with England's enormous consumption at the door, there is practically no limit, and with New Zealand's grass lands to work on, we think we have fairly shown that in this industry there is an enormous field for investment by small men and a good field for large men.

The labour required for dairying is not of an exhausting nature. A boy of fourteen can milk a dozen cows, a man fifteen, drive the cart, and then have no more to do than will keep him out of mischief. Women and old or

weakly men can milk, and the latter can drive a steady old horse; and if a man has no labour in his family, contracts can be made with men with families for Id. per gallon, or one-third of total proceeds, to take all the trouble off the owner's hands, milk the cows, drive the cart, and attend to the rearing of the pigs and the calves, while the owner of the property can himself be at the plough, or attend to other matters on the farm, as looking after his orchard or poultry, or financial matters requiring his attention in town.

Mr. Runciman, of Marsh meadows, has published the return he obtained from his herd of dairy cattle, and Messrs. Reynolds & Co.'s books corroborate it.

The following is the return he received for milking for the year 1890, showing the number of cows milked, the yield of milk, percentage of cream, and price received from the dairy factory.

Date No. Of Yield Per cent. Price of 1890 Cows milked of Milk. of cream. Milk. Amount.

In addition to the milk, the proceeds were augmented by—

## Dairy Carts Bringing Milk at Ngaruawahia, Province of Auckland.

It will be seen that the average number of cows milked was for the year  $39\frac{1}{2}$  the yield is 624 gallons; but as the cows were drafted out of a herd as they came into milk, and nine months is about the average milking time for a cow we must add one-third to the number of cows required to give the yield, and we then find approximately: 52 cows yielded 25,000 gallons milk, and £370 in money, being an average of 470 gallons of milk per cow, and a return of £7 2s. per cow. At the present time the prices of milk are higher than those shown by about per gallon, which would give about 10s. more per cow, bringing the proceeds up to £7 12s. But we wish to be rather under than over the mark in presenting our calculations; increase of foreign competition may lower the price, and one might have to work with a lower grade of cows, although one might also use better bred ones; we therefore fix on £7 per cow as a safe and reasonable basis to work on. We take off one-third for labour and have no hesitation in saying any three acres of fair grass land in New Zealand will yield a profit by dairying of £3 13s. 6d., equal to an annual return of £1 4s. 6d. per acre. Of course there are different soils; some farmers laugh at not being able to keep a cow to every two acres. The Government expert says one acre in the Napier district is enough, but we want our figures to stand investigating, so give the larger area as being that required to feed a cow.

From Ngaruawahia we take the train to Hamilton, which may be said to be the centre of the Waikato district, and is a nice little town on the banks of the Waikato, with two or three good hotels, banks, an ample supply of shops, and plenty of churches and schools. The domain and its lake are well worth a visit.

From Hamilton, we trusted ourselves on the back of a horse and rode the fourteen miles to Cambridge, where there was a horse show on. A prettier drive on good roads, with good hedges, and comfortable homesteads adorned with plantations, one would not wish to see. That of Mr. Day, of Tamahere, with its avenue of pampas and pines, is fit for a duke, although his house is not so [unclear: retentions] as he shortly hopes to make it. He makes his own cheese and his own bacon, and has a very fine herd of Jersey pedigree stock. A man with a family of seven lives on his place; they have a good cottage and half-an-acre of land and run for a horse and cow. Of the family, the man and three boys milk, the rest are too young or are engaged in domestic work. Last year they received over £100 in cash and lived rent free for their labour. Many a city clerk, methinks, would be glad to change places with this rural paterfamilias. Mr. Day farms 1,000 acres. Last year he killed 300 pigs and averaged  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. for his bacon; for his cheese he averages  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., but he has a good name and sells all his produce locally, and gets more than an exporter can expect. He values the proceeds of an acre of good grass in the Waikato at 25s., and will be disappointed if he does not clear £1,000 off his farm per year, after allowing 6 per cent, on the capital value for rent. Of course, he says, there is a variety of soil in the Waikato, much good, much comparatively poor, but even from the poorer land the climate is so favourable for the growth of grass, that with work and manure, a good return should be obtained.

We spent some time with Mr. Day, and he was good enough to give us the benefit of his lengthy experience in the district, and the sum and sub-stance of it amounts to this: That 300 acres is a fair-sized farm for a man to cultivate, and he had far better do 300 acres well than 1,000 acres ill; and his estimate of the capital required to work such a farm, and a reasonable way of working it, would be about as follows; and we note it tallies as nearly as may be with our own estimate of £1 4s. 6d. per acre, being £15s., or just 6d. above it.

Capital required to work 300-acre farm, fenced, with house and outbuildings:—

Proceeds—

Deduct—

(Being equal to £1 5s. per acre.)

If interest were allowed for at the rate of 6 per cent. on 300 acres at £8 per acre—namely, £144—the net profit on the 300 acres would be £226.

The old stock being drafted out and the young ones kept, provides for depreciation in ewes and cows. If the family can do their own milking, a further sum of £100 per annum can be added; but if this is not done, or allowing that the labourers are worthy of their hire, and are entitled to be paid for their labour, there is a net profit of 15s. per acre over and above 6 per cent, interest, which, going to pay off the purchase price, would, with the annual reduction in interest, clear it off in nine and a half years if the fluctuations in prices of produce balanced one another.

It is no exaggeration to say that this return may be confidently reckoned on by fair farming on any 300 acres of fair to good grass land in New Zealand. In some places more land may be adapted to wheat and oats and less to grazing, but if the farmer uses his brains, profits by his experience, and does not put all his eggs in one basket, he may look for a return approximate to the one shown for all time, as far as we can see.

From Cambridge to Fen court, one of the properties of the Auckland Agricultural Co., and from there the next day through land cleared and uncleared, swamp and drained, in grass and fenced, flat, rolling downs and rough hillsides, behind a spanking team, past the Tauwhare Cheese Factory, for many a mile through paddocks well-stocked with cattle (Herefords, Jerseys, and non descripts) and sheep (Lincoln, pure and cross-bred), leaving the Lockerbie homestead, one of the Bank of New Zealand Estates Co.'s properties, on the left, we bring up at Waitoa, another of the A.A. Co.'s properties, for the night.

The homestead of Waitoa stands on a small hill overlooking the Thames Valley. On one side are the steep bluffs of the Coromandel hills, at the foot of which nestles the little village of Te Aroha, famous for its warm springs and sulphur baths. We sat down to a breakfast of which everything was produced on the estate but the tea and sugar. Ham and eggs, cold brawn, cream and butter, formed a fare which, added to a bunch of violets on a spotless cloth, and the attendance of a neat maid with cheeks like roses washed in milk, also a production of the district, showed that the people in the valley. [*unclear*: lad] advanced beyond the stage of civilization when the

## Dairy Carts Taking away Skim Milk, Ngaruawahia.

pioneer glutted his savage appetite on mutton and damper, and slaked his thirst with post and rail tea. Camellias were in flower, but the prime of their bloom was past. Lemons and gooseberries flourish side by side in the garden; pear, peach, and plum trees are in profusion; while the juicy shoots of the young rhubarb just pushing through the soil, furnished a pleasant piquancy to the custard which followed the chickens at the evening meal. A spacious lawn, with its surrounding hedge of dwarfed macrocarpa, and a belt of well-grown Californian pines, set off the orchard and homestead. Around the porch twines the fragrant jasmine, while the song of the lark, heard through the open windows, tells of the coming spring. The heavy Lincoln sheep with lambs at foot barely get out of our way as we walk through the paddocks, and the hum of bees beginning their summer toil, all tell of the spring that will soon cause rose and rhododendron, lilac and hawthorn, to burst into a blaze of summer beauty.

A large portion of the Waikato formerly consisted to a considerable extent, and a considerable portion still consists, of swamp land. The profit derivable from grass lands in this mild climate, has induced many capitalists to undertake extensive and expensive drainage works. Much has been done, and when it is considered that the Waikato district, commencing at Mercer, 40 miles south of Auckland, extending to Lichfield and Te Kuiti, some 90 miles further south, runs from the Pacific Ocean, on the west, to the Te Aroha range, on the east, a distance of over 70 miles, giving an area of between 6,000 and 7,000 square miles of country, and that these lands were only taken from the natives in 1864, it may well be believed that much remains to be done. Miles upon miles of drains have been cut, the fern and ti-tree cleared off, and grass sown by tens of thousands of acres. The result of the draining and clearing operations is clearly shown in the increase of sheep in the district. In 1887 there were 97,000, in 1891 there were 313,000.

There have been no excessive droughts, and only one extensive flood during the 25 years the district has been settled. The air is bracing, and the heat in summer has been known to rise to 90 degrees in the shade; but this is exceptional. Frosts occur during the winter at intervals, but seldom last more than three days. Ten or twelve degrees of frost is about the maximum, and the general opinion is that if there were a little more it might be better. Root crops do wel, also wheat and oats. Oranges and lemons can be grown, with plenty of shelter, and vines also. For the sportsman hares abound all over the country, and a good deal of coursing is done. Pheasants are plentiful. The streams are well stocked with trout. Californian quail have been tuned out, and are increasing rapidly, as have also the deer, which were liberated some few years ago, and deerstalking may now be looked for. Horse-racing flourishes—perhaps a little too much.

The principal feature of the country that strikes one is the great extent of level land, inter-seced by numerous drains, although there are large areas that require no draining. This alone would give a bleak and desolate appearance to the country, but its monotony is broken by numerous ridges and tracts of rolling downs,

and by the very numerous plantations of trees, mainly Californian pines, which have been most extensively planted out for ornament and shelter. These features, combined with the high ranges of the Thames Peninsula, which are never lost sight of, give the landscape a pleasing appearance, which wants but a number of flourishing honest [*unclear: eads*] to make as attractive a picture as the eye could wish to rest upon.

The great wealth of the Waikato district lies in its grass lands. With ample warmth and moisture these give a promise of wealth and comfort that one may travel far to see surpassed.

A short list of some of the estates in the district and their state of preparation for settlement may be of interest here:—

In all there are on these properties alone 71,000 acres of grass land fit for immediate occupation, which are for sale on reasonable terms and at a reasonable price.

Over a hundred square miles of country in as fine a climate as the world can show, with all conveniences of roads and railroads, and close to a port; no timber to fell, as in the back woods of Canada; no vermin to kill off; and your returns would come in within three months from putting your foot on board ship in London docks, and be as regular as the best of Bank dividends.

On the same estates are 82,000 acres of unimproved land, in light bush, fern, or swamp, which has yet to be brought into subjection by cutting down and burning off the bush and fern, draining the swamps, and laying down in grass.

For the capitalist who wishes to take hold of rough land, be it hill, covered with bush, fern or ti-tree, or undrained swamp, and expend his energies and resources in breaking in the wilderness and making it a home for hundreds—for the gentleman who aims to be a lord of acres, and under whose mild rule a contented yeomanry may flourish; for the frugal and industrious farmer, content with the acres he can till, his sheep, his herd of fattening bullocks or dairy cattle, his orchard, his bees, his poultry—there is ample room.

As stated three acres of this grass land will support a dairy cow, fatten a beast, or keep six sheep with the aid of a few turnips in winter, and the produce of them can be sent to the dairy, factory, or put in the train, which takes them in a few hours to Auckland, where there is a ready market, either for local consumption or shipment in cool or frozen chambers to England. Land can be rented or bought as the investor's means or inclination may point. There is no need nowadays to go into a wilderness unless one desires to face the toils, privation, and isolation of the life of, the pioneer. There is ample land right here in this Waikato district fit for immediate occupation by a civilized people, and a return, as the Americans say, straight from the word "Go!"

Trade is bad in the old countries. Manufacturing and shipping must take a rest until some of England's colonies supply new customers, and the process is a slow one. Those who have need of an income from investments should face the facts. Some of the wisest of them will, and cast their lot in with us.

The New Zealand Dairy Association have a central butter factory at Pukekohe, some 30 miles from Auckland, with 9 branch creameries sending their cream into this factory. They gather their milk from the Frankton district, over an area of a circle of 30 miles diameter, which is all good dairying country. They report that they supply every place with a creamery as soon as there are sufficient settlers to warrant it being done, and that there is room for three or four times the number of creameries in this district, as land is brought into grass, and that they want more milk. Average grass land within 5 miles of a creamery is worth from £7 10s. to, £10 per acre; bush land is worth about £5.

## **Albert Park, Auckland.**

## **Dairy Factories.**

The following is a list of the dairy factories now in operation in the Auckland District:—

## **Taranaki, Wanganui, & Wellington Districts.**

We stayed some time in Auckland, a city of 51,000 inhabitants, founded some fifty years ago. It has all the clubs, banks, hotels, and public buildings that could be desired. The freezing works at the harbour side is a very substantial building. Besides freezing for export to England, they tin a large quantity of meats for export to the South Pacific Islands, as Fiji, Samoa, and Friendly Islands.

Our subject is the country, not the town, but country folk want a run to town sometimes, so we will say a little about what can be seen and done in Auckland. First there is the harbour, which is one of that numerous class where all the navies of the world might float. You could go yachting in the Great Eastern in Auckland harbour, and through the channels that wind past the islands of Waiheke, Rangitoto, Great and Little Barrier, Tiritiri and Motutapu. No Lord of the Isles had a prettier archipelago to sail in when—

*Merrily, merrily, went the bark,  
On a breeze from the northward free;  
So shoots thro the morning sky the lark,  
Or the swan through the summer sea.  
The shores of Mull on the eastward lay,  
And Ulsa dark, and Colonsay,  
And all the group of islets gay—  
That guard famed Staffa round.*

The public library, with Sir George Grey's collection is a treasure. If you are given that way you can hunt up old tomes of Chaucer, Spenser, and rare Ben Jonson, Bacon and Humphrey Clinker, Roman jurisprudence and the constitutions of all the nations on earth, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, and the travels of old German friars, written in their own words 300 years ago. Rare old missals there are; steady hands had the old monks, firm as an engraver's steel—not they the ones that tarried too long at Lite flagon and venison pasty—and the embroidered capitals are as rich in gold and vermillion and delicate as any Indian lacquer work. If you want anything a trifle lighter you can go to hear the Mikado and see the skirt dancing. The Domain and the footballers, the Ellerslie racecourse and the totalisator may attract you, but they should not; or you can sit in the Albert Park and overlook the busy town from the midst of sheets of azaleas, ichsias, and all the parti-coloured fancies of the ribbon gardener or, if you are horsey, you can take a run with the Pakuranga hounds.

Away across the Manukau bar, on the 27th October, the place where the gallant Orpheus was wrecked some thirty years ago. When they could keep the decks on longer, the sailor lads manned the yards as if on holiday parade, and when the masts went over the side, they went to their watery bed with a ringing cheer that startled the pale and helpless pilots restlessly pacing the shore.

Toll for the brave,  
The brave that are no more,  
All sunk beneath the wave,  
*Far from their native shore.*

A twelve hours' run brings us to Taranaki. No one can understand Taranaki that does not understand her mountain—Mount Egmont. Æons ago, long before Moses' mother put her babe into the bulrushes and trusted him to the crocodiles of the Nile rather than to the tender mercies of the reigning Pharaoh; long before Rameses built his little Pyramids, old Mother Earth began to cough and spit out of a little hole [*unclear: ust*] by Taranaki and blew up a fine black earth gently, a little at a time, and when the south-west wind blew it fell across the laud, and where it was calm it just settled down where she [*unclear: bew*] it out and made a little pyramid that grew bigger and bigger, and the sides slid out wide as it grew higher and higher—a perfect cone—and when she had made a pyramid 8,200 feet high she left off blowing, and the rain clouds came up from the sea and crowned it with snow like any bride-cake, and when the sun shone out on its hoary old head it wept crystal tears, and they scarred its sides with a hundred rivulets which run down, talking, babbling, gossiping for ever on their road to the sea. You meet them everywhere. Some run on the sides of the hills as if they were water races. You cross them on bridges in the streets—they run down the gutters and flush the sewers of Taranaki.

Such a country for streams there never was, and you can get them of all powers, from a sewing-machine upwards, and all with a fall from the top of the mountain. They never overflow their banks, for they have all cut deep down through the loam to the bed-rock long ago, and their banks are too high and their hurry to get to the sea is too great to have time to overflow.

And so the Taranaki and Hawera districts are all rich volcanic loam, 8 or 10 feet deep, and there is not a pebble for miles. The streams never fail to be fed from the everlasting reservoir of snow. The Taranaki people almost worship their mountain, for by it they live and move and have their being.

The streets of the town of New Plymouth are laid out at right angles, and are as clean and tidy as a man-of-war's quarter-deck. There are about 4,000 inhabitants and every convenience that can be desired. The recreation ground on a hill within a few minutes' walk of the centre of the town is a place for poets to dream in. An old raupo swamp has been dug out, and the streams that fed it dammed into a lake whereon float boats and water lilies. The banks are terraced tier upon tier, and shady walks and neat pavilions invite lovers to breathe all the sighs they want to utter.

If any gentleman has any cash to spare for landscape gardening, there are a hundred places near New

Plymouth that can be had at the price of grazing lands, that in a few years could be made into as lovely a place as the New Plymouth Recreation Ground.

The dairying industry has made very considerable strides at Taranaki, as might be expected. The following is the list of the factories now in peration in the Taranaki district:

- Banks' Farm.
- Breech's.
- Cardiff Co-operative Dairy
- Factory Company, Ltd.
- Egmont Village Creamery.
- Eltham Co-operative Dairy
- Factory Company.
- Eltham Dairy Factory.
- Inglewood Dairy Factory.
- Kaponga Dairy Factory.
- Lepperton Co-operative
- Dairy Factory.
- Manaia Dairy Factory.
- Ngaire Dairy Factory.
- Normanby Dairy Factory.
- Okato Dairy Factory.
- Opunaki Dairy Factory.
- Otakeko Dairy Factory, Pungarehu Dairy Factory.
- Rangatake Dairy Factory.
- Sorenson & Busck's Dairy Factory.
- Stratford Dairy Factory.
- Tikorangi Dairy Factory.

One of the numerous streams has been utilised for supplying power to drive a factory.

## **Auckland Freezing Works.**

"Mr. J. C. George, of New Plymouth, has erected a butter factory (Oaonui Dairy Factory) on the banks of the Oaoita stream, here in Mr. Lawrence Gilmer's paddock. It is driven by water power. The water-race was dug by an Auckland, by name Mr. Robert Munroe, reflecting the greatest credit on his ability. The building was constructed under the supervision of Mr. Hall, of Lepperton, while the fixing up of the machinery was done by Mr. Turner. The race is about 16 chains in length, with a wheel 12 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 8 inches. The main building is 36 by 20 feet, 13 feet studs. The boiler house is 12 by 10 feet, and the platform 14 by 5 feet. There are two separators, two churns, two sets of cream coolers. The building has a wooden floor. The skim milk is carried up into a trough by a pipe, which is a very great convenience, as vehicles draw alongside, where there is a pipe which is put into the milk cans, thereby saving any lifting for filling the return milk. Butter is made every day, Sundays included. Although only fourteen settlers are supplying at present, there are hundreds of gallons of milk supplied daily. Mr. G. W. Geary is manager in charge. He has Mr. William Johnson, one of your Auckland-Mangere young men, as assistant. They are both very popular with the suppliers, and I have no doubt Mr. George is proud of them, in the efficient manner they keep everything, and as also they turn out a first-class butter."

The climate is moist and warm, but not enervating. There is very little frost, as may be imagined when it is said potatoes grow all the year round. From New Plymouth the railway skirts the base of the mountain, cutting off the peninsula on which it stands, strikes near the coast Hawera, a few miles from the sea, and skirts the coast a few miles inland, through Patea and Waitotara counties, until you arrive at Wanganui, a distance of 107 miles, all of which is tolerably well settled within twenty miles of the railway. After that you get into bush country, of which there is a very large area in Government hands for sale at low rates, and wants but bush-felling, burning-off, and mere surface sowing-down in grass to make fine pasture land. Speaking of the district as a whole, extending from New Plymouth on the west to Foxton on the East, it may be said to contain about 10,000 square miles of country which for all purposes of pasture, dairying and stock-raising may be equalled, but on this earth cannot be excelled. Right here where we now write is a country that will carry a population thick as Denmark, and has all the roads and railroads, bridges and young townships ready to do it, and every industry that is there carried on can be carried on here to as great advantage, and with no winter at all.

Towards the sea, at Foxton, commences the Manawatu-Rangitiki block, which was purchased from the natives in 1865. It contains a large area of fertile land, most of which is admirably adapted for agricultural and

pastoral purposes. Settlement in the block extends north-west to the Rangitiki River and back inland to the Ruahine Ranges, and has gone on rapidly during the past twenty years, and several important towns have been established in the district. Foxton, the shipping port of the Manawatu River, has a population of about 800. It has a well-built wharf, which is in communication with the railway.

As we pass in the train we hear the farmers bragging as they will how many sheep to the acre their grass lands will carry. We know they blow considerably, and won't repeat their nonsense; but we see the sheep as thick as bees, and we begin to wonder. Sheep to the acre! It is men to the acre we want, to tend the sheep and cattle, and double the return. There are townships too numerous to mention, and fresh ones constantly starting up, and from each of them, as Oliver Wendell Holmes said about some American villages, the axis of the earth sticks out visibly; and right here we may put in a little word of instruction as to the pronunciation of some of the native names. Ng is pronounced as n; ai as i; and the final e is always sounded; but newcomers do not all know it, and Ngaire mourns. We quote from a local paper (not a township but has a newspaper) in its issue of October 24, 1892. It seems this important centre is not progressing fast enough to satisfy the restless spirit that wields the editorial pen, and he gives his reasons in verse why her splendour pales before the rising sun of Stratford. The solemn fact, says he, is intending settlers don't know how to say the name, and consequently ask for a ticket to Stratford.

The stranger's met with vacant stare  
If he asks his way to Gare;  
And should he then his query vary,  
He's told there's no such place as Gary.  
He next demands, with rising ire,  
Which is the nearest road to Gire?  
Baffled, He makes one last enquiry,  
Where on earth's this blessed Giry?  
The yokel at the stranger's blunders  
Laughs loud and long, and says he wonders  
Why th' eternal fire he  
Don't talk plain English and ask for Niry.

Wanganui is a pretty town of 6,000 inhabitants. Its [*unclear: rver*] is navigable about seventy miles up for [*unclear: vessds*] of not more than two feet draught, and up to the town, which is about three miles from the leads, for vessels of ten feet draught. Its iron cylinder bridge is a very substantial structure. There are extensive freezing works at the [*unclear: mouh*] of the river.

From Wanganui, we went right along to the far end of the South Island, preferring to take our [*unclear: eisure*] on our journey northward, but we will arrange our subject matter according to [*unclear: locality*], instead of chronologically, as we think we shall make ourselves more intelligible that way so will start from Wellington, where we landed on December 1st, and work back from there to Wanganui, and thus exhaust our stock of information as regards that district before we go South.

Wellington is the seat of Government, and was the first European settlement founded in New Zealand, the New Zealand Company having landed the first body of settlers there on the 1st January, 1840. Auckland used to be the seat of Government, but lost that honour in 1865, since which time Wellington has staggered under the burden.

It has, of course, very extensive Government buildings. All the banks and the most prominent merchants are represented there. It has hospitals, gaols, lunatic asylums, churches, schools, and all sorts of things. In the industrial line there are three meat export companies, a large iron foundry, woollen factory, soap and candle, sash and door factories and others, also opera house, cricket ground, and all the requirements of commerce, education and entertainment of a city of 33,000 inhabitants.

The harbour is all that could be desired. It could accommodate all the European navies and the North and South American ones to boot, without in the least interfering with its ordinary traffic, and there is deep water right up to the wharves.

It rained very hard on Sunday, but we went to church all the same in the morning, and in the afternoon we entertained ourselves at the Museum. The Maori house with its quaintly carved war canoes and the grotesque figures which support the house, the ancestors of the builder, are, if not beautiful, certainly strange, and have a certain artistic taste about them. It may not be art of a very high order, but art it certainly is. There are huge skeletons of moas and whales, one of the latter caught near Wellington, about 60 feet long. We could not help thinking, if we were as large as that and possessed with one idea, we could make things move a bit, but the

whale is not enterprising. The pterodactyl was there, and the ichthyosaurus, the megatherium, and the mastodon, at least bits of them. No one landing in New Zealand but will joyfully recognise these friends of his early childhood. The human skulls, skeletons, and other ossifications, the contemplation of which has such a cheering effect upon the jaded man of business, the sprightly clerk, and the toil-worn artisan, and which presents a counter attraction to the wine cup, when it moveth itself aright, were not wanting.

Two lines of railway run out of Wellington. One is a government line and runs through the central part of the island over the Rimutaka range, crossing the Wairarapa Valley, then north

## Wanganui River and Bridge.

towards the Forty Mile Bush, ending at Eketahuna. The other is a private line, skirts the west coast, and taps the grassy country of the Wanganui and Taranaki districts, meets the main line coming east from the sea at New Plymouth at Palmerston, which then strikes east to Woodville through a gorge between the Ruahine and Tararua ranges, and then on to Napier, on the sea, on the east coast; complete railroad communication being thus established between the east and west coasts of the North Island.

Wellington to Napier, by rail, is 200 miles; to New Plymouth, is 258 miles. Altogether, there are about 500 miles of railroads in the Taranaki and Wellington provinces.

After a rainy night, we started on the private line, the Wellington-Manawatu line, skirting the coast (the time being December 5th, the equivalent of June 5th in England) and running up from the sea level at Wellington harbour, through grassy and wooded hills, stumped and unstumped, the stumps of trees still left standing with nibbling sheep scattered among them, rising some 500 feet we drop again to the sea level at Porirua, in Cook's Straits, then skirting the water's edge and rising again some 250 feet at Pukerau, we pass through some four tunnels in quick succession, for the hills here run close down to the sea and the waves are breaking at our feet; the island of Kapiti in full view, only some five or six miles distant, everything green as grass, and every gully with its rushing stream after last night's rain.

The hills are still abrupt to Paikakariki, some 27 miles from our start. Here there is a good hotel, and our eyes being always upon the vegetation, we note strawberries are being sold on the railway platform, and decide to have some shortly with cream. The sun comes out warm after the rain, and then through grass and swamp we run through sandhills close to the sea. Otai-kanga, 35 miles, then through steep, heavily-wooded hills, the nikau palms and the cabbage trees standing out prominently, with here and there a cottage with many-coloured geraniums and nasturtiums in bloom. Then over a rushing stream to Waikanae, 37 miles, a little open patch with pretty, fresh-looking cottages with their bright striped verandahs embowered in green. Then over the Otaki, muddy, brawling with last night's rain, the clouds still lying heavy on the hills a few miles up the valley; another dozen miles bring us to Levin, where there are a couple of sawmills (61 miles). Over the Manawatu River to Longburn Junction, where the line goes towards the sea at Foxton. Here the hills recede, and we enter upon the rich, grassy, undulating lands which stretch along the coast right away to New Plymouth, on the West Coast, a distance of 200 miles, than which, for all purposes of pasture and convenience to the sea, there are no richer anywhere. We are now in the famed Manawatu district, of which Palmerston, some five miles further on, is the chief town. Palmerston has made most rapid strides in population, which now amounts to about 4,000, having doubled itself in five years. In the centre of the town is a fine square planted with trees, and surmounted by most substantial looking buildings. It boasts of a gasworks and every comfort of civilization.

A few miles more bring us to Feilding, which has a population of 1,500. It is in the centre of a block of 106,000 acres, which were bought by an Association formed in London in 1872.

At Halcombe, 24 miles from Longburn Junction, the train stops a few minutes. It is prettily situated amongst rolling hills, and we noticed a church and school-house peeping through the trees. Then over a fine bridge across the Rangitikei, the train rising the bank at the other side of the river, running through grass waving in the breeze, looking down on the valley with the river winding through clumps of trees, we come to Marton, which is the prettiest town in the Rangitikei district. It is the terminus of the Main Trunk north line to Auckland, which will some day be built, and of which some 26 miles to Huntersville has already been built. Roads lead from Marton eastward, crossing the Rangitikei River by a bridge. There is also a road from Bulls to Marton, and one northward to Turakina and Wanganui. Another road running north opens out some splendid agricultural country.

Crossing the Turakina, a sharp rise of 500 feet gives a view for many miles of well grassed land, hills with patches of bush, and here and there homesteads and clumps of trees. The top is reached at Fordell, where there is a flour and oatmeal mill. A down grade of one in fifty for four miles brings us pretty well down to the sea level, and we run through rich pastures full of fat sheep and lambs. Then through a lovely valley with pretty homes on the one side, and on the other wooded hills to Okoia. Then past running brooks, tall poplars, and waving willows over the Wanganui River, which is here some 200 yards wide, into Wanganui, where the train

from New Plymouth, on the west, meets ours from the east.

The especial peculiarity of the west and central parts of the North Island of New Zealand is that they have no very large extent of open grassy country, although there are some plains, but with a poor quality of soil, much of it being composed of pumice ejected from the volcanic mountains. Most of the land, as might be expected where a climate is moist and mild, and the soil good, being encumbered by forest or bush, more or less heavy and more or less useful for building purposes and fencing.

This bush once cleared off, most of the land becomes, when the bush is burnt and grass seed sown in the ashes, admirable pasture, which is the form of preparation that the most of the country in the Wanganui and Taranaki districts has had to undergo before it arrived at its present stage of development.

The Government Crown Lands Guide gives the area of agricultural land in the North Island of New Zealand at thirteen million acres, that of pastoral land at fourteen million acres, and we suppose they have a right to do so, for wherever a tree will grow in this climate such are the conditions of warmth and moisture that if it be cut down and burnt, grass will grow in its place by merely strewing the seed on the surface; no ploughing is necessary. The stumps are not usually entirely destroyed by burning the bush, but what is left of them gradually rots away.

Large areas of this bush land are still in the hands of the Crown. Of course, as settlement extends, block after block is thrown open to the public at a very low price, and on very easy terms, and as these bush lands extend right up to the highest spurs of the Ruahine and Tararua Ranges (which are not very high, the highest point being only some 4,000 feet), and up the slopes of the active volcanoes, Tongariro and Ruapehu, and the extinct one, Mount Egmont, there is a large area still available for settlement of this class. The most convenient blocks are always taken up first, and a large quantity of this bush land is now in private hands for sale, and a very good investment it should be, even with that most primitive method of utilising the soil of this planet—pasturage alone.

For those strong enough to stand the isolated life of a pioneer, the acquisition of Government bush lands certainly offers very great advantages, and we doubt if such opportunities can be found anywhere else.

There are three methods of acquiring Government lands:—

- For cash.
- On deferred payment.
- On perpetual lease.

If land is taken up from the Government on either of the two latter methods, residence on it for a period of 6 years is essential. Not so if paid for right out. Besides these methods there

## Up the Wanganui River.

are the Homestead and Small Farm Homestead Association systems.

Of course the bush land near the centres has long ago been cleared and turned into pasture, and is in private hands. Bush land in private hands, say within 25 to 30 miles of the railway line, is for sale at about 30s. per acre.

The cost of felling and burning the bush is from 25s. to 35s. per acre. The cost of grass seed and sowing brings the total cost of bringing such land into pasture up to £2 to £2 5s. per acre.

At these rates, a man felling his own bush can make very good wages, as on an average a man should be able to fell two acres a week; and for strong men, of limited means, with families, the reduction of this bush into pasture offers an employment, and since the introduction of the dairy factory system an immediate return for their produce such as cannot be excelled anywhere. But for those with young families, and those to whom the refinements of life are essential, the acquisition of private lauds of a smaller area, closer to roads, schools, churches, and society with a more intense cultivation, may have a greater attraction.

As an instance of what bush land cleared will produce, we will mention the following:—

Mr. P. Krull, son of Mr. F. A. Krull, the Imperial German Consul at Wanganui, burnt 800 acres bush land last February (autumn here). He had it sown in grass, and in the following July put on it 3,000 ewe lambs, after weaning, costing 7s. 6d. each. He sold them on the 20th November for 12s. 3d. nett. He took 61bs. of wool off their backs, which netted, after the expense of shearing, 6d. per lb.

The return for each lamb was, therefore, 15s. 3d.; the cost was 7s. 6d.; profit was, therefore, 3,000 at 7s. 9d., or £1,162 10s. The expenses were three men at 20s. per week; provisions and sundries another 20s. per week for six months, 26 weeks at £6, £156; the deaths and those used for rations were 105 at 7s. 9d., £40 14s. 3d., in all £196 14s. 3d.; leaving a nett profit of £965 14s. 9d. on 800 acres, being a return for the season of 24s. per acre, after paying for all labour.

This land was situated about twenty miles from Stratford. It is within the mark to say that on the average every acre of land in these large districts will carry three and a half sheep, and give a return, at present prices, of

25s. to 28s. per acre, and that every two acres will keep a cow, and give a still higher return.

In the Taranaki district dairying has made considerable strides and there are now many dairy factories established, but there is room for many more as settlement extends.

The people in Wanganui, although nowhere is better climate and soil to be found, have done nothing in the way of dairying as yet.

Dairying requires work, and so long as men can command an income from tending sheep and cattle, they do what costs the least trouble. This state of affairs is, however, likely to be remedied soon, as negotiations for the erection of factories are now pending.

The seasons being uncertain, and rain being liable to fall at harvest time, the good people of Wanganui have permitted the people in the south to grow their cereals for them, they preferring to sit on a rail while the sheep and cattle cropped the rich grasses for them, and turned them into wool and beef and mutton. If anyone is energetic enough to grow these things, and look a little lively at harvest time, there is no reason why he should not get his crops in between the showers; the grain will grow right enough.

Cleared land, fenced, sub-divided, and with buildings, within about twenty miles of the railway line, can be bought at from £6 to £10 per acre, and easy terms of payment can always be arranged. A very fine property, the Eden skill estate, is being placed in the market just now. It consists of 13,000 acres, and is divided into 115 farms, of sizes to suit all purses, from 20 acres up to 1,000.

The Wanganui district used to supply the city of Auckland with the bulk of its cattle, and Napier used to send nearly all the sheep used by its population of 51,000 people; but now the Waikato country, south of Auckland, has been to a large extent brought into permanent pasture, that city is independent of other sources for its meat supply, and has a surplus for export. The large freezing works at Wanganui and the Waitara now furnish a convenient outlet for export of the produce of these districts, in a frozen state, to the English market.

The Government line of railway, starting from Wellington, passes through Kaiwarra, and at Petone, seven miles out, there is a large meat preserving establishment belonging to the Gear Meat Preserving Company, a brewery, a woollen factory, and large railway workshops. Nine miles from Wellington is the Lower Hutt, on the Hutt River, which is bridged both for rail and road. At the Lower Hutt is a racecourse, and close to it are the beautiful gardens called McNab's. The land in the Lower Hutt is rich agricultural soil, and the hills are good pasture.

The Upper Hutt is twenty miles from Wellington, and some eight miles further on at Kaitoke, the line rises up the Rimutaka Range to the summit, seven miles further, an elevation of 1,144 feet. Here a tunnel 630 yards long is reached, through which the train is propelled by a Fell locomotive, the engine being provided with a centre wheel, which grips a centre rail rising some ten inches above the level of the other rails. Passing through four tunnels, the train reaches Cross Creek, and drops into the Wairarapa side of the range. The line then runs on to Featherstone, ending at Eketahuna, a distance of ninety-three miles from Wellington, over pastoral country which forms the beginning of the Wairarapa Valley, which extends from the mouth of the Wairarapa Lake, in Palliser Bay, to the head of the Pairau Plain, where the Paimahanga River emerges from the Tararua Range, a distance of eighty miles, the average breadth of the valley being ten miles. The principal town in the valley is Masterton, which has a population of 3,500. Carterton has 1,500; Featherstone and Grey town have smaller populations. In this valley there is a very large quantity of first-class agricultural land. The valley as a whole is well adapted for mixed farming and dairying, which latter industry has there made considerable progress.

The railway ending at Eketahuna, the Forty Mile Bush is reached by coach. A drive through magnificent bush country leads to the settlement of Pahiatua and the upper Manawatu Ferry, thence in an hour or so to Woodville, twenty-six miles from Eketahuna, the whole drive occupying some five hours.

The main road runs through a block of valuable bush country containing about 45,000 acres. The northern portion is level, rich soil, and well adapted for small farm settlements, for which purpose nearly the whole of it is now taken up. The eastern side consists of undulating land, suitable for a mixed system of pastoral and agricultural settlement.

Further to the north there is a valley of about eight miles in breadth, which consists of excellent soil, and is fine open bush land.

The east coast of the Wellington province consists mainly of high pastoral land, and is not yet sufficiently supplied with roads or railroads to make it suitable for the accommodation of a dense population.

In the Wellington district are now seven dairy factories, namely, the Dale field Dairy Factory Company, Featherstone Dairy Factory Company, Grey town Dairy Factory Company, Mauriceville Dairy Factory Company, Okoia Dairy Factory Company, Taratahi and Wairarapa Farmers' Association. It is hardly necessary to say that the number can be indefinitely extended.

# (North Island) New Zealand Bush Before Felling

## And in Process of Being Felled.

### Otago and Southland.

We took the steamer from Wellington and went down the coast by water to Dunedin, a distance of about 300 miles, the time occupied being two days, calling at Lyttelton, about halfway on the road.

The provinces of Otago and Southland form the southern part of the South Island of New Zealand, the River Waitaki being the northern boundary.

The coast climate of these provinces is colder and wetter than that of the North Island, and more adapted to persons of robust health than those with any weakness of constitution; but the interior valleys, although liable to sharp frosts in winter, are hotter than the coast lands in summer. Along the coast the prevailing winds in winter are West and South-West, and are cold and accompanied by rain; but inland, at a distance of 20 and 25 miles, these winds lose their strength, the rainfall is much less, the sun much stronger, the air dry, bracing, and exhilarating, and it is doubtful if a more healthy climate could anywhere be found.

A considerable portion of this part of New Zealand is mountainous in the extreme. The backbone of New Zealand, the Southern Alps, branches out as it were when it crosses the border of Canterbury, and what in that province is little more than a single mountain ridge, breaks up into range after range, Pelion piling itself on Ossa, until you reach the West Coast, where the mountain glens, grooved out by the action of mighty glaciers, make fiords and inlets equal in magnificence to any of which Norway can boast; where line-of-battle ships could sail up deep lochs, landlocked amidst giant mountains, in waters disturbed only by the roar of the waterfall or the crumbling avalanche.

This part of New Zealand may be said to resemble the more mountainous parts of the west coast of Scotland, so well described as

*Stern and wild;  
Meet nurse for a poetic child.*

But it is not amid scenes such as these that the peaceful agriculturist can most profitably pursue his calling. The time will, doubtless, come, and we see no reason why it should be remote, when every mountain glen will have its hamlet, and rear a race, it is to be hoped, as bold and virtuous, and as devoted to their country, as mountaineers mostly are.

Distance is almost annihilated by steam. The freezing process enables all perishable products of the farm and dairy to be as conveniently removed from New Zealand as from the Continent, and there is no reason why any body of tenants of, may be, some too grasping landlord, should not leave him to tend his own cattle, herd his own sheep, and transfer themselves in a body to some mountain glen in Otago or Southland, and go right on with their operations after a three months' break, and never feel that they were transplanted. That is the manly way to strike, not with Winchester rifle and dynamite. Here is room for another Switzerland, and another Tyrol. They could jödel as merrily, and sing their ranz des vaches as cheerily at the foot of a glacier in New Zealand as in their native land. The valleys catch the sun in summer, and hold it in Otago as they do in Central Europe; and fruits that only drag out an existence along the coast flourish in the interior. Peaches, apricots, walnuts, and vines all do well.

Some few years ago there was a project to run a railroad up into the interior of Otago. The subject is still being agitated; but New Zealand went so heavily into debt for building railroads along its more easily accessible valleys that it was not deemed prudent to go further until there was more settlement along the lines already built, and they had arrived at a stage when they would pay a larger interest on the cost of their construction. A Commission was appointed to examine and report on the area and value of the lands that would be beneficially affected by such a railway. They reported as follows, and the names attached to the report are those of men of undoubted integrity:—

"A general view of the importance of the line may be realised from the following facts:—It would start from the Main Southern Trunk Line, only seven miles south from Dunedin, thus having at one terminus a population of 45,000. The district to be traversed contains at present a number of industrial centres. There are

23 post offices, 10 branch Banks, and 25 schools, having 36 teachers, and 1,503 scholars. A Resident Magistrate's Court is held at eleven different localities. Three newspapers are published locally.

"First, as to its agricultural and pastoral interests. There are 39 pastoral runs, with 1,131,666 sheep, the annual revenue from which may be estimated at £281,458. Mr. John Roberts (of Messrs. Murray, Roberts & Co.), Chairman of the Taieri County Council, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee, estimated the return of wool to be 20,000 bales, or about 2,500 tons. The extent of agricultural land is not less than 550,000 acres. There are two millions of acres of pastoral land, capable of carrying a much larger stock of sheep than at present. As the leases of the large runs fall in, and the lands are sub-divided into smaller areas, so as to be occupied separately, or by the owners of adjoining agricultural farms, and worked together with the improved low lands, it is calculated that the carrying capacities of the country will be largely increased, and a yearly revenue from flocks will accrue of the value of half-a-million sterling, and a tonnage for export of 5,000 tons, exclusive of fat stock. The various settlers examined spoke without exception of the remarkable fertility of the soil, and concurred in stating that from 30 to 50 bushels per acre of good wheat have been obtained, and from 35 to 70 bushels of oats. Turnips and other root crops thrive excellently. Such is the superiority of the climate for the growth of cereals, that places situated at an altitude at which grain would not grow in Britain were found to yield productively. Wheat was shown to us at Naseby of good quality, which had been grown at a height above the sea of 2,000 feet. Mr. Roberts states in his evidence in relation to the high land in the Hindon and Silverpeak districts: 'Good crops are grown 1,500 feet above the sea; oats and magnificent turnips.' The height of Strath Taieri Plain at its lowest point is about 625 feet above the sea.

## Oat Harvest in Southland.

"In addition to its agricultural capabilities, the district can produce fruit and vegetables of all kinds of surpassing quality, the consumption of which is at present limited to the immediate vicinity. Near Clyde we saw vines growing in the open air loaded with grapes, which were ripe and well-flavoured, some of the bunches weighing 3lbs. each. Peaches, plums, apples, pears, nectarines, strawberries, and other fruits, were all growing in profusion, of large size and excellent quality.

'It is an important fact to be taken into account in considering the extent of the agricultural resources, that, with the exception of the small area specified as already alienated, the whole of the land in the district is still in the hands of the Crown.

"From Hindon onwards to its terminus at Lake Wanaka, the line proceeds through a chain of agricultural plains, ancient lake basins, the soil of which appeared to be well adapted for the growth of cereals and root crops. Its character is fine alluvial silt, easily worked, and showing capability of raising crops of good quality, and of a high average. These plains are surrounded by hills, from which numberless perennial streamlets flow, affording an easy and unfailing means of irrigation, should it be found necessary in very dry seasons.

"The Strath Taieri Plain commences 34 miles from Dunedin. It is 20 miles in length and contains 37,000 acres arable, of which 18,172 have been already sold. The total area of the plain and adjoining tableland, capable of being classed as agricultural land, is 97,250 acres, of which 56,550 have been sold. Gladbrook, at the lower end of the valley, is noted for the excellence of its fat stock.

"The Maniototo Plain contains 150,000 acres of arable land, of which only 31,236 have been sold by the Crown. We examined settlers from the Eweburn and Sow burn Blocks, and from the Kyeburn Hundred. A settler on the Kyeburn Hundred who had broken up 300 acres described the land as specially adapted for root crops. In the Eweburn and Sowburn Blocks witnesses stated that their averages were—wheat, 40 bushels to the acre; oats, from 40 to 65 bushels; barley, 25 bushels. Peas had been tried in several instances with the result of excellent crops, the produce being used for feeding pigs. All the settlers concurred in the opinion that there was urgent necessity for improved communication, which would lead to the land being profitably occupied and production largely increased.

"The Ida Valley contains upwards of 60,000 acres adapted for agricultural settlement. It is about 20 miles in length, by between five and eight miles in width. Several blocks of land have been recently opened for settlement. In the lower part of the valley, at Poolburn and Tiger Hill, 5,000 acres have been taken up, and in the upper end 2,377 acres. We found that good averages of cereals prevailed equally here. One settler (Mr. McIntosh) said: 'We can't get any sale for our produce. We have all last year's oats here yet, and we can't sell them. That is how we are placed, and why we want a railway.' Another said he would be prepared to increase the extent of his farm and cultivation if there were the means of sending away his produce. He had had 1,100 bushels of wheat of good quality from 45 acres last year.

"The Manuherikia Valley is an extensive plain, containing a large amount of valuable land. It is estimated that the agricultural area is not less than 160,000 acres; of this 30,000 acres have been surveyed, and nearly one-half of the surveyed land has been sold. A great deal of land of superior quality is yet to be surveyed. One

farm of 1,250 acres, of which there are 280 under cultivation, was an excellent sample of the rolling downs at the upper end of the plain. Wheat gave 30 bushels to the acre, and oats 30. But in this instance it was the excellence of the root crops which specially attracted our attention. The crops of turnips, beet, and carrots sown on the first furrow were most remarkable. At the lower part of the plain there are 30 settlers in the Spottis Hundred. One farm, containing 500 acres, is nearly all broken up, and there are about 170 acres of English grass. Butter and cheese-making have been undertaken here, but beyond supplying the local demand, there is no encouragement at present to extend the manufacture. The grain export may be estimated at 30,000 tons annually.

'On the Earnsclough Station, near Clyde, there is a moderate extent of agricultural land, on which good crops of wheat and oats were grown this season. The Bald Hill Flat has been nearly all taken up and cultivated. The valley of the [unclear: Clitha] narrows to a gorge between Clyde and Cromwell; but there are numerous fertile patches where orchard-growing could be carried on profitably. At Cromwell the valley opens out into a wide plain stretching 30 miles, as far north as the Lakes. The area of agricultural land is not less than 150,000 acres, of which 20,000 acres have been alienated. The Hawea, Tarras, and Wanaka blocks are all of good quality. In the Mount Barker block the average yield of wheat was 35 bushels per acre, and in some places the yield of oats was 70 bushels. On the Hawea side of the Clutha several settlers were examined. They concurred in the estimate that there were above 100,000 acres between the Hawea and the Lindis, on their side of the river, all suitable for cultivation. The average yield of wheat was said to be 40 bushels to the acre, and oats 35 bushels. In the words of one of the witnesses, sown grass 'grows splendid.'

"Within the influence of the terminus at the Lakes, there are several important valleys on which a large population might be settled. The Matukituki Valley, opening to Lake Wanaka, contains an area of 14,000 acres arable, of a quality little inferior to that of the celebrated Taieri Plain, Motatapu Valley, 1,000 acres; the Makarora Valley, 10,000 acres; and the Forks, 4,000 acres.

The railway is not yet built, but even without a railroad pastoral pursuits can be very much extended, and as for agricultural pursuits and dairying, as we shall shortly show, there is plenty of room for extension in other directions in Otago and Southland that are already amply provided with means of transportation.

Dunedin lies at the head of a bay which has been deepened so as to allow deep-water vessels to come right up to the town. It is a compact little city of some 45,000 inhabitants, nestling at the foot of the hills overlooking the bay. It was founded as a Presbyterian settlement in 1848, and for a dozen years afterwards maintained a simplicity and austerity of morals that were worthy of the country whence the settlers came. Their almost Puritanic virtue was somewhat rudely interrupted in the early sixties by the discovery of gold, which brought to their shores that heterogeneous horde that always accompanies a gold rush, the arrival of which almost startled the little community out of its propriety. The restless energy of the new arrivals gave an impetus to the little city, which for a long time carried it ahead of its rivals on the coast. The Union Steamship Company, well-known as possessing the finest fleet in the Australian waters, was originated, and developed into its present flourishing condition here. After the gold became exhausted, Dunedin was first in the field with its refrigerating works, and with its accustomed energy is in no wise behind with development of its dairy and cheese factories.

Following is a list of the dairy factories now in operation in the Otago and Southland districts:—

A few words as to the difficulties the early pioneers had to face may not be out of place here. The first settlers arrived in the ships "Philip Laing" and "John Wickliffe," on the 23rd March, 1848. One of them writing some time afterwards, says:—

"The prospects were not very cheering to those harbingers of the present community, and doubtless the hearts of many failed them while sailing up the harbour, on seeing on both sides steep hills, densely wooded to their summits, without a patch of open land, except the barren sands of the Maori settlement. The discomfort of being conveyed in open boats along with their household effects, from Port Chalmers, and being landed on the shores of Dunedin, its surface an entanglement of scrub and flax, without a roof to cover or protect them, or a known face to welcome them, and the dread uncertainty as to how or where provisions were to be got until they could grow their own, the time of their arrival being near the beginning of winter, must all have tended to damp their enthusiasm.

"The pioneers of the settlement were neither daunted [unclear: uor] discouraged by their difficulties. Bracing themselves to suffer hardships, to endure fatigue, to do their duty, they did it nobly and well—a fact attested by the solid foundation on which the institutions of the province rest, the character the settlers have gained, and the success which has attended their efforts. At the close of the first year of the settlement, 1848, the population consisted of 745 persons."

Of such stuff were the pioneers of Otago made. Compared to what these settlers had to undergo, emigration is a holiday pastime; the difficulties are all overcome. There is comparatively nothing to do but enter into the land and possess it. No tedious voyage of a sailing ship, but first-class steamers to land you with the regularity

of a railway train. For a roof, as good hotels, perhaps not as large, but as comfortable as any in the world, and railways north, south, east, and west, to carry you wherever you want to go. In spite of croakers, we will not believe that the manly spirit of self-reliance exhibited by the men who founded Otago is extinct in the British races, but that it is the want of information as to what this colony really is, which prevents many of them from travelling the road so nobly made. That we are here to supply, impugn it whoso list.

From Dunedin, the train winds along the coast-line south, at a distance of about 15 or 20 miles from the sea, through settled farming country, for 50 miles, to Balclutha, whence it strikes inland and west into the plains of Southland.

Leaving Caversham, a populous suburb of Dunedin, it enters a tunnel and drops into the little valley called Green Island, where there are coal mines, a soap factory, a couple of flour mills, fellmongery and iron rolling mills; then rising over a spur of Saddle Hill, a well-known and prominent land mark from the sea, the level and fertile valley of the Taieri plain opens out (a plain may be ten or a dozen miles long by six or seven wide). It is full of rich pastures and cornland. Substantial homesteads snugly ensconced in well-grown plantations; here and there a church and schoolhouse, well-trimmed hedges and well-fed beasts attest the comfort, sobriety, and prosperity of the settlers. This valley was one of the earliest settlements in the history of Otago, and its cultivation being undertaken by an earnest, sober, God-fearing race of men, bent not so much upon acquiring riches, as upon making homes for themselves, the result has been as it generally is in such a case, the riches have followed of their own accord, and a more prosperous, sturdy set of men, titan the farmers of the Taieri plain it would be difficult on the face of this earth to find, and what they have done can be done in a hundred places in New Zealand, provided only that the same sterling quality of integrity of purpose is brought to bear upon the business in hand.

The township of Mosgiel, where there is a large and prosperous woollen mill, being passed, the line runs along through undulating lauds, past vale and hillock, and folded fields of living green and

*Kneeling hamlet that drains the chalice of the grapes of God,*

everything looking its best this spring—Prince of Wales' Birthday. Past Milton (36 miles from Dunedin), a substantial town of 1,200 inhabitants, the tall spire of a church and a high four-story flour mill catching the eye as we roll by.

There is also here an extensive pottery works, and a large dairy factory. Here a branch line runs up into the interior towards Lawrence, some 30 miles inland. Then over the Clutha River, past the rich flats of Inch Clutha, from where the line strikes west and more inland, and we lunch at Clinton, some 74 miles from starting.

Up this valley of the Clutha is some beautiful country. The Clutha is one of the few New Zealand rivers that are navigable, and is a river of great volume. It is said to discharge as much water as the Nile, but that we don't know anything about. There are three or four very large estates up this valley, that of Messrs. Begg Bros., of Mr. James Smith of Greenfield, and of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, which comprise in the aggregate some 150,000 acres or thereabouts. A very large area has been put under the plough, and is now in English grass. Wheat of splendid quality is grown, extensive fields often averaging as much as 40 bushels to the acre, and as the soil is capable of yielding 50 to 60 bushels of oats, and is splendidly adapted to the growth of root and green crops, it is all that can be desired from a farming point of view. The wool grown is of the highest quality and the country is admirably adapted for dairying.

There are extensive lignite beds in the valley of the Clutha, and fuel is very cheap.

A steamer plies on the river, and conveys goods to the Clutha railway station, whence they are carried by rail to Dunedin for shipment.

Sheep thrive well if carefully looked after during the winter months. The New Zealand and Australian Land Company report that in their large flock of crossbreds, including many hoggets, the death rate was only 7½ per cent.

There is no dairy factory in this district, but if the settlers were there to supply the milk there would be ample room to keep one or more going.

To come back to Clinton where we lunched, nothing tells what the climate of a country is as does its vegetation; and as the tables are decked with laburnum, hawthorn, monkshood, and wallflowers, it may fairly be inferred that all fruits and vegetables of a temperate climate will flourish here. In a few more miles we cross the Waipahi trout stream, bright, shining in its livery of sky-blue and silver, and "Change here for Kelso and Tapanui" is the word.

We don't fish, except for men; but while we are on the subject of trout streams we clip an extract or two from some of the papers as we roll along. The names of the streams are legion all over Otago, Southland, and Canterbury. We don't presume to name them, but just give the extracts as we cut them out:—

*"The 'Timaru Herald' of November 26th, says:—'A trout in splendid condition, weighing fifteen pounds, taken from the Waitaki yesterday morning by a Timaru angler, will be on view to-day in the tackle window connected with the City Boot Palace.'"*

*"The 'Lyttelton Times' reports the capture by Mr. W. H. Woodman of a trout weighing 19½lbs., and measuring 32 inches in length and 21½ inches in girth. The fish was caught at the mouth of the Selwyn."*  
*"The 'Bruce Herald' states that Messrs T. McGill and H. Coombe, while rod fishing in the tidal waters of the Tokomairiro River on Friday, made a basket of nine trout, weighing 40lb. 40Z."*

*"A visitor to the Waitaki informs the 'North Otago Times' that a party of five Oamaru fishermen, who journeyed to the river on Saturday night, and returned on Monday morning, caught between them 57 fish of an aggregate weight of about 300lbs. The largest was 16lb. weight."*

*"A fine trout weighing 8lb. was caught in the Lower Selwyn on Friday. The 'Southland Times' reports that on Saturday Messrs A. and J. Tapper had a good day's sport on the Oreti with the rod. From 10 a.m. till 4 p.m. they secured 20 trout, weighing no less than 85lb. The 'bag' included two 6½ pounders, five 6's, two 5's, two 4½'s, five 3's, and four 2-pounders. The river was in capital order for fishing, and the trout more than usually plentiful."*

Up the Tapanui line, with Kelso as a centre, for a radius of 25 miles, is a fine agricultural country, interspersed with rough spurs, all of which are, however, good grazing country. The district is amply watered, and has good roads and bridges. The price of land, in private hands, is from £2 10s. to £10 per acre.

## Trout in the Upper Selwyn.

Gore, 100 miles from Dunedin, is a place which has sprung up into prominence in the last few years. It is a town of about 1,000 inhabitants, and has banks, hotels, grain-stores, flour mills, and all the signs of a steadily progressive community. The people of Gore say it is the centre of the best agricultural district in New Zealand. Be that as it may the settlers there are doing well.

The Waimea Plains railways starts from here, and runs up the plains to Lumsden, some 37 miles, from whence another 37 miles takes the traveller to Kingston on Lake Wakatipu.

A loop line from Invercargill, running through Wallacetown and Dipton, meets the line from Gore, which going south and then west to Invercargill (making the whole distance from Dunedin 139 miles), encloses in a sort of irregular triangle a considerable area of country. A branch line from Invercargill to the Nightcaps (23 miles), another to Orepuke (43 miles), one to Seaward Bush (13 miles), and one to its shipping port, the Bluff (18 miles), finishes the list of the railway communications of Southland.

From Gore we run past Mataura, another pretty township, where there is a paper mill supplied with power by the falls of the Mataura River, past Edendale, through open, well-grassed plain country, the dairy factory looming large as we pass the station, the plain growing wider through the Morton Mains Estate, and into Invercargill at 3.50, having occupied seven and a half hours over 139 miles.

Invercargill is a fine, well-built city, with wide streets named after the Scotch rivers, the Esk, Tay, Spey, Dee, etc., and has buildings which would disgrace no European capital. The New River runs right up to the town, but the port of export for the city is, as we said, the Bluff, some 18 miles distant. There are here three freezing works, which will handle this year about 200,000 sheep; bacon and ham factory, flour mills, grain stores, and all the paraphernalia for dealing in farmers' produce. The population is about 5,000.

The principal exports of Southland have risen in the last few years, as shown below:—

The total exports of all classes of produce being: showing an increase of production of 50 per cent. in three years.

Invercargill stands in the centre of the Southland Plains, which comprise a tract of country beginning at the Hokonui range, in the north, stretching from the water-shed of the Mataura River on the east, from the sea on the south, and the Oreti River on the west. These plains are in area about 30 miles by 20. A considerable portion is forest land still held by the Crown, the remainder is a very gently undulating plain, all more or less adapted to agriculture, although generally the soil is not of a very rich quality. The largest estate on the plain is the Morton Mains Estate, comprising about 35,000 acres. The rest of the open country is chiefly occupied by small settlers, many of whom have been long established, and are fairly prosperous. They go in for mixed farming and dairying. Turnips do especially well, and fattening off sheep, stores being bought from the owners in the adjacent high country, is an important feature in their husbandry. There is a dairy factory at Woodlands which is paying 8 per cent, on its capital and its suppliers 3½d. per gallon for milk. Land is worth £2 to £6 per acre, and near town £7 to £15.

## THE VALLEY OF THE ORETI

extends north and south from Invercargill to Five Rivers, in distance about 65 miles, and it has an average breadth of about 30 miles.

Fully three-fourths of this is low, flat agricultural land, a great portion of which is river bottom, and very

good wheat-growing land.

Some of the terraces are inclined to be cold and damp, but a drain or mould plough recently introduced has worked wonders for this class of country, and has made all the difference between poverty and prosperity to the settlers.

Large tracts are laid down in grass, which is chiefly used for fattening stores. Close settlement extends all along the river up to Lumsden. Around Lumsden and higher up the land is chiefly held in large blocks—the Castle Rock Estate of Hon. Matthew Holmes and the Five Rivers Estate being the principal ones. There are two dairy factories in this district, one of which is a milk condensing factory on the Swiss plan, the product of which is now largely used in Australia and the intercolonial steamers. The arterial roads are in first-class order, well metalled and gravelled, and bridges wherever necessary.

## **THE MATAURA VALLEY DISTRICT**

has the town of Gore for its centre. It extends through the Waimea Plains to Lumsden, up the Mataura and Waikaia Valleys to the Umbrella Range, and southwards along the Mataura River to the sea.

Starting from the sea at Fortrose, following up the valley of the Mataura to its junction with the Waikaia River, and thence to the Umbrella Range, is a distance of 70 miles, the whole of which for an average breadth of 25 miles is chiefly agricultural country, interspersed occasionally with low, rolling ridges. A considerable portion of this area is cultivated for grain, a still larger portion is laid down in grass after cultivation, but probably one-half of this large area is yet in its virgin state. The cultivated land yields good crops of wheat, oats, and barley, and grows splendid grass and turnips. None of the highest ridges in this country are over 1,000 feet above the sea level. It is backed up by the Umbrella Range, which is good pastoral country, and rises to a height of 7,000 feet.

The lowlands produce splendid cattle. All the best English and Scotch herds are represented in this valley. The Polled Angus on the estate of the N.Z. and A.L. Co. at Edendale; the Hereford on the Glenham Estate, on the property of Mr. Rich, and on that of Mr. J. Holms, of Waimataka; and the shorthorn cattle on the property of Mr. Carswell, of Pinebush. The best breeds of long-woolled sheep are also well represented, and thrive exceedingly well. On the higher country merinos and their crosses are the predominating breeds.

Some very large blocks of land are in private hands, some of the largest being those of the N.Z. Agricultural Co., Mr. G. M. Bell, the Edendale Estate of the N.Z. and A.L. Co., and the property of the trustees of A. McNab.

In the lower portion of the Mataura Valley dairying is one of the chief industries. The Edendale factory, the first one established in the district, by the industry and perseverance of Mr. Thomas Brydone, the general manager of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company, is now receiving 3,500 gallons of milk per day, for which the producers receive 3½d. per gallon. About four miles distant is the Wyndham factory, receiving about the same quantity of milk. Altogether there are eleven or twelve dairy factories in Southland, the produce of which is sent to Port Chalmers for shipment to England. Seven of these are in the Mataura Valley. The whole of the valley is especially well adapted for this industry. Nearly all the milk is made into cheese. As a rule the factory companies sell their whey to some one who makes a business of buying it and rearing pigs. The valley as a

## **Knox Church, Dunedin.**

whole furnishes every advantage for carrying on mixed farming and dairying, and there is room for an immense increase of population. Anyone with a capital of £300 to £500 could at once start, stock and cultivate a 200 to 300 acre farm with as reasonable an opportunity for success as anywhere in the world.

The pastures are exceedingly rich, and large quantities of sheep and cattle are fattened every year for export to London by the freezing process.

No manure is used in cultivation, except about two cwt. guano per acre when turnips are sown, to give the young plants strength to resist the attacks of the fly to which they are liable.

Snow lies occasionally, but as a rule not for more than two or three days at a time. Once during the past twenty-five years (the winter of 1878) it lay for a fortnight to a depth of six or seven inches. West of Invercargill lies the

## **APARIMA VALLEY,**

which stretches from Riverton on the south to Mount Hamilton on the north, a distance of fifty miles, the width being about twenty miles. It comprises a tract of grand agricultural country, a great proportion of which is settled in farms of 200 to 1,000 acres. In the northern part of this valley there is still a fair area of Crown

lands not taken up, but they are being gradually settled upon. It is well adapted for mixed and all-round farming, and grows cereals well, chiefly oats, although a large portion is adapted for wheat. A large area is rich grazing country, and is laid down in English grasses. There are three dairy factories in the district making cheese, although not on so large a scale as the Edendale and Wyndham ones. The price of land in the valley ranges from 50s. to £10, according to quality, location and improvements. Still further west comes the

## **WAI AU VALLEY,**

which comprises a large tract of agricultural and pastoral country, and which is capable of carrying a large population. About 50,000 acres on the west side of the valley is about to be thrown open for sale by the Crown. The eastern side is principally held in large blocks of freehold, interspersed by leaseholds from the Crown on the higher country. The Merivale Estate is one of the finest portions of the valley. It is about 40,000 acres in extent, and includes some of the richest agricultural and pastoral land in Southland, having a limestone bottom and being well adapted for wheat growing. There is probably about 200,000 acres of land in this valley fit for settlement in the hands of the Crown. There is a railroad to Otatau, within about twenty-five miles of the Waiau River, and another skirting the sea coast from Riverton to Orepuki.

From Dunedin north to the boundary of the province the railway runs through high wooded hills, up which it winds, looking down on the shipping at Port Chalmers, and rounding a precipitous bluff where there is a sheer drop of several hundred feet to the sea, it drops again to sea level at Blueskin, where you meet the first small patch of agricultural land. Mr. K. Fergusson's Ayrshire cattle bred here are famed throughout the colonies, and many a pedigree beast is shipped from here to Australia. The Waitati stream is a favourite resort for anglers. The line then again winds up wooded hills, past the Seacliff Asylum, and again drops to the sea at Waikouaiti, from where on to Palmerston, some eight miles, is good agricultural country; perhaps one of the oldest settlements in the colony, for here it was that the late John Jones landed in the forties, and laid the foundation of a splendid fortune.

Alighting from the train at Palmerston, and saddling shanks' pony, we footed it down the valley of the Shag, on roads as good as any turnpike road in England, through fields well fenced with gorse and hawthorn, now in bloom, and the apples and the elderberries just breaking out. Well-fed cattle are browsing in the rich pastures, and the lazy calves lying on the roadsides look at us with large, inquiring eyes, wondering whether it is worth the trouble to rise and get out of our way, and decide it is not. As we cross the Shag a big trout makes a jab at a fly, and we climb the hill to look at a property now in the market, Bushy Park, which is a fair sample of land in the Shag Valley and Palmerston districts.

There is a large wooden house, two-storied, with spacious hall, with tessellated tiled floor. Stained-glass windows lead up a wide staircase. Some twenty-five acres of pines, in double rows, flank the hill as you rise, the deep olive of the pines, the pale green of the young oaks, and the variegated greens of the New Zealand native bush, picked out with the star-like white clematis, contrasting well with one another. The property consists of 2,200 acres; perhaps 500 of it are flat, the rest rolling downs. It is subdivided into seventeen paddocks, and has this spring, month of November, 7,000 sheep on it, besides 250 acres wheat and 50 acres oats. With 300 acres of turnips it will easily winter 5,000 sheep. A gentleman who can afford to buy and pay for such a property, and would interest himself in the working of it, would derive a good income from his investment, and have all the conveniences of civilisation he could want, a railroad station at his door, good trout-fishing, and a hare and a rabbit once in a while to keep his hand in. A feature of the place is the deer park, where are some seventy red deer, which have thriven for many years past. The estate is bounded on three sides by water—by the sea on one, by the Shag River on two. Scarlet rhododendrons, lilac and banksia roses were in flower, and a camellia bush growing in the open air attests the mildness of the climate. There is the usual dairy factory in the district. A branch line of railroad runs up the valley to Dunback, some twenty miles from the sea, up to which place there is soil sufficiently level for agriculture. After that, as you go inland, the country gets too hilly for anything but sheep.

## **Oat Harvesting in Southland.**

## **Oamaru District.**

In the spring of every year, New Zealand has a sort of epidemic of agricultural shows breaking out in the far north at Auckland, running down the coasts, east and west, jumping across Cook's Strait and re-appearing in the Middle Island at Christchurch, and running in a sort of irregular fashion (like a volunteer *feu de joie*)

through the towns and villages, down to the south at Invercargill. First on the list this year came Napier, then Hamilton, then Auckland, then a leap to North Palmerston and Hawera, then Christchurch, Waimate and Oamaru; Timaru and Wellington lag a little, as if the priming of their guns were damp, and we shall doubtless soon hear of Palmerston, Waikouaiti, Dunedin and Invercargill, with many an intermediate sputter.

In the opening of this literary effort, we quoted some remarks by a British peer on this country, we will now give the views of a Scotch earl, our present Governor, Lord Glasgow, to which he gave expression at the Waimate Show, held on the 15th November, 1892, as reported in the "North Otago Times," of the following day:

"The great gala day of the year for the Waimate farmers and settlers took place yesterday, when the Waimate Agricultural and Pastoral Society held their annual show. The weather, which was threatening in the morning, fortunately cleared away, and the day was beautifully fine. The president read an address of welcome, and Lord Glasgow replied as follows: Mr. Morton, I have to thank you for the hearty address of welcome you have just given to me in the name of the Waimate Agricultural and Pastoral Association, and I beg you to make known to that body how much Lady Glasgow and myself appreciate the kind manner in which we have been received this day. I am very glad that we have been able to be present at this meeting of your Association, impressed as I am that it is from such local gatherings as this, and from the experience gained from them year by year that the success of the future of this great colony will be built up. Wherever I go in New Zealand I meet a class of farmers and breeders of sheep and cattle second to none—worthy sons of their forebears in the Old Country—bringing a vast amount of skill, energy, and experience to bear in the noble task of reclaiming this beautiful country and turning it [unclear: nto] beautiful pastures and fields of waving corn such as cannot be beaten in any other colony. I can imagine no more worthy occupation; and I sincerely trust that the bright future which appears to be dawning upon this colony may be more than realised. It certainly will be so if your perseverance and toil meet with their due reward. I again thank you most sincerely for your kind welcome, and I wish every success to the Waimate Agricultural and Pastoral Association. (Applause.) At the instance of Mr. G. Morton and Mr. W. J. Steward, cheers were given for Lord and Lady Glasgow; and Mr. Morton conducted Lord Glasgow over the grounds. During the afternoon the Waimate band performed a number of selections upon the ground, enlivening the proceedings thereby."

Transport yourself, reader, the bright day, the band playing, from far and near the settlers have come in by the country trains converging at Waimate to shake acquaintance by the hand and vie with one another, not in the relentless competition of trade, but as to who has done most to make this earth best worth living in.

The best sheep shown were the Border Leicester, the Lincolns were extra good. In cattle, Polled Angus, Ayrshire, and Alderneys were well represented. Of draught horses there were 40 exhibits. The show of pigs and dogs was very good. The farmers' wives showed butter and home-made bread, and the millers wheat and flour. Cured meats and agricultural implements completed the list.

Oamaru held her show on the 17th and 18th November, and *we were there*.

Oamaru is a town of some 6,000 inhabitants, some eighty miles north of Dunedin. It is most substantially built, with an almost Roman severity of architecture, the material being limestone, with which the district abounds. It crops out on the tops of the hills for many miles all around, forming cliffs like fortifications, bastion succeeding bastion, and in these limestone rocks are wonderful shell formations that tell of the time when the waves of ocean rolled over them. The teeth of sharks or alligators of unknown ancestry,

*Dragons of the prime,  
That tare each other in their slime,*

as large as two fingers of a man's hand shine out of these rocks with enamel as bright as when they seized their prey. The spiral shells of ancient nautilus and sea snails are as thick in the cleavage of the rocks and show as clearly as the pieces of meat in cold brawn. The bones of an extinct bird—the moa—lie here and there in caves and swamps and on the surface, in size like those of an ox, for this chicken stood as high as a giraffe, and laid eggs as big as a nail-keg. Gigantic oyster shells as large as the crown of your hat litter the tops of hills far inland; and seem to tell of some antipodean Noah who took his supper on some New Zealand Ararat, and when the wine cup was drained pitched the shells out of the window of his ark. An antiquarian might spend a month or two in a worse place than Oamaru.

There is a fine breakwater, where a couple of ships are lying at their moorings; very large grain stores, and perhaps one of the best waterworks in the world, for the Waitaki River has been tapped, and supplies power enough to drive several flour mills and the local freezing works.

The climate of Oamaru is exceptionally fine. The high mountain ranges at the back intercept the rain, and the part of New Zealand beginning at Oamaru and running up to Banks' Peninsula, has perhaps more cloudless

skies than any other, except the Napier province.

As in Waimate, the sky was cloudless, and about 4,000 people assembled in the Show grounds just at the back of the town, and there was not a poorly-dressed person in the crowd. The show of Clydesdale draught horses, and of long-woolled sheep, was as fine as you would see in England, and there is good reason why they should be, as no money has been spared to import the very best class to breed from. Mr. McAuley's draught horse Wallace, just imported at a cost of 500 guineas, only took the third prize—that will show what the others were. Of horses there were 74 draughts and 10 thoroughbreds. Of cattle, 54 Ayrshire, 11 Polled Angus, and 12 Alderneys. Of sheep, 79 Merino, 69 Border Leicester, 11 English Leicester, 34 Lincolns, and 10 Romney Marsh. There were also, of course, exhibits of dairy produce, grain implements, dogs, pigs, etc. The show lasts two days, which is about as long a time as the settlers can afford to be away from their work, as the shearing is now on.

The Oamaru Show is far from the largest in New Zealand. At the Christchurch Show, held on the 12th November, 16,000 paid for admission, the takings for two days being, £840.

With an extract from the "Otago Daily Times" of the 11th November, 1892, we close the subject of agricultural shows, of which the reader will by this time probably have had enough

## "THE PALMERSTON NORTH SHOW.

"Upwards of 11,000 people were present at the A. and P. Show on November 9. The total number of entries was 923. There was a grand show of horses. Forester beat Somnus in the thoroughbred stallion class. The champion draught was Manager. In sheep there was a fine display, especially of Romney Marsh. In Lincolns, Mr. T. Tanner, Hastings, had the champion ram, and Mr. W. Wilson, Whenuakau, the champion ewe. In Romney Marsh, Mr. R. Harding, Hastings, had the champion ram, and Mr. W. Bullen,

## Sheep Drafting (20,000).

Wairarapa, had the champion ewe. There was a poor show of Shropshires, but the exhibits of fat sheep were excellent, The show of cattle was the best yet seen here—Ayrshires, Jerseys, and Alderneys being especially good. The champion bull in Shorthorns was owned by Mr. J. W. Baker, in Herefords by Mr. G. W. Wheeler, in Polled Angus by Mr. W. A. Keiller, in Ayrshire by Mr. W. Luxford, in Jersey or Alderney by Mrs. J. Crawley. The show of fat cattle was exceptionally good, Mr. M. C. Hardy having the champion bullock. There was but a poor exhibition of pigs. The display of implements was the best seen on the coast. The hunter's competition was contested by 33 horses, and won by Mrs. Tanner's Alma, with Mr. Wootton's Tomtit second."

The Oamaru district, which is one of the finest in New Zealand for all round agriculture, begins at the foot of the Horse Range, just north of the Shag valley, and running north along the coast for a few miles past Otepopo, opens out inland at the Kakanui River, on the banks of which is very fine agricultural land, extending right up to the goldfields of the Maerewhenua on the spurs of the mountain ranges at the back. Of these ranges the highest peaks are Mount Domett and the Kurow, some 5,000 feet high. Between the Kakanui River and the Waitaki, is a stretch of country about fifteen miles wide by twenty miles deep, nearly all of which is rich soil on a limestone bottom, yielding most bountiful crops of cereals.

The tow'll of Oamaru is also the commercial centre of a considerable portion of the province of Canterbury on the northern side of the Waitaki River up the line as far as Waimate.

The Oamaru district is fairly well settled, has many substantial homesteads, live fences, plantations, and other improvements that can only be made by a very large outlay of capital. Oamaru has long been famed for producing the best quality and the heaviest crops of wheat of any part of New Zealand, and this finds a ready market either at the large local flour mills or for shipment to England. There are many very fine properties in the district: Mr. John Reid, of Elderslie; Mr. Menlove, of Windsor Park; Borton and McMaster; Mr. Studholme, of Waimate; Mr. John McLean, of Redcastle; the N.Z.&A.L. Co., and the Bank of New Zealand Estates Co. are all large holders of land more or less improved, and all of these, or at all events the most of them, are willing to sell or lease at a reasonable price.

The Moeraki estate, some 20 miles south of Oamaru, belonging to the N.Z. & A.L. Co., is all good grazing land. It is at present the principal breeding place for the company's Lincoln sheep. It is divided into farms, of which the best and those nearest the sea are for sale at from £6 per acre upwards.

The Hakataramea estate contains about 24,000 acres freehold and 82,000 acres on lease from the Crown. It is on the Waitaki River, about 35 miles from the sea, and has an elevation of 800 to 900 feet. The frost is more severe than on the coast, but the country is very healthy, and the sun being hotter as you go further inland, grain ripens very thoroughly. The quality of oats and wheat grown on this estate and on the Bank of New Zealand Estates Co. 's estate of Waihorunga, which is in the same neighbourhood and consists of some 14,000 acres of

very first-class land, for strength and purity of colour cannot be excelled in the world.

These lands are well watered, and a very large area we believe in these two estates, some 16,000 acres, has been laid down in English grass. There is railway communication by the Hakataramea railway to within a few miles of both of these properties, and good metalled roads to enable settlers to convey their produce to the railway terminus.

The Totara estate is the gem of the company's properties. It is divided naturally into two blocks by the Kakanui River, the northern one having a limestone bottom and a rich black soil, known locally as 1 'tarry'; the southern one containing no limestone and not quite so rich, but still very valuable land and splendidly adapted for farming purposes. The estate is justly celebrated for its grain growing qualities. The yield of wheat is most abundant, averaging at least 40 bushels, while 60 and 65 are recorded in specially favourable summers.

It is well fenced and subdivided into paddocks, and has a most substantial homestead, the dwelling-house being a handsome stone edifice, which, with 300 to 400 acres of rich land and fine plantations, forms one of the most attractive residential seats in the colonies.

The Ardgowan Estate consists of some 4,000 acres, the whole of which is in English grass or cultivation. The estates of Messrs. John Reid and E. Menlove are splendid properties, with magnificent residences, enriched with orchards, plantations, and artificial lakes. The prices of farms vary from £8 10s. upwards. The main trunk line of railway or a branch one leading into it runs through all these estates, or very close to them, and carries their produce the few miles that are necessary to take it to the sea. There is a Dairy Factory at Weston, on the branch railway leading to Ngapara, and the building of others is contemplated. The whole of this magnificent district is well adapted for dairying purposes. As we have already stated, there is a Freezing Works in the town of Oamaru.

## The Canterbury Province

Begins at the Waitaki River, and runs north to the Hurunui, a distance of about 180 miles, and the average width of the Province is about 80 miles.

We took the reader as far as Waiiate, from whence to Timaru, a distance of about 25 miles, is all good agricultural land, and is in the hands of private owners. Timaru is a substantial town of some 4,000 inhabitants. It has large grain stores, flour mills, and the usual freezing works, and a first-class harbour made by an artificial breakwater. From Timaru for a radius of 25 miles all around, the land comprises rolling downs of great fertility and beauty.

At St. Andrew's, six miles south of Timaru, is the Pareora Estate, the property of the N.Z. and A.L. Co., which the Company consider, acre for acre, the most valuable property they have. It consists of 14,000 acres of down land, grows turnips and green crops admirably, while sheep and all other live stock are as healthy as possible. Good metalled roads give access to every portion of the estate, and provide downhill carriage to the St. Andrew's Railway Station, where there is a thriving township and large public school. The price of land is £8 to £10 per acre. The Levels Estate, at the back of Timaru, is perhaps the most valuable estate in New Zealand. It contains 60,000 acres, of which 40,000 acres are in English grass or in process of cultivation. The whole estate is rendered accessible by means of the Fairlie Creek Railway, which runs right through it for about 20 miles and affords means of transit for produce at seven different railway stations.

Well-formed roads, the excellence of which is the subject of constant remark by new-comers to the district, tap the remoter portion of the land, and either provide downhill carriage to Timaru direct or lead directly to the stations on the Fairlie Creek Railway. Wheat averages 28 to 30 bushels per acre. Oats and all ordinary farm produce can be produced under most favourable circumstances as regards climate and soil. Twenty to twenty-five thousand sheep are fattened every year; so no more need be said in favour of the turnips and mangolds grown on the Levels.

There are many 7 miles of well-trimmed hedges on the property, with here and there handsome plantations which both add to the natural beauty of the country and afford warm shelter to stock in boisterous weather.

## Wheat Harvesting in Canterbury.

The price of land is from £5 to £9 per acre in this district, and a very large area is in large blocks, in private hands. The Bank of New Zealand Estates Company own the properties of Eskbank and Seadown in this district.

Hundreds of farmers send their produce to Timaru, as may well be imagined when it is known that the exports of Timaru considerably exceed half a million.

## THE CANTERBURY PLAINS

may be said to begin at Timaru, and extend in an unbroken line to twenty miles north of Christchurch, a distance of 120 miles, as level as a bowling green far as the eye can reach, with the sea on one side and the mountains rising sharp from the plain on the other, widening out as they stretch northward to a width in some places of forty miles.

The main trunk line of railway runs through the length and breadth of these plains, and numerous branch lines run up to the foot of the mountains by which they are bounded on the landward side.

Several rivers flow down from the snowclad mountains to the sea—the Rangitata, Ashburton, Selwyn, and Rakaia being the principal ones. All of these have been bridged by most expensive and substantial iron cylinder bridges, both for purposes of ordinary and railway traffic. The roads, both main and branch, throughout these extensive plains have been most thoroughly made, and are always kept in first-class repair.

There are 454 miles of railroad in Canterbury, and there are over 200 State schools attended by over 25,000 children. It may fairly be said that Canterbury is the cornfield of New Zealand. In no other part is there so large an area so suitable for and so easy of tillage. Ploughing is easy and cheap on these plains, and all agricultural machinery and every labour-saving implement easily and effectively worked, thus adding greatly to economy in farming. As much as 300 acres of wheat have been cut in one day on the Acton Estate by fifteen self-binding machines drawn by sixty horses, and in six working days 1,500 acres of grain have been reaped. Three-furrow ploughs can be used advantageously.

The grass on these plains, though sometimes not encouraging to look at in dry weather, has really good fattening qualities, and carries stock well. It springs rapidly after rain, and in this way compensates for its want of thickness and luxuriance.

The extent of the Canterbury plains is 3,000,000 acres; the area of open land in Canterbury under 2,000 feet above sea level is three and three-quarter million acres.

The total area of the Canterbury province is about eight and a half million acres, and of this area about six and a half million acres, or about 10,000 square miles classed as agricultural and pastoral country, are an area about two-thirds of the size of Switzerland, with its 3,000,000 people; and on this large and productive area (we have deducted the high mountains—we do not know what Switzerland would dwindle down to if you deducted the mountains) there reside 125,000 people; 41,000 of these reside in Christchurch, the chief city, and suburbs; 21,000 more in various boroughs and town districts; leaving 62,000 in the country, without reckoning numerous little clusters of population that gather themselves together in many places. The proportion of males to females in New Zealand is a little over one-half, so we will say 32,000 males in the country, one-half of whom are under twenty-one, so there are about 15,000 men to work this 10,000 square miles of country; and they do it to the extent that the exports for 1890 were, £2,876,221, and the return for their labour nearly £200 per head, besides keeping themselves and the other 110,000 people in the province in most of the necessaries of life.

## Tally-Ho!

Of course the bulk of the labour is done by the four and a half million sheep walking about in Canterbury, and turning grass into wool. All the men have to do is to shear the wool off their backs, for which they receive about 15s. per hundred; that is, they get 15s. for gathering about £20 worth of wool. That is how New Zealand pays her debts to England for building all these railways, and the interest on her mortgages; otherwise she could not do it, and that is why trade is bad. All the merchants and bankers have to trade on here is the 15s., the *£ig* 5s. goes to England, less a trifle for carriage of the wool on the railways. We want more people to earn the £20 and spend it here.

Still, besides wool, a very large area is cultivated in wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes, the production being in 1891:—

The [*unclear*: aductive] capacity of these lands is best illustrated by statistics issued by the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, showing that on the 31st May last there were 4,594,577 sheep in Canterbury, while the agricultural figures for this district are as follows:—

WHEAT. OATS. BARLEY. POTATOES.

So you will notice that out of this 10,000 square miles of agricultural and pastoral country there were about 400,000 acres, or one-sixteenth cultivated, the rest being grazed; so there is room here, at all events, for a little closer cultivation.

The plains are liable to parching winds from the north-west, which dry up the pastures on the shallower soils, and to meet this irrigation, for which the plains present exceptional facilities, has been largely made use of. They have an average fall of 30 feet to the mile towards the sea, and the great rivers that run through them may be tapped at almost any point, and their water conducted on to the land lying at a lower

## Mr. P. Cunningham's Horse "Rasper," Prize Taker at Several Agricultural Shows in Canterbury.

level. These conditions have been taken advantage of to lead the water for the purpose of watering stock, and the many miles of water-races supply nearly every farm. There are now 1,857 miles of water-races supplying a million acres of land with water straight from snow-fed rivers, than which there are no purer or brighter in the world.

The Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association have a competition amongst the small farmers, and give three prizes—one for the best farm of 50 to 150 acres, one for the best of 150 to 350 acres, and one for dairy farms only, the Union Insurance Company giving a special prize of £20 and a cup value £5, which, with other subscriptions, brings the value of the prizes up to £150.

The judges have to consider, amongst other points, the best management of grass land, condition of gates, fences, etc., quality of stock, winter feed, buildings and plan of dairy utensils, rearing of calves and pigs, bacon curing, general management, and best system of book-keeping. Their report is very instructive, but we very much abridge.

H. E. Peryman took first prize for 150 acres, divided into six paddocks of 25 acres each. Soil was light to strong clay loam, and of good quality. Fences well kept. Crops were

Twenty-two head of cattle were kept, of which 15 were milch cows, and of which, on an average, ten were always in milk. The whole of the milk was sent to the Tai Tapu Dairy Factory, which showed that the returns were 70,468lbs. of milk, yielding 2,746lbs. butter. The cows were half and three-quarter bred Ayrshires and their crosses. Ninety-six ewes were kept, which gave 103 lambs which were sold at 11s. id. each. Mr. Peryman always sells his ewes, and buys a fresh stock every year, which leaves a small profit, and the lambs and wool to the good. Sixteen Berkshire pigs were kept, and six horses—four working, one colt, and one hack.

His balance-sheet read as follows:

The stock on hand on June 30th, 1890, was worth £860 5s. 8d. against a value of £740 13s. the previous June—the total profit for the year being £311 2s. id., or about £2 per acre after paying 26s. 8d. per acre rent.

For the best dairy farm, Mr. Withell, of Brookside, took the prize for 100 acres. It is divided into seven paddocks, and was used as follows:

The stock was 47 head of dairy cattle, consisting of 27 milch cows (shorthorns), 10 18-month old heifers, 10 heifers six months old and one Jersey bull; five horses, 20 sheep, and 96 Berkshire pigs were kept.

The following is a summary of receipts from the sale of butter, pigs stock, fruit, etc.:

Month. Cows Calved. cows in milk Butter. Cash for Butter. Pigs in. Pigs sold. Fruit sold. Cattle sold. 1889-Lbs. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. £ s. d. June ..101737

## H. E. Peryman's Exhibit at the Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association Show, June, 1891.

These are as follows:—

GARDEN SEEDS.—Mangel, linseed, carrot, parsnip, and turnip.

FARM SEEDS.—Red Tuscan wheat, white Tuscan and Peam wheat, Birdling's white oats, Blue Prussian peas, Early Sunrise peas, two samples of horse beans, rye corn, Chevalier barley, cocksfoot, rye-grass, crushed barley, ground barley, wheatmeal, ground beans, kibbled beans, crushed oats (all prepared on the farm), oatsheaf chaff, wool, kidney potatoes, Breeyer's prolific potato, Derwent [*unclear: otato,*] and red clover seed.

Bundle of green oats, prairie grass, Lucerne, rye-grass, red clover, cocksfoot, tares, rhubarb, onions, radishes, asparagus, sage, parsley, thyme, mint, lettuce, and leeks.

Cabbage, peas, mangels, bundle of rye flax (native), table bouquet, cut blooms, apples, gooseberries dressed lamb, hams and bacon, sucking pig, salt butter, roll butter, dressed fowls, fancy basket, bread, eggs, lard, honey, tomato sauce, raspberry vinegar, jams, jellies, and Devonshire cream. Total 71 exhibits, all of which were grown and manufactured on the farm by Mr. Perryman and the members of his own family.

It will be seen that the milk of 26 cows yielded 4,792lbs. butter, which realised £175 9s. 2d., giving an average of 1841b. per cow for twelve months, thus showing each animal made £6 15s., to which if you add £1 for the value of skim milk, makes £7 15s. for each cow.

At the end of the season he held pigs in stock of the value of £31; fruit, £11 8s. 11d. In addition to the produce of his dairy and orchard he made a profit on his sheep, viz., 52 at 8s., £20 16s. He sold grass seed to the value of £50, mangold and carrot seed, £13; flax seed, £16; potatoes, £7; and he values the grazing of his growing heifers as follows, 24 at 6d. per week, £26 4s.; two two-year-olds, at 9d. per week, bringing up the

total income from his 100-acre farm to £574 14s. 5d.

Allowing 30s. per acre for rent, £175 for labour, and £25 for contingencies, there is a profit of £164 14s, 5d. on 100 acres of land. Although £175 is allowed for labour in the accounts, this is paid to Mr. Withell's own family, for the report says: "The whole of the work of the farm is performed by Mr. Withell and his sons and daughters, of whom he has a goodly number." In New Zealand at all events it is true that "Children are an heritage of the Lord, and the fruit of the womb is His reward. As arrows are in the hands of a mighty man; so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but shall speak with the enemies in the gate."

Mr. Fussell took the prize in Class III., and tells with pardonable pride that twenty years ago he got his wife across the creek on a ladder to his section, where he had erected a sod where amongst negro-heads—large grass clumps that grow in swamps—and flax bushes, on land abounding with dangerous springs, full of dead timber, the remains of an ancient forest, and of the many years of struggle experienced by himself and wife before they succeeded in subduing the wilderness, converting it into one of the neatest cottage homes in the district. Besides the prize which Mr. Fussell received, the Earl of Onslow presented Mrs. Fussell with a silver medal engraved:

"To Mrs. W. Fussell,  
From the Earl of Onslow,  
For Her Model Small Holding."  
Honor to whom honor is due! Honor to the noble woman.

The heart of her husband trusted in her,  
And he shall have no lack of gain—  
She doeth him good and not evil  
All the days of her life;  
Let her own works praise her in the gates.

And honor to the noble Earl, by Nature's letters patent a noble man.

The rank is but the guinea stamp,  
The man's the man for a' that.

Reader, these are no fancy sketches. This is no theoretical newspaper or book farming, but actual fact severely criticised by competent men chosen for their integrity, and responsible to their neighbours for the truth of their judgment, desiring only to award a prize where most merited.

They speak for themselves. It will be at once observed that it does not so much matter what the kind of soil is (negro-heads and flax bushes will do), as what kind of man is on the soil, and that a mere absentee investor, or owner of very large acreage, has no chance to get the return out of the land these men do. He is not in it and men like that cannot be hired, at least not for long. They serve God not man, their manly faith that of the old monk—

*Laborare est orare.*

There is plenty of room on this earth for men like that, Malthus and his stupid theory notwithstanding, and New Zealand is the best place for them to come to.

There are all sorts of theories going about now-a-days as to how men can be made prosperous without work and self-denial, for that is what most of them amount to. There is nothing in them. The ruggedest soil, short of paving stones, will yield to work and patience, and the richest will only grow weeds, moral and physical, without them.

The value of agricultural land on the Canterbury Plains is £3 10s. to £30 per acre, according to improvements and locality. The average value of such land, within easy distance of a railway, is £8 per acre. Easy terms can always be arranged. Land can be rented at all sorts of prices.

Christchurch is a most substantial city of English origin. It was founded in 1841 as a special settlement under the auspices of the Canterbury Association. It has a fine cathedral, with a pretty peal of bells, standing in the midst of a square surrounded by handsome stone buildings. The Canterbury College and Museum would do credit to any city, whilst the public gardens are worth going a long way to see. The river Avon winds through the town, and its drooping willows shade the merry boating parties that take their pleasure on its gently flowing waters.

From Ashley, where the Canterbury Plains end, to the Waipara River is a distance of about

## Canterbury College.

fifteen miles, which is fine rolling downs, mostly suitable for all-round agriculture, and extending from the sea to a depth of ten or twelve miles to the hills.

From the Waipara River to the Hurunui, a distance of twenty-five miles or so, the hills come close down to the sea, and for a narrow strip are good grazing country, but behind them at a distance of about twelve to fourteen miles there is a rich agricultural country suitable for wheat and other cereal culture. This country is well watered and supplied with roads and bridges. Up to the present time the Canterbury farmers have mostly devoted themselves to the growing of cereals and potatoes (the latter for export to the Australian colonies), and turnips for fattening sheep for the English market. Dairying has not received much attention.

The dairy industry in Canterbury is capable of indefinite extension. At the present time there are only six factories in this large area, viz., the Flaxton, Flemington, Geraldine, Sefton, Tai Tapu and Temuka ones, but arrangements have been made for starting a central factory at Addington, with numerous branch creameries, at which they expect to be able to handle the milk of 2,000 to 3,000 cows.

Bacon and ham curing is carried on extensively at several establishments, and the Belfast and the Islington refrigerating works are amongst the most complete in the colony. The harbour of Lyttelton has been most extensively improved by the construction of a breakwater and wharves, and furnishes ample accommodation for berthing the largest ships, supplying every convenience for exporting the produce of the district to the English and continental markets.

There are several branch lines of railroad running out of Christchurch. The main trunk line ends at Culverden, 69 miles north from Christchurch. Branches run out to Oxford, 41 miles; Springfield, 44; Southbridge, 31; Little River, 36; White Cliffs, 42; Methven, 58 miles. All of these tap the agricultural country, the produce of which finds its way by the line which goes through a tunnel to the sea at Lyttelton.

The foot-hills of the mountains bordering on the Canterbury Plains are places of singular beauty, with every variety of valley and glen, and down everyone of them sparkles a stream straight from the white shoulders of the hills that bear up the sky. Well do we remember a day spent in pleasant company—a bright day at a pretty homestead at the foot of a mountain, its clay walls some three feet thick all overgrown with creepers, and idly drinking in the sunshine and listening to the murmur of the purest stream. The climate is perfection. In winter, cloudless skys and sunny days, sharp frosty nights, when the log crackles on the fire; in summer, warm days of sunny haze, a climate bright and exhilarating, when every nerve tingles for action and fatigue is a pleasure. Why, oh! why are not these valleys full of happy people? Of a surety some day they will be When More People Know of Them, and there learn to bless the Giver of all good gifts which are there in such rich abundance.

We do not write for those globe-trotters who make an annual tour to the Alps of Switzerland, and look upon them as Ruskin says they do, "as soaped pdes in a bear garden" for fools to climb up; but let any sober-minded man with some spark of everence in the soul of him, take the train some winter's morning from Christchurch to Ashburton, and see our Southern Alps, and if he does not see a sight there that will make him feel inclined to lay his hand on his mouth, and his mouth in the dust, and cry Unclean! Unclean! he has rot a soul the size of a sixpence. He shall see the mighty sun arise like a strong man fresh from his bath in the Eastern wave, and while all the valley below is wrapt in slumber he shall [*unclear: wo*] our virgin hills—icy maidens in their bridal veils of snow, and at his first kiss for a hundred miles they shall blush rosy red.

High mountains are to me a feeling,  
But the [*unclear: um*] of human cities torture.  
I see nothing to loathe in nature,  
Save to be a link reluctant in a fleshly chain,  
When the soul can flee, and with the sky, the peak.  
The hearing plain of ocean and the stars mingle;  
And notin vain.

From Lyttelton we slid across Cook's Straits in a few hours in the Union Company's good steamer Takapura, landing at Wellington on December 1st, 1892. The gigantic Kaikoura mountains run along the coast the most of the way, towering aloft, above, and amidst the clouds. At the foot of these mountains are sheep runs along the coast, and at the back of them are valleys, some of which are now, and some of which will in time doubtless be very valuable. We do not profess in this hasty sketch to describe a country nearly as large as Great Britain minutely, but just bits of it here and there, samples, as we said at the outset.

From Wellington we took the train to Wanganui, and on the 6th of December, equivalent to the 6th of June

in England, started to run across the island to Napier, in the

## Hawke's Bay Province.

The day was warm, the people grumbling. Thermometer 74. They should try Arizona or the San Joaquin Valley at 110, or Sydney, New-South Wales, where we saw horses struck dead in the streets this time last year, with the glass at 97. The people in New Zealand don't know what their country is, and now for our dart across the island. To Ashhurst, nine miles through bush partly cleared, where we notice a group of school children and an advertisement of Pears' Soap. If the people of England knew as much about New Zealand as we do about Pears' Soap, the one half of them would leave in a body and make room for the other half. Over an embankment looking down on tall fern plumes amidst the bush, then across the Manawatu River and into the Gorge, a fine bold piece of scenery which separates the Tararua from the Ruahine Ranges. These ranges only rise to a height, as a rule, of 2,000 to 3,000 feet—the highest point is only 4,000 feet. They are not mountains. There are some steep places, and a gorge or two, but as far as we can judge, nine-tenths of them are fit for pasture and settlement when the bush is cut down. Then through a tunnel, for the cliffs are too steep here to make a road round them; then the rushing river again, and another tunnel and the river again, swirling in deep places and foaming in shallow ones, with steep wooded hills on each side. We leave the river at a place where the coach road crosses it, on a bridge standing on five tall stone piers; through three or four small tunnels, and then opens out a wide expanse of flat clear land, covered with grass and stumps, where the town of Woodville stands. Woodville was made into a borough in 1885, and contains a population of 1,000. The business part is compactly built, and some of the buildings would do credit to a much larger place. The bush around the township is being rapidly cleared. There is a newspaper, bank, hotels, doctors, and no less than three lawyers. There is a dairy factory, and the erection of others is contemplated.

Still running along the eastern spurs of the Ruahine Ranges, a few miles after leaving Woodville, we strike the bush again, then open grass country with cabbage trees. Bush again at Matahiwi, and so into Dannevirke, in the heart of

## Interior of Napier Cathedral.

the Ruahine Ranges, where we stayed all night at one of the many first-class hotels.

From Dannevirke the next morning, still on the spurs of the Ruahine through bush country for twenty miles to Takapau. Then open out fair green hills with clumps of bush, and big flocks of sheep startled by the train run by, for now we are on the finest sheep country in New Zealand, beginning with the Ruataniwha Plains, which is the same as saying in the world.

While New Zealand is good as a whole, and for all sorts of purposes all round, and you can grow oranges and potatoes, and tomatoes and turnips side by side, still in a stretch of country 1,000 miles long there must be parts that have their special adaptability for certain pursuits, and although sheep do well, and very well, from the extreme south of the South Island to the extreme tip of the North Island, still we would give the palm to the East Coast of the North Island as the place of all places where the sheep fairly revels in all things that are advantageous to his welfare. For cattle, the West Coast of the North Island with its mild warmth and moisture; for the sheep the East Coast with its equal warmth and diminished rainfall. The cow won't grumble if you put her up to the knees in grass if the sod is a little damp—the sheep is more delicate, and likes to keep his coat dry. These conditions exist in perfection on the East Coast. At Napier, on the East Coast, only one half the quantity of rain falls that is shed at Taranaki on the West Coast.

We may say of Hawke's Bay Province as the old Ayrshire farmers used to say of Galloway.

Kyle for a man,  
Carrick for a coo,  
Cunningham for butter and cheese,  
And Galloway for woo'.

Tattooed Maoris mouthing their thick vocables stand on the platform as harmless as children now-a-days. Then parks such as a nobleman might envy, with noble plantations far as the eye can reach, open country as green as an emerald to Waipukarau some five miles further where there is a large freezing works. Then through a wide expanse of rolling downs with a limestone bottom, as the railway cuttings and the outcrop of the hills

show, to Te Aute, fifty-two miles from where we started this morning. For ten minutes we saunter on the platform and listen to the song of the lark. The shadows on the hills would tempt a Gainsborough. Still rolling downs richly grassed, and happy cattle browsing in the long grass or resting after the morning meal in happy ignorance and with misplaced confidence in wily man who has invented the freezing process. Through raupo swamps, poplars, and drooping willows to Paki Paki, where we leave the spurs of the ranges and enter the plain lanes some sixteen miles from Napier, our destination

Here we see men at work making hay, and past splendid roads, good houses, pretty gardens, we run into the rising town of Hastings, which boasts some 2,500 inhabitants, and which we are told promises to be one of the biggest inland towns in New Zealand.

At Tanoana there is another big freezing works, and now at Farndon, six miles from Napier, the sea heaves in sight, with the Kidnappers in the blue haze, and we run along the shingle beach into Napier.

Napier is the principal town in the Hawke's Bay Province, which has an area of close on to three million acres—about 4,500 square miles. Of this two million are under occupation of some sort by private owners, and of this area one and a quarter millions have been improved by ploughing and sowing grass, or sowing by merely burning off the fern and scrub and strewing the seed on the surface.

The number of sheep on this area was on the 30th April, 1892, 3,135,657—that is over one sheep to the acre all over the whole province. Of these 465,218 were merinos, 2,670,437 crossbreds. There were also 13,480 horses, 54,263 head of cattle, and of pigs 9,893.

The export of wool and frozen meat, hides and pelts, was £1,167,597, other goods of the value of £162,891 bringing the total exports for the year up to £1,330,654, these having doubled themselves in six years.

The population is of Europeans 28,855, and of Maoris 4,522. In the three principal boroughs of Napier, Hastings, and Woodville, live 11,643 Europeans, elsewhere in the province 17,212, half of whom we will say are women. We will deduct a third, which is below the average in New Zealand, for the proportion of children, which leaves 5,738, and will knock off the 738 for dwellers in smaller centres, and it probably ought to be at least a couple of thousand, and we have some 5,000 men at work producing at the rate of £260 per head, besides keeping themselves and the 23,000 dwellers in the cities. That is what a Man is worth in this country, at least on this 4,500 square miles of open grassy country. On a more beautiful country the sun never shone, and immense sums have been spent on it in roads, bridges, and railroads.

The Merino sheep was the first which was introduced into New Zealand in number. Hardy and active before there was much cultivation done, this sheep was found most suitable for all-round purposes, and still is almost exclusively kept on the spurs and mountain ranges, where the greater bulk of the heavier sheep makes it difficult for them to follow, and this kind of country is still called in New Zealand, "Merino country."

Since the perfecting of the freezing process sheep farming has undergone a radical change. Wool and tallow used to be the chief consideration, but when the carcass became of value heavier varieties were introduced. The Merino ewe furnishes the foundation for all crosses, which consist entirely of Merino ewes and Lincoln, Romney Marsh, Leicester, Shropshire, Hampshire, Southdown and other heavier rams. The weight of the half-bred sheep varies from 55 to 70 lbs., and they give about 9 lbs. wool, worth on the average about 8d. per lb.

The capacity of New Zealand for producing mutton has far from reached its limit. In 1891 1,788,619 sheep and lambs were exported frozen to England, and in spite of this the number of sheep in New Zealand rose from 16,753,752 in 1891 to 18,475,000 in 1892. There are 21 freezing works in the colony, with a capacity of 3,665,0 sheep per annum. The exports of the produce of the sheep last year were:—

The probability is that this return is capable of being doubled at least, if not indefinitely extended. We have just given some figures of our own showing the value of a man's labour in this country, but they pale into insignificance before such figures as these. The census returns of 1891 give the number of persons employed in pastoral pursuits as 9,549, and the export of pastoral produce is over 5½ million pounds sterling, or £580 per head employed.

The first experiment of shipping frozen mutton to London was made in 1881, and after the usual number of experiments and some failures, it has developed into a substantial trade. The process of freezing is by compression of air in cylinders by steam power. This compression causes it to give off its heat, and when it is again allowed to expand it becomes intensely cold. This cold air is passed through pipes into chambers where the carcasses are hung, and this process is continued until the ship carrying them arrives in London, where the meat meets with a ready sale.

Lord Onslow made the experiment of sending half a dozen New Zealand sheep to some of his friends in England, and asked them for their opinion on the quality of the mutton. These opinions are given in full in the "New Zealand Official Handbook." We copy one given by M. Waddington, the French Ambassador in London:—"The New Zealand mutton was a great success. I had recommended it to my cook and it was carefully roasted. All present pronounced it quite equal to the best English mutton. The freezing of the meat had

produced no perceptible difference. "

Freezing companies and merchants buy the farmer's sheep delivered at a convenient railway station, or he can if he likes ship them to England on his own account and obtain an advance against them here. Average price for New Zealand mutton in London for some five or six years past has been about 4½d. per lb., and the expenses of sending and selling it about 2d., leaving the breeder 2½d., so for a sheep weighing 60lbs. he would get about 12s. 6d. in New Zealand besides the wool.

Foreign competition may somewhat reduce this price, but for a lasting thing the farmer in New Zealand should be able to hold his own against any other country. All the advantages are on his side, and we have yet to learn the name of the country whose products do not come into competition with those of any other country. With a fair field and no favour New Zealand should win the day, although there will doubtless be fluctuations of prices as of weather. He is the farmer who looks all these things straight in the face and strikes his average.

The Hawke's Bay Province is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north by the Auckland, on the south by the Wellington Provinces, and on the west by the Ruahine Ranges.

With the exception of the bush at the foot of the ranges, which is an extension of the Forty-mile Bush, and sundry other patches of not very large extent, it is all open grass country and well watered—such a country as Lot must have chosen when he and Abraham parted company, "and Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan that it was well watered everywhere even as the garden of the Lord." Those old patriarchs knew what country was—they would have made good land valuers.

It has well metalled roads, which spread out from Napier in every direction, and all the streams are bridged where necessary.

The open country is mostly held in large blocks, varying from 1,000 to 30,000 acres. Round the chief centres as Napier, Hastings, Waipawa, Waipukarau, and other inland towns, and in the bush districts small farms are numerous, in areas of 50 to 500 acres, the whole of which are in a thriving condition, largely owing to the dairy industry, which has made rapid strides of late years, factories having been established chiefly in the bush districts, as at Woodville, Norsewood, and other centres. Other factories are in course of being established throughout the province, and this industry promises to become the next important industry to the export of wool and frozen meat—which is the principal one so far—as the district is eminently adapted for dairying.

The following is the list of Dairy Factories now in operation in the Hawke's Bay Province:

The bulk of the land in the Hawke's Bay Province is in private hands. Bush land of good quality with standing bush is worth 20s. to £3, according to locality. Of the open country, sheep country is worth, according to quality and extent of improvements, from £2 to £7 10s.

There is some light pumice country that will not carry over a sheep to the acre, and again other that is said to carry as many as seven big cross-bred sheep to the acre, with the assistance of turnips and other winter feed. Land of this latter description is worth £20 to £30 per acre fenced, subdivided, and with substantial improvements. Holders of large properties are willing enough to subdivide and sell at reasonable rates, and give reasonable terms as soon as a demand for land occurs.

Wheat of excellent quality is grown for local use, and a very fine quality of barley is produced, but sheep have of late years done so well, and the return from them has been so certain, that other matters have not received much attention. Artesian water is got all over the plains. Maize grows well on the low lands and yields large returns. Potatoes will yield up to 20 tons per acre, while enormous yields of mangolds are reported, 80 tons to the acre, it is said, but we should like to see the produce weighed and the land measured before we pinned our faith to that. Vines flourish in the open air, and very good wine has been made from their produce. We visited the vineyard of the Catholic Mission, which is a beautiful sight. The lea lands of the holy fathers yield bountiful crops of hay. Lucerne can be cut four or five times in a year. Limes, lemons, and oranges all do well, and there is a good and growing local market for all these things at present, and one which it will take many years to over supply, if it is ever done.

We visited Mr. Kittow's dairy farm, where he is milking 100 cows, has his own separator and churn, and is quite independent of any dairy factory for the disposal of his produce, and his whole outfit of engine, boiler, separator, churn, shafting, and fitting, cost £200.

There is a good harbour at Napier, with a breakwater enclosing the largest area of water of any artificial harbour in New Zealand, and there are two freezing works, the largest one being that of Messrs. Nelson Bros., some twelve miles out of Napier.

The climate is superb. Norfolk Island pines and other exotics flourish, and some of the gardens are scenes of surpassing loveliness. Ice forms once in a while in winter to the thickness of a penny. The town is well lit with gas and well supplied with water. A fine esplanade fronts the sea for a mile or so, which being planted with trees forms a grand promenade for citizens. The cathedral in the centre of the city is a very creditable piece of architecture.

As an instance of what this soil and climate will produce by pasturage alone we will mention the

following:—

1,500 acres grass laud at Chesterhope, eight miles out of Napier, carried last winter, 6,618 sheep. 120 acres of the grass was allowed to run to seed and the thrashed hay was used for winter feed. The grass seed from this 120 acres was sold for £666. One hundred bags were not sold, but retained for use. Cost of mowing, thrashing, and stacking was £260, the whole of the labour being done by contract.

The total proceeds from the 1,500 acres were £3,396, and the total expenses £700; the net yield being £2,696, or at the rate of 35s. per acre. This is, of course, choice property, although 300 acres of it were comparatively poor. It was just sold for some £23,000, or a trifle over £15 per acre, and gave a return therefore of about 11½ per cent, on that sum. We are informed that it is the intention of the present owners to cut it up and offer it in dairy farms of small areas.

The more minute the subdivision of the laud into paddocks, and the greater the attention the better is the return. In the Chesterhope property three flocks were kept, which were shifted from paddock to paddock, seldom being more than a week in any one. By this means the most is made of the grass, and the less there is of it wasted. The sheep are shifted from place to place to eat it as it grows and not take it or leave it as it suits their pleasure.

Most of the flat and bush country in the Hawke's Bay Province is adapted for dairying. Perhaps sheep may pay better on some of the hill country, but where a combination of hill and plain country can be obtained, a combination of sheep rearing and dairy farming would be the most profitable way of utilising the land in the way of pasture.

From Napier to Auckland there is no railroad. We took the steamer "Southern Cross" and dodged up the coast. We pass Poverty Bay, but do not go in. Captain Cook would not call it Poverty Bay if he called there now. Near the town is a large area of very valuable level land, which carries a heavy stock of beasts to the acre, and where the hills have been cleared of bush and fern there is splendid pasture. Dairying has commenced in the district, and bids fair to become a prominent industry.

From there to Auckland the country is but poorly supplied with roads and the settlers rely upon the sea as their highway. There are many nooks and crannies along the coast where the steamer calls in, sends a boat ashore and collects the settler's produce. The country can hardly be called settled at all, only a few rich flats have been picked out for cultivation, especially at Whakatahane and Opotiki, where heavy crops of maize are grown.

All the fruits of a sub-tropical climate grow well here, oranges and lemons especially do well. All that has been done with this country worth speaking about is to burn off the bush and fern, and run sheep and cattle on the land.

Climate, soil, harbours and fish are here, but few men. It seemed almost, when we went into these quiet bays—so still were they, not a sound but the call of a bird and the splash of the wave on the beach—as if when

The fair breeze blew,  
And the white foam flew,  
And the furrow followed free;  
We were the first  
That ever burst  
Into that silent sea.

Shall these places always be  
Antres vast and deserts idle?

We hope not. We sometimes think the British race will die right out of sheer inaction and want of work, sitting idle in their island and importing half their food. In olden times men were not extra nice, and chained one another up like dogs, and worked the fields with gangs of men in chains like bullocks, but they were men. They prized their lands and held them by the title of the sword and no other, and they were as proud of their achievements in agriculture as in warfare. When the Germans wanted Gaul they took it, and would have kept it had not Julius Caesar taught them a lesson by killing a quarter of a million of them. Driven by hunger the Goths, the Visigoths, and Attila, the Scourge of God, came down on Rome and wiped it out. To cross the globe is safer and easier now than it was to cross the Channel when William the Norman took 60,000 men over in open boats.

What do we see all over the earth just now but idle men, idle ships, idle guns, vacant lands. Shade of Alaric! Such a combination never was since this earth was made. How these old heroes must laugh in Hades until the very rafters ring.

We called at Tolago Bay and then at a place called Waipiro, where a Mr. Williams is shearing 100,000

sheep. Then a few miles further on at Sir George Whitmore's place, Tuparoa, where he has some 30,000 sheep. Then at Awanui, where we landed a ton or two of cargo, and last at Oreti Point, where Mr. Seccombe milks 150 cows and makes the product into cheese. We took in a few tons of cheese, some bales of wool, and a few head of poultry, and then shaped our course right across the Bay of Plenty, some 150 miles past Tauranga, for Auckland homeward, from where we started now some couple of months ago. The wind was dead ahead, and the steamer of small power. At sundown such a breeze as you would take in a couple of reefs in your topsails for, ship flying light lifts to the rollers and comes down slap on the other side making the spray and the dishes fly.

In the morning, still in the Bay of Plenty, we have crawled up in the night to get to windward under the lee of the land, past White Island, an active island volcano in clouds of steam, and then in the early morning got the canvas on her, and the day breaks fine, but breezy—sea to windward indigo and white, to leeward ultramarine and snow.

Past Mayor Island, then in due course past the Aldermen, then the Shoe, then the Slipper, and then the Hole-in-the-Wall.

*On from island unto island,  
At the gateway of the day.*

Where

*Never (well, hardly ever), comes the trader;  
Never (well, hardly ever), floats the European flag;  
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland,  
Swings the trailer from the crag.  
Droops No heavy blossomed bower,  
Hangs No heavy fruited tree on these  
Summer isles of Eden lying in  
Dark purple spheres of sea.*

\* \* \* \* \*

Forgive blest shade the tributary tear,  
That mourns thine exit from a world like this.

And further for the cause forgive the impertinence that thus travesties your sacred numbers.

Past Mercury Bay, past Cuvier Island, past Cape Colville, and a score more islands. Quick good ship, as if wife and boy had hold of the tow rope. Farewell, brave skipper, you watched while we slept. We clambered up the wharf before the gangway was ashore, while your men were fumbling at the ropes and did not say good-bye! We say so now.

We have quoted what some peers of the realm said about this country. A princely merchant, Sir Roderick Cameron, has lately visited these shores. This is what the press says:—"Auckland, November 8. There is at present on a visit to Auckland Sir Roderick Cameron, founder of the great shipping firm of R. and W. Cameron, of London and New York, and resident commissioner for New South Wales in America in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago. Sir Roderick is now on a visit to the colonies, and it is his intention, after running through New Zealand, to visit Victoria, New South Wales, and some of the other colonies before returning to his American home. He was interviewed by a newspaper representative and said: "This country is undoubtedly the key of the whole Pacific, and for advantages of commercial position and climate it stands unrivalled. During my last visit twelve or thirteen years ago I made an extended tour of New Zealand, and from what I then observed I became convinced, and have always said, that this is a country whose race will improve instead of degenerating as in other countries, and that the people who live here must eventually control the Pacific."

And a lady fair, the Countess of Galloway, to whom we make our most courteous bow, has set her dainty foot on our islands. She writes to the "Nineteenth Century," and says: "Live salmon, trout, deer, and different kinds of game have been imported into New Zealand with success, and the rabbits have not yet become the veritable plague they are in parts of Australia. The coast abounds in fine natural harbours, and much money has been spent upon them. Shipping brings trade and wealth, and with the sea as a means of transport it is perhaps

not surprising that the railway system is still incomplete. A favourable climate, fertile land, and valuable coal may also be mentioned among the many resources of these small islands, which under a careful judicious Government, promise a vast and prosperous future to the energy and perseverance of the inhabitants, as well as much pleasure and profit to the globe-trotter."

The chief of the Stock Department in Queensland, Mr. P. R. Gordon, has paid us a visit, and in his report to his Government says,— "On the question of the grazing capabilities of the cultivated grass lands of New Zealand it would hardly be possible to speak without being open to a charge of exaggeration. It is estimated that, over all, the land will carry four sheep to the acre all the year round—that is, with the assistance of turnips or chaff in the winter. At Hastings valley, near Napier, we actually saw nine and ten sheep to the acre, and in the Gisborne district—which we did not visit—we were assured by owners of land that (one of the richest districts in New Zealand) nine sheep to the acre is not uncommon, but frequently during some of the summer months they are packed on the pasture at the rate of fourteen sheep to the acre."

A word may be said about the rabbits which the Countess of Galloway mentions. Since we undertook this task we have travelled by land some 1,500 miles up and down and across these islands, in trains, on and behind horses, and on foot.

Pheasants we have seen, lots of them; wild ducks and black swans in plenty, and the blue swamp turkey has twitched his white tail feathers as he carefully picked his way across a swamp, disdainingly to quicken his pace for so mean a thing as a passing train. Snakes never, nor harmful beast of any kind. One rabbit we did see—but only one. The fact is, the rabbit fears the plough. Up in the mountain ranges where the plough does not go, the battle goes on. We poison, trap, shoot, and kill him with dogs and ferrets, by tens of thousands, but from the plough that turns his burrow inside out he keeps a respectful distance. To the agriculturist in the low lands he is not much trouble.

North of Auckland lies a large area of country, perhaps some 200 miles in length by an average breadth of 40—part forest, part bush, part open grassy country, part poor soil, part first-class, but all with a most genial climate and plenty of harbours, and which is capable of immense development—but, as we said, we do not undertake to describe the whole of New Zealand, only bits of it.

Our task is ended. We undertook to show that New Zealand offered an enormous field for investment by small men and a good field for large ones. We think we may fairly say *quod erat demonstrandum*.

There is an ancient record which tells how one man—a poor shepherd—an unsuccessful man, who lost his position of affluence at court because he could not brook an injury, not to himself, but to one of his race, and up and slew the offender and hid him in the sand; a man of no oratorical power, who without any armed force took a nation of bond slaves crouching under the lash of the taskmaster from the clutch of a mighty king, without commissariat, his treasury such as could be filched from their masters, marched some two or three million of them through a desert where no water was, laid down the laws by which they should become prosperous, trained them in battle with its wild tribes, conquered a territory for them, Triumphantly Solved the Problem of Poverty that the whole tribe of political economists have been dreaming about ever since Adam Smith wrote his "Wealth of Nations," and SETTLED THEM in a land of brooks and green pastures where they became a wealthy nation, and a nation of warriors, statesmen, historians, philosophers, and poets, whose literature in spite of their destruction as a nation cannot perish, so highly have their bitterest enemies prized it. Myth, says the sneerer, like Romulus and Remus, Lycurgus, William Tell, and Horatius who kept the bridge so well. May be aye, may be no. The literature is not a myth, anyhow, for it is there, and the people are amongst us, and there is a strange veri-similitude about some of its touches, the truth of which seems to prove itself by mere utterance, such as no Shakespeare or Byron could or would have invented, they must have been observed.

Moses undertakes to settle the disputes amongst his people himself. Like most strong practical minds, apparently unconscious that in practice, not in theory, lies the highest genius, so simple does it seem to them to do things, must needs trouble himself with adjusting the wiles of sophistry, and undertakes the interpretation and construction of the statutes he has laid down for the guidance of the people, when along comes Jethro, his old father-in-law (no mediaeval knight rescuing oppressed damsel ever won his bride in more gallant fight than did Jethro's son-in-law), sees the people standing in crowds before the court of justice waiting for their turn as they do now, and the benighted old heathen, the priest of the Midianites, the worshipper of wooden idols, says to the Seer of Sinai, the Mouthpiece of the Most High, "The thing that thou doest is not good tells him to leave the construction of the statutes to inferior minds and for his part "to show the people the way wherein they must walk and the work that they must do." The meekest of men, he sees his error, for "he hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law and did all that he had said."

No scientific critic that ever tickled the ears of a highly intellectual audience in a lecture room will make us believe that story was invented. And so we will stand by the old book yet, even if a little myth has crept into the record, and learn from it that the highest office a man can fill on this earth is "to show the people the way wherein they must walk and the work they must do."

People in England are looking for investment. They look in the wrong place. Not on the Stock Exchange of London will they find it. In the fertile lands of New Zealand will they find an investment that will give them a reward for their own capital and labour, and for the intelligent superintendence of that of others.

"To this English people in world's history there have been, shall I prophesy, "says England's seer, with lips touched with a live coal from off the altar, "two grand tasks assigned. Huge, looming through the dim tumult of the always incommensurable present time, outlines of two tasks disclose themselves. The grand industrial task of conquering some half or more of this terraqueous planet for the use of man; then secondly, the grand constitutional task of sharing in some pacific enduring manner the fruit of said conquest, and showing all people how it might be done. "

The writer has to thank Mr. Hume, Mr. McCaw, and Mr. Day, of Waikato; Mr. C. B. Hoadley, of Napier; Mr. F. A. Krull, of Wanganui; Mr. W. D. Meares, of Christchurch; Mr. Donald Reid, of Dunedin; and the Hon. J. G. Ward and Mr. Carswell, of Invercargill, for their valuable aid in furnishing information for his guidance in the compilation of this pamphlet.

## Princes Street, Dunedin.

### Addendum.

SINCE the foregoing pages were printed, information has come to hand, through the office of the Agent-General of New Zealand, that a substantial reduction in the rates of passage money to New Zealand will be made, on the recommendation of the Agent-General, to persons who are prepared to take to the Colony of New Zealand an amount of capital equal to £100 for himself and £50 for each member of his family over twelve years of age, or as an alternative he must be possessed of a fixed certain income of such amount as may be deemed sufficient by the Agent-General. Such recommendation being given, the applicant is entitled to a passage at the following rates:—

The reader is referred to advertisements for particulars of valuable lands in the hands of the Crown and large landholders now for sale in the Colony.

The illustrations given are reproductions from photographs taken by the following photographers:—Mr. Josiah Martin, Auckland; Messrs. E. Wheeler and Son, Christchurch; and Mr. F. Coxhead, Dunedin.

The sheep, the property of Mr. S. T. Seddon, on title-page are part of the Knighton flock, and are descended from Kirkham and Clarke ewes, imported by Mr. Charles Taylor in 1873. The Knighton flock has been constantly supplied with pure Kirkham rams, and a heavy fleece of fine lustrous wool established. These sheep clipped an average of 17½ pounds wool, although they had been dipped within six weeks of shearing.

Auckland,

May 4th. 1893.

The Author

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Front Cover

# **New Zealand and Colonies (Upper House).**

## **Return to an Address of the Honorable The House of Commons. dated 16 February 1893;—for,**

"Copy of PAPERS and EXTRACTS relating to the Appointment of MEMBERS to the UPPER HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES in *New Zealand* and the *Colonies*"

Colonial Office

April 1893.

Sydney Buxton.

*(Mr. Allen).*

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be printed, 2 May 1893.*

London:

Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office,

By Eyre and Spottis Woode,

Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from Eyre and Spottiswoode, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.

and 32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.; or John Menzies & Co., 12, Hanover Street, Edinburgh, and 90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

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## **Copies of PAPERS and EXTRACTS relating to the Appointment of MEMBERS to the UPPER HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES in *New Zealand* and the *Colonies*.**

**—No. 1.—**

**The Earl of *Onslow* to Lord *Knutsford*.**

**(Received 2 March 1891.)**

**[Answered by No. 5]**

My Lord,  
Wellington,

23 January 1891.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, acting on the advice of my Ministers, I have summoned the following gentlemen to the Legislative Council of New Zealand, viz.: Mr. John Blair Whyte, Auckland; Mr. Francis John Davies Ormond, Hawke's Bay; Mr. Charles John Johnston, Wellington; Mr. Charles Christopher Bowen, Canterbury; and Messrs. James Fulton and William Downie Stewart, Otago.

No fresh appointments have been made to this body since the year 1887; in fact, since the present Ministry have been in office.

On the other hand, several deaths and resignations have taken place, reducing the number of Councillors from 48, at which it stood on the 8th October 1887. to 39 to-day, and of these it may safely be said that, from extreme age, absence from the colony, or other reasons, the effective strength barely exceeds 30.

My Ministers have repeatedly expressed their desire to effect a reform in the Council, to reduce the period of service to seven years, instead of for life, and to limit the number to one-half of those in the House of Representatives. At the same time they considered it to be essential that the whole of the Members should be able, willing, and efficient, for the performance of their duties.

In 1887 they introduced a Bill with this object; but it was discharged before it reached the second reading.

Last Session a Bill embodying the principles declared to be those entertained by the Government was introduced into the Legislative Council by a private Member; was amended by the Attorney-General to meet the views of the Government, and cordially supported by the Government in the Council; but was rejected by that body; and, in the face of that opinion, my Ministers concluded that it would be futile themselves to submit to Parliament a measure on similar lines.

My Ministers refrained from offering me any advice as to strengthening the Council before the expiration of the Parliament and the General Election.

The result of that election has been, as I apprised your Lordship in my Despatch of 18th December 1890, Note printed.

to make a great change in the personnel of the House of Representatives, and, in the uncertainty as to the political views of the new Members, I have, as I have already informed your Lordship, summoned Parliament at the earliest convenient date.

I had before me the statement of Ministers that it was necessary to summon Parliament, in order that they might ascertain the feelings of confidence towards them entertained by the new representatives of the people, and I, therefore, hesitated before accepting their advice to make these appointments. I thought it my duty to demand from them an assurance that the advice was tendered, less with a view to reward party services, than for the purpose of strengthening the efficiency of the Upper House. That assurance has been given me, and I have, therefore, accepted the advice.

Petitions, numerously signed, have been presented to me, requesting me to defer these appointments till after the meeting of Parliament. It is urged in them that : (1.) The present Ministry are in a minority; (2.) Sir H. Atkinson has pledged himself not to advise fresh appointments till the numbers were reduced below one-half of those constituting the House of Representatives; (3.) The Legislative Councillors now exceed by three or four half the number of the House of Representatives.

I gave due consideration to these representations, and to the spirit in which I believe Her Majesty's Government regard the position of colonies possessing representative government. I trust that I interpret those views aright, in holding that, where there is nothing to the contrary in the Letters Patent of 21st February 1879, constituting my office, or in the Royal Instructions accompanying them, the constitutional practice observed in England should form the main lines for guidance under similar circumstances. I therefore dismissed the first reason, without waiting to inquire as to its accuracy.

Upon the second argument I received the Memorandum

Enclosure No.2.

, which I enclose, from Sir H. Atkinson, and which appeared to me to be satisfactory; and, as to the third, I would point out to your Lordship that, though true of the nominal, it is not true of the effective, strength of the Legislative Council, that the House of Representatives has but just been reduced from 95 to 74 Members, while it has not been found possible to effect any reform of the Upper House.

Had it been proposed to me to make fresh creations to the extent of, say, one-third of the existing House, I should have had grave hesitation in accepting advice which might be treated as a precedent for swamping the votes of the existing majority, in order to carry party legislation.

It has, however, long been the practice in England for Ministers, even after a vote of censure has been passed on them in Parliament, to advise the Crown to create a limited number of Peerages, not only for the purpose of strengthening the Upper House, but admittedly as rewards to those who, being qualified for the position of Peers, have rendered political services to the defeated party.

It is the fact that, in 1877, when a vote of want of confidence in Ministers was pending, Lord Normanby declined to accept advice as to an appointment until the result of the vote was known; but on the vote being rejected, he immediately acted on the nomination of Sir George Grey, the Premier. On the other hand, in 1869, a vote of want of confidence was moved on the 15th June in Sir Edward Stafford's Ministry, and carried on the 24th June; but, on the 17th, the Governor, while the debate was pending, accepted his Ministers' advice to raise Messrs. Paterson and Pharazyn to the Council, and on the 25th also accepted their advice to call Mr. Levin to that body.

Although Lord Carnarvon, in his Despatch of 15th January 1878,

Not printed.

approves generally of Lord Normanby's conduct, in the first-mentioned case, I trust that your Lordship will approve of the action which, under somewhat different circumstances, I have thought it my duty to take.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.

(signed) *Onslow*.

&c. &c. &c. &c.

## Enclosure 1 in No. I.

# MEMORANDUM for the Honourable the Premier.

17 January 1891.

THE Governor has received the accompanying petition respecting any further appointments to the Legislative Council. Should the Premier contemplate offering any advice to the Governor such as the petitioners deprecate, the Governor requests that the Premier will give him some information respecting the second of the petitioners' allegations.

(signed) *Onslow*.

## To His Excellency Earl *Onslow*, Governor of New Zealand.

Your Excellency,

WE, the undersigned electors of the Provincial District of Otago, humbly pray your Excellency that you will refrain from sanctioning or making any further appointments to the Legislative Council of New Zealand

until after Parliament shall have assembled, for the following reasons:—

- That the present Ministry, being in a minority at the recent elections, do not represent the people, and have, therefore, no right to make any recommendation to your Excellency on the matter.
- That Sir H. A. Atkinson, the Premier, in 1887 and 1888, pledged himself not to make any recommendation for appointments to the Council until the numbers thereof were reduced to a number below "one-half of the reduced number of Members of the Legislative Assembly, nor until legislation had been introduced and passed providing for the limitation of the tenure of office of such Legislative Councillors.
- That as the number of Legislative Councillors at present exceed one-half of the reduced number of Members of the Legislative Assembly by three or four, no reason exists for the appointment of additional Members.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed by *D. Pinkerton*, M.H.R., and 5,228 others.)

## Enclosure 2 in No. I.

### MEMORANDUM for His Excellency the Governor.

THE Premier acknowledges a Memorandum in which his Excellency the Governor requests some information respecting the following statement in the petition from a number of electors of the Provincial District of Otago :—

That Sir H. A. Atkinson, the Premier, in 1887 and 1888, pledged himself not to make any recommendation for appointments to the Council until the numbers thereof were reduced to a number below one-half of the reduced number of Members of the Legislative Assembly, nor until legislation had been introduced and passed providing for the limitation of the tenure of office of such Legislative Councillors.

The Premier has never, so far as he is aware, made such a promise; and any statements of his which may appear to bear such interpretation were only made under the belief that an Act would be shortly passed effecting the reforms that the Government desired, but in this hope the Government have been disappointed, it having been found impossible to obtain legislation.

In order, however, that there should be no mistake, the Premier caused careful search of records to be made, and can nowhere find such a pledge. He then applied to Mr. Fish, one of the Members for Dunedin, and one of the leading signatories of the petition, for information upon what authority the statement made in the petition was founded. In reply, Mr. Fish courteously informed him that a sentence in the Financial Statement of 1887, and what took place in the House of Representatives on the 6th of August 1888, were relied on as justifying the statement referred to.

The paragraph of 1887 was as follows : "They (the Ministry) will also during the present Session invite the Legislative Council to devise a plan by which their number may be reduced to 35, one-half of the number of members proposed for this House, and thereafter limited to that number."

It is quite clear that such a pledge cannot be found in this paragraph under any canon of interpretation, and the Premier distinctly denies that he ever contemplated such a promise.

On the occasion referred to in the House of Representatives it was moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, no further appointment should be made to the Legislative Council until the Legislature shall have had an opportunity of determining upon any alterations to be made in the direction of limiting the number of Members, altering the mode of appointment, or of limiting the time for which such appointments should be valid."

In the course of the debate, Sir H. A. Atkinson, amongst other things, is reported to have said, "Have the Government done anything to lead the honourable gentleman to believe that they are going to make undue appointments? Have they not practically promised that they will not make such appointments? "

Again, Mr. Kerr asked, "Am I to understand that no appointment will be made before next year? "That is 1889.

Sir H. A. Atkinson: "I could not make a positive statement. . . . The Government have no intention of making an appointment . . . unless necessary to carry on the Government."

Mr. Waide: "I hope the Government will not make any appointment during the recess, but, if they do so, I trust they will have some regard to the representation of the part of the colony which I have the honour to

represent. The District of Soul bland at one time was entitled to, and had, four Members in the Upper Chamber, but death has removed three of them; and, in fairness to people in that art of the country, I think that, if any appointments are to be made, someone in that district should be appointed. At the same time I hope that no further appointments will be made; but, should such be necessary, I trust the Piemier will make them from the part of the country to which I have referred."

Sir H. A. Atkinson : "The only cause which, in my opinion, could justify an appointment, except on the recommendation of this House, would be the necessity of carrying on the Government, and then other matters than locality would have to be taken into consideration."

The motion was negatived.

It is evident from these extracts, and from the spirit of the debate, that the speakers all based their remarks upon the necessity of giving Parliament further opportunity of legislating upon the natter; and this is clearly set forth in the resolution upon which the debate took place.

The Premier's remarks referred only to the coming recess; it is impossible to suppose that he should pledge himself for all time to make no further appointments to the Legislative Council. His remarks were evidently governed by the hope which the Government then entertained, that legislation would then be possible; and it was only alter two Sessions had passed subsequently to this debate that he gave up this hope, and, deeming it necessary for the efficiency of the Council, recommended the appointment of a limited number of Councillors.

In the Session of 1890, on the 25th of July, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Larnach : "That, in the opinion of this House, his Excellency the Governer should not be advised to make any appointments to the Legislative Council until after the meeting of the next Parliament." This resolution was debated at length the Premier did not speak, not leing present), and, on a division, was rejected hi a full House by a majority of 48 to 43.

The Premier may also add that the policy of the present Ministry has always been to reform the constitution of the Council, and attempts were made in the late Parliament to do so, but failed of success. In the Session of 1890 Sir G. Whitmore brought in a Bill having, *inter alia*, for its object the shortening of the term of the appointments from life to seven years. The Bill was amended by the Attorney General in order to meet the views of the Government, and was cordially supported by the Government in the Council; but on a division on the Third Reading it was lost by a majority of 17 to 13.

The Premier also takes this opportunity to inform his Excellency that the Opposition have been in office five years since 1877, and have appointed 21 Members to the Legislative Council. The present party in power, having been in office eight years since 1877, have only so far appointed eight Members (all of whom were appoint! d prior to the present Government coining into office), and they propose now to add seven to this number.

17 January 1891.

*H. A. Atkinson.*

## **Enclosure 3 in No. 1.**

# **From the Honourable the Premier to His Excellency the Governor.**

**(Telegram.)**

19 January 1891.

THE Cabinet has decided to respectfully recommend your Excellency to call the following gentlemen to the Legislative Council: Messrs. J. B. Whyte, Auckland; J. D. Ormond, Hawke's Bay; C.J. Johnston, Wellington; C. C. Bowen, Canterbury; and J. Fulton and W. Downie Stewart, Otago.

*H. A. Atkinson.*

## **Enclosure 4 in No. 1.**

**From His Excellency the Governor to the Honourable the Premier.**

**(Telegram.)**

20 January 1891.

THE Governor has received the Premier's telegram informing him that the Cabinet recommend him to call Messrs. Whyte, Ormond, Johnston, C. C. Bowen, Fulton, and Downie Stewart, to the Council. In view of the Premier's memorandum of 17th December to the effect that, having regard to the uncertainty of the strength of parties in the House of Representatives since the general election, it is desirable that Parliament shall be summoned at the earliest possible date, the Governor, before taking action on the recommendation tendered, requests the Premier to advise him whether the names that are suggested are in his opinion best calculated to strengthen the efficiency of the Upper House; and, further, whether they are the six names, if not, in New Zealand, at least from among the supporters of the Government, best calculated to effect that object.

*Onslow.*

## **Enclosure 5 in No. 1.**

**(Telegram.)**

**From the Honourable the Premier to His Excellency the Governor.**

20 January 1891.

IN reply to your Excellency's telegram *re* the appointment of Legislative Councillors, I have the honour to state that I have submitted it for the consideration of the Cabinet, and, in their opinion, the six names submitted from among the available supporters of the Government are those best calculated to strengthen the efficiency of the Council.

*H. A. Atkinson.*

## **Enclosure 6 in No. 1.**

# From His Excellency the Governor to the Honourable the Premier.

(Telegram.)

20 January 1891.

UPON the assurance contained in the Premier's memorandum that the six names submitted are best calculated to strengthen the efficiency of the Council, the Governor appoints Messrs. Whyte, Johnston, Ormond, Fulton, Downie Stewart, and Bowen, to Legislative Council.

*Onslow.*

—No. 2.—

## The Earl of *Onslow* to Lord *Knutsford*.

(Received 2nd March 1891.)

My Lord,  
Wellington,

24 January 1891.

I ADDRESSED your Lordship in a Despatch on the 23rd instant No. 1.

with reference to the recent appointments which I have made to the Legislative Council of New Zealand.

In that Despatch your Lordship will have noticed a paragraph in which I informed your Lordship of the action which I should have taken in a hypothetical case.

As a matter of fact, that case actually presented itself, though it never assumed an official character, and my Ministers are anxious that the negotiations which took place between us should not be made public, lest it should embarrass them in Parliament.

I desire, however, that your Lordship should be in possession of the whole of the facts, as it is possible that the course of recent events in New Zealand may form a precedent for future action.

Ministers informed me early in the last Session of Parliament that they were desirous of adding to the Legislative Council, but were not anxious to tender any advice on the subject till the latest possible date, and they inquired whether I would accept their advice at any time. I replied that I would carefully consider their advice on the subject, with a view to its acceptance; but I thought that, both for their sakes and my own, that advice should be tendered before any catastrophe occurred to the Ministry.

None of the votes of want of confidence moved had any chance of being carried, and Ministers did not, therefore, deem it necessary to tender advice.

The General Election took place, and the result was as unexpected by Ministers as by the Opposition.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ballance, in a public interview, and in the paper of which he is editor, demanded the dismissal of Ministers if they should not voluntarily resign, and maintained that, constitutionally, Ministers had no right to offer advice as to any fresh appointments.

It subsequently appeared that the prospects of parties were neither so favourable to the Opposition, nor so disastrous to the Government, as was at first generally believed to be the case.

Ministers agreed to summon Parliament, and to resign as soon as it had met, but intimated privately to me that they wished to advise the appointment of not less than 11 Councillors in a House of 39.

This appeared to me to be so undue a proportion as to make a dangerous precedent, in case a Minister should wish, for party purposes, to swamp an adverse vote in the Upper House.

The Premier asserted that the Government had pledged itself to these gentlemen, as to some of whom it could not possibly be pretended that they would strengthen the House, or that they were appointed or any but party purposes. In some cases the appointments were, without doubt, merely rewards for desertion from the Opposition cause.

The Premier then said that either Ministers had my confidence or they had not. If they had, I ought to accept all their advice; if not, to dispense with their services; and he directed that the "Gazette" summoning Parliament, which had been put in type and was being struck off, should not be issued.

The latter fact becoming public caused much speculation as to its cause. With the Premier's consent, I consulted Mr. Bryce, formerly Minister for Native Affairs, and the most prominent supporter of the Government in the House of Representatives. His views coincided with mine, and, after some negotiation, the Government agreed to retain office on my consenting to appoint to the Council six of the 11 names suggested, and they agreed to give me a formal assurance that those six were recommended solely with the view of adding strength to the House and not for party purposes, and, further, that they were the six men, if not in New Zealand, at least of their party, best calculated, in their opinion, to increase the efficiency of the Legislative Council.

I trust that your Lordship, in considering my Despatch above referred to, will do so in conjunction with the information herein laid before you.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.

(signed) *Onslow*.

&c. &c. &c.

— No. 3. —

## The Earl of *Onslow* to Lord *Knutsford*.(Received 20th March 1891.)

[Answered by No. 5.]

My Lord,  
Wellington,

3 February 1891.

I HAVE the honour to forward, at the request of Mr. Shera, a Member of the House of Representatives, two copies of a Petition signed by 40 Members of the same House, and presented by them in person. This Petition was presented to me a few hours before the meeting of Parliament on the 23rd January, against the appointment of any more Members of the Legislative Council until after the meeting of Parliament.

2. It was a matter of common notoriety that the appointments were already made when the Petition was presented, and it could not, therefore, have been expected to effect the object of its prayer.

3. As the Petition was presented in person, I concluded that the object of the Petitioners was to hear from me something of the causes which induced me to accept the advice of my Ministers. I replied that it was no part of my duty to enter into explanations of my actions to anyone but your Lordship, and I referred the deputation to the Despatches which are annually laid on the table of Parliament, and which will be presented as soon as a

Speaker should have been elected.

4. I have already addressed your Lordship at length on this subject, which, as a precedent, is one of some importance.

5. There were four points which presented themselves in considering the advice tendered to me.

- Whether Ministers were seeking to fill the Upper House during their term of office with more than a reasonable number of their nominees.
- Whether there was any indication that their object was to alter the political bias of the House in favour of their party.
- Whether the names were those of men unfit to occupy seats in the Council, and,
- Whether Ministers, whose position in Parliament was doubtful, were entitled to recommend such appointments.

6. As to the 1st and 3rd points, I formed the opinion that had Ministers been in undoubted possession of the confidence of Parliament, no objection was likely to have been taken, except from a purely party point of view. It is true that the Premier was alleged to have given certain pledges, but this was a matter which concerned himself.

7. As to the 2nd point; during the previous Session of Parliament several measures drawn in the interests of the Labour Party had been rejected by the Upper House as then constituted, and, so far as the opinions of its members have a party tendency, they were already more in line with the party then in power than with the Progressive Party; while, as to the question of the reform of the Legislative Council, which that body had refused to consider, but which both political parties deem desirable, the new Councillors were themselves pledged in its favour.

8. The 4th consideration is really the important one: assuming, as I do, that there was no valid objection to the appointments, I found it additionally difficult for me to take the very grave responsibility of differing from my Advisers. Such a step is certain to bring the Representative of the Queen into collision with some portion of those over whom he is called upon to administer the Government, and renders his conduct open to discussion in Parliament.

9. The gravest responsibility would rest upon me for the adoption of such a course in a case concerning the Colony alone, which neither affected the Royal Prerogative of Mercy nor the question of an appeal to the people, and was in consonance with accepted constitutional practice.

10. Although these appointments were made on 20th January, they had, with the exception of the actual names, been long under discussion with Ministers, and I had entertained some difference of opinion with them on the subject.

11. This difference was finally adjusted on 16th December, when I agreed to make six appointments, on the assurance that, in the opinion of Ministers, they should be the six men from among their supporters best calculated to strengthen the weakened Upper Chamber, and that as soon as Ministers could decide on the names (a process which appears to have been a lengthy one) they were to be formally submitted to me.

12. I should be wanting in candour were I to lead your Lordship to suppose that either the majority of the House of Representatives, the whole of the party which supported the late Government, or all the Legislative Councillors, approve the conduct of the late Ministry in tendering me this advice.

13. I do not think it is seriously maintained, in the face of the constant practice in England for defeated Ministries to advise Her Majesty to create peers, that there has been anything unconstitutional in my action; but, so far as I can gather, there is a strong feeling in the Colony that the practice which obtains in England of making Ministerial appointments before vacating office is not one which New Zealand Ministers should be encouraged to follow.

14. If I have interpreted that feeling aright, public opinion will be strong enough to prevent its recurrence.

15. In Colonies possessed of such democratic institutions as Manhood Suffrage and Triennial Parliaments, in addition to a numerous and universally read press, public opinion is not slow to assert itself, or to execute summary punishment on the Ministry or Party which has acted contrary to its wishes.

16. The unexpected support which the new Ministers had received in the recent short Session of Parliament, and the discontent of many of the supporters of the late Government is a sufficient intimation to the leaders of the party lately in power of the state of public opinion on this matter, and ought to prevent any serious evil to the Colony arising out of the event, considered in the light of a precedent; while, at the same time, the resignation of Ministers because their advice has not been accepted has been avoided—a step which, in my opinion, only the most imperative necessity can justify.

17. I need hardly add that any expression of opinion from your Lordship will greatly aid me in the course which I should adopt in future, and will be valued in the Colony as an indication of the attitude which Her Majesty's Government desire the Representative of the Queen to assume towards his Advisers and towards the people of these large and growing communities, who are in full possession of the powers of self-government,

and perfectly able to control and direct those to whom they entrust the Government.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. the Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.

(signed) *Onslow*.

&c. &c. &c.

## Enclosure in No. 3.

# To His Excellency the Earl of *Onslow*, Governor of New Zealand.

May it please your Excellency :

WE, the undersigned Members of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, desire respectfully to bring under your Excellency's notice the fact that statements have appeared in the public prints to the effect that Ministers have advised your Excellency to call a number of gentlemen to the Legislative Council prior to the opening of Parliament.

As Representatives of the people of New Zealand we beg to state:—

I. That your Excellency's present Advisers are now resigning office.

II. That the people of the Colony are, without doubt, opposed to any more immediate appointments to the Legislative Council, especially as at present constituted.

III. That such appointments will, if made, be in direct opposition to an understanding arrived at between your Excellency's Ministers and the House of Representatives, and also to the Report of a Committee adopted by the Legislative Council.

We are, &c. (signed)

*J. M. Shera,*

*Wm. Kelly,*

*Robt. M. Houston,*

*E. Metcalf Smith,*

*A. J. Cadman,*

*H. S. Fish, Jun., and 35 others.*

## — No. 4. —

# The Earl of *Onslow* to Lord *Knutsford*.

(Received 20th March 1891.)

My Lord,  
Wellington,

3 February 1891.

WITH reference to my Despatch of this date,  
No. 3.  
and to my Despatch of 24th January,  
No. 2.

I think your Lordship should be informed that, at the time (16th December) when I gave an undertaking to Sir Harry Atkinson to accept his advice to call six, instead of eleven, gentlemen to the Legislative Council, though I was aware that the Premier's health would not permit him to continue in office, and his resignation was a necessity, he handed me a card of the new Parliament, which he said the Government had carefully considered, and according to which he claimed for his party 35 supporters against 32 of his opponents, while six votes (some of which he hoped to secure) were doubtful.

Had these prognostications (the reliability of which I had no means of testing) been realised, he would doubtless, upon his resignation, have advised me to send for one of his colleagues or prominent supporters, and the continuity of the Government need not have been broken.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Onslow*.

The Right Honourable

The Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.,

&c. &c. &c.

— No. 5. —

## Lord *Knutsford* to the Earl of *Onslow*.

My Lord,  
Downing-street,

11 April 1891.

No 1. and 3.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches\* reporting upon matters connected with the change of Ministry in New Zealand in January.

With regard to the appointments to the Legislative Council recommended by the late Government, I am of opinion that, in accepting the advice tendered to you by your Lordship's responsible Ministers, under the circumstances described in your Despatches, you acted strictly in accordance with the Constitution of the Colony, but I do not desire to be understood to offer any opinion upon the action of your Ministers in tendering that advice.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Knutsford*.

Governor The Earl of Onslow.

— No. 6. —

## The Earl of *Glasgow* to Lord *Knutsford*.

(Received 4th August 1892.)

[Answered by No. 7.]

My Lord,

22 June 1892.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, since my arrival in the Colony on the 7th instant, I have had several interviews with Mr. Ballance, the Premier, on the subject of the appointment of the increase of the Legislative Council, and the request of the Government that twelve (12) new nominations to that Chamber be approved of; and yesterday morning Unformed him that I felt myself unable to appoint more than nine (9).

2. The gist of his communications to me were as follows : that there are certain projects which the Government wish to pass into law, the legislation as to laud in particular; and that the Government find themselves in an unbearable position in the Legislative Council. In the House of Representatives they have a good working majority, but in the Legislative Council the Attorney General, who is the only Minister in that Chamber, finds himself with the support of only, at the outside, four or five Members, none of whom possess any debating power whatever. "It is plain," said Mr. Ballance, "that no Government can carry on the business of the House satisfactorily when in one Chamber they exist only on sufferance." He also said, later on, that it was not the wish of the Government to swamp the Legislative Council, but only to have a certain amount of debating power, of which, at present, they have none. He remarked that if the Legislative Council throws out the Bills he is going to re-introduce this Session the consequences may be very serious, and stated that he thought Lord Onslow would have granted twelve (12). But I pointed out, that in the Confidential Despatch which Lord Onslow had left for me, and which he showed to Mr. Ballance before leaving, he had not indicated that he would grant more than eight (8).

3. In reply I stated that I was glad to learn that Ministers did not contemplate swamping the Legislative Council; that I was anxious to do what I could to meet my Ministers' views, but that I must have some time to reflect.

4. At the interview which I had with Mr. Ballance yesterday morning, at which the Attorney General was also present, I said that I had carefully weighed the arguments of the Premier in favour of appointing twelve (12) Members; that I admitted that appointments should be made; but that, after considering the reasons given by the late Governor against agreeing to the proposal made to him just before he left the Colony, which was identical with the one made to me, I found myself in accord with Lord Onslow, and that I was unable to agree to more than eight (8) appointments, though as soon as a resignation, which had been announced by telegraph, became an accomplished fact I would agree to fill up this vacancy, making in all nine (9) appointments.

5. I remarked that when Ministers made this application they must have had one of two objects in view. They must either wish such an amount of debating power as would enable them to place their measures fully before the Legislative Council, or they must aim at giving the Government a preponderance of votes in that Chamber. If the first is their desire, then, I said, I hoped they would accept my proposal, though it gave them less than they asked for; for, I said, I need hardly point out that in an assembly of forty-five (45) members (which would be the number with the addition I proposed) an accession of nine (9) skilled debaters, added to the five (5) supporters Government already had, would be amply sufficient to ensure the Government measures that respectful consideration which is their due. If the latter is their wish, I said, they will not accept my offer. If it is so, I would much regret that, so soon after my arrival, I should be obliged to decline a proposal made me by my Ministers; but I felt that, if I granted it, I would be running the risk of making the Legislative Council a mere echo of the other House; if it is to have no opinion of its own it is of no use, but if it continues to preserve its liberty, and gives the country time to reconsider such questions as may not have received due consideration, it may, at a critical time, be of invaluable service to the Colony. I therefore felt bound to take the course I had announced, as granting a larger number might have the effect of destroying the independence of one of the two Chambers, which I am bound by the Constitution to uphold.

6. The Premier declined to admit that my definition of the possible objects of Ministers was the correct one. He said there was a third alternative, which was the correct one, and that the number I proposed was not sufficient. It was large enough to exasperate the Opposition, but not large enough to be "of any use;" a statement which confirmed me in my opinion, that what the Government really requires is a majority in the Legislative Council, and that I was right in my definition.

7. Both Mr. Ballance and Sir Patrick Buckley said that many of their supporters are opposed to a bi-cameral system, although they themselves are not, and that if nothing is done to improve the position of matters in the Upper House, and if a cry is got up for the abolition of the Legislative Council, it would be so strong that it would bear down all opposition. I replied that Ministers were holding out to me, as an alternative, an emasculated Upper House or none at all; but that I was bound to uphold, as far as I could, the Constitution of the country. I said I was making them an offer, not much less than what they desired, and repeated that an

addition of nine (9) would give them a sufficient number to place their policy properly before the Council. I added that the question of bringing the two Houses into harmony, which I believed would be the practical upshot if I granted the application of Ministers, could not arise until the Chambers declined to give effect to the result of an appeal to the country, and that had not yet happened.

8. Mr. Ballance undertook to communicate my decision to the Cabinet, and in the afternoon he informed me that he had done so; that they considered an addition of nine (9) to the Legislative Council worse than useless, and that they cannot, therefore, accept it; that they will reintroduce into Parliament the measures that were not passed last Session, and if they are not carried they will appeal to the country.

9. Your Lordship will observe that my especial difficulty has been this, that I have not had at my disposal any means of ascertaining the exact amount of nominations that could have been given without altering the balance of parties in the Upper House, and that I had, therefore, no alternative but to take up the position of, and act on the information supplied me by, my predecessor. I felt this so much that I said to Mr. Ballance that, if he cordially concurred in the step, I would send for the Leader of the Opposition in the Council, and ask him to tell me frankly if the number required by Ministers would imperil his majority. Mr. Ballance replied that it would make a precedent of an unusual character (which I admitted, remarking that the occasion was an unusual one), and said that the Opposition Leader would be bound to give no reply that would please the Government.

10. I have thus, my Lord, done my best to perform my duty adequately in the very difficult position in which I have been placed. I have looked at the matter from a constitutional point of view. Within a fortnight of the date of my taking the oath to preserve the Constitution of the Colony, I have been called upon to increase, for party purposes, the Upper House to a point which might have given the Government a preponderance in it which they would not otherwise possess before an appeal has been made to the country. If I had given way, it might have tided over the difficulty for the time, but it would have established a precedent, which would most certainly have been followed by the Opposition, whenever its turn of power arrives.

The policy of the Government may be to bring the Legislative Council into disrepute, with a view to its abolition, or it may be only intended to frighten the Council into passing the measures of the Government. I do not believe that the Legislative Council will be abolished easily; but if abolition does come, I submit to your Lordship that the ending of the Chamber would be preferable to its retention in a condition so manipulated as to possess merely a semblance of independence.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Glasgow*.

The Right Hon. The Lord Knutsford,

Downing-street, London.

— No. 7 —

**Lord Knutsford to the Earl of Glasgow.**

**TELEGRAPHIC.**

**[Answered by Nos. 8 and 112.]**

10 August 1892.

THE figures in your Despatch of 22nd June  
No. 6.

show that the Legislative Council consists of 31 Members of the Opposition and 5 Ministerialists.

If 12 were added to the latter, a large Opposition majority would still remain; therefore the proposal of Premier seems to me a reasonable one. The existence of an Upper House largely disproportionate to what appears to be the present political feeling in the Colony may be imperilled unless a more even balance of parties is secured. Despatch will be sent by mail.

— No. 8. —

**The Earl of *Glasgow* to Lord *Knutsford*.**

**(Received 11th August 1892.)**

**TELEGRAPHIC.**

11 August 1892.

FROM information which I have received, I consider that the Legislative Council consists of the Speaker, 12 Ministerialists, and 22 Members of the Opposition, four of these Councillors being absent from the Colony.

The difference between these figures and the estimate of Premier, as I reported in my Despatch of the 22nd June,

No. 6.

is accounted for by disapproval of certain measures which were not brought before the country at Election, and which deprive the Government of considerable support in the Council.

Reference from Ministers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on this subject leaves by post to-day, with my remarks.

— No. 9. —

**The Earl of *Glasgow* to Lord *Knutsford*.**

**(Received 10th September 1892.)**

**[Answered by Nos. 10 and 11.]**

My Lord,  
Wellington,

8th August 1892.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a memorandum from my Ministers, dated 5th August, calling your attention to a difference which has occurred, to my deep regret, between myself and them, regarding appointments to the Legislative Council. I addressed a Despatch on the 22nd day of June,\* giving \*No. 6. all information on the subject up to date, and I now annex a schedule containing a list of papers bearing on the

subject, the papers themselves accompanying this Despatch.

I submit that the memorandum contains something more than a statement of the difference between us; it is also an expression of opinion that greater power should be given to Ministers than they at present possess. I would now respectfully offer a few remarks upon the result of granting the powers Ministers think should be given them.

Let it be supposed that in a Colony possessing representative institutions, Ministers resign, appeal to the country, are defeated and replaced by the Opposition. On coming into power, the new Ministry introduces—as Ministers are not unlikely to do—a measure which it thinks will be popular, besides that which they were returned to carry out. The Legislative Council throws it out, the Ministry advises the Governor to appoint sufficient Legislative Councillors to overcome opposition in the Chamber; the people have not been consulted and support the arguments advanced in the Council, but (supposing Ministers have the power they think should be theirs) the Governor must grant the appointments asked for; the result would be that the Council is coerced, the measures are passed, and the people come under the law to which they may object and on which they have not been consulted.

The two Houses of the New Zealand Parliament possess each at present absolute liberty of speech; but, under the proposed change, the freedom of the Legislative Council would be at the mercy of the Ministry; the consent of both Chambers is now necessary before a measure can receive the Governor's assent. Should a measure be thrown out, it is open to Ministers to appeal to the country; thereafter, if the Legislative Council were to disregard the wishes of the Electorate as expressed at the polls, a sufficient emergency would then have arisen to justify the Governor in granting Ministers a sufficient number of appointments to bring the Upper House into harmony with the country.

This is, I submit, the constitutional practice, and it is more in accordance with the principles of freedom that the people should be the ultimate Court of Appeal in any difference between the Chambers, than that the power should rest with Ministers.

In a Despatch dated 19th October 1839, Lord John Russell says, "Every" political Constitution, in which different bodies share political power, is only "enabled to exist by the forbearance of those among whom this power is "distributed."

I would add that if the Constitutional checks which experience has placed on the power of the different bodies is swept away, the result will be, a distinct loss of liberty to the Colony, and almost absolute power to the Ministry.

The late Lord Granville, in a Despatch to Lord Belmore dated 2nd October 1869,

See Appendix I. p. si.

writes as follows: "When writing that Despatch, I was fully aware that the number of the Upper House was unlimited. I was also fully aware that "on certain critical occasions it may become not only expedient but indispensable to bring the two Houses into harmony by creating or threatening to" create a number of Legislative Councillors sufficient for that purpose, but it "is not the less clear that the value and character of the Upper House will be" destroyed if every successive Ministry is at liberty, without sufficient occasion, "to obtain a majority in the Council by the creation of Councillors."

I respectfully submit that this extract, and the one foregoing, breathe just as much of the spirit of the Constitution of the present day as when they were written, and that they are opposed to the view held by my Ministers.

With these remarks, I now beg to leave that branch of the subject for your Lordship's consideration.

With reference to my reasons for not accepting the advice of Ministers, your Lordship will be already aware that only two days had elapsed after my arrival in the Colony, when the Premier waited on me and tendered the advice my refusal to accept of which has given rise to this Despatch.

When I asked for delay that I might make myself acquainted with the subject, Mr. Ballance explained that to enable his supporters to settle down to their work in Parliament it was absolutely necessary that this question should be settled and the appointments made before Parliament met, which event occurred on the 23rd of June.

Whatever may be your Lordship's opinion of the course I have pursued, you will not fail to observe that my position was one of considerable difficulty; the same advice that was tendered to me had been offered to my predecessor, who, with his three years' experience of the Colony, had not been able to accept it: his secret memorandum on the subject lay before me. I had not had time to examine the matter for myself. I was confronted with a reason for immediate decision, as to the value of which I had not had time to decide; the difference between the number declined by Ministers and the number they would accept was so small that I could not think the reasons given were sufficient to account for their action, and they appeared to be so incommensurate with the gravity of the step they took of creating a difference with the Governor, that I felt convinced that much more cogent reasons should be given than I had yet heard before I would be justified in accepting the advice tendered by Ministers.

For any further information on the subject I would refer your Lordship to the communications which have passed between myself and the Ministers dated the 27th July, the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th August, and also to the other papers which are mentioned in the accompanying schedule.

Before closing this Despatch I would beg to remark that this unfortunate difference between myself and the Ministers could not have occurred were the appointments to the Legislative Council made on a fixed principle.

If the Act for amending the mode of appointing Legislative Councillors were further amended in the following direction, the system would, except in an emergency, be self-adjusting.

I would enact that the strength of the Council should bear a fixed proportion to that of the House of Representatives; that it should be increased or decreased *pari passu* with the other Chamber, as occasion may require; that vacancies be filled up within three months of their occurrence by the Governor on the advice of Ministers; that a clause be inserted giving the Governor the power to appoint, on the advice of Ministers on an *emergency*, such a number of new Councillors as would bring the Council into harmony with the country; some such enactment as this would effectually prevent any future differences.

Since this paragraph was written I have ascertained that in the year 1887 the late Sir Frederick Whittaker obtained a Committee of the Legislative Council to consider and report as to the best plan of reducing the numbers of the Council to one-half of the number of the Members of the House. He had previously moved to that effect, and also that the same proportion should there after be maintained.

The Committee reported in favour of the proposal, but no further action was taken.

From this it is clear that the Council in 1887 affirmed the general principles which I have ventured to suggest

If there is anything in the manner in which I have brought this question under your Lordship's notice not entirely consonant with the usual practice I beg you will attribute it to the unusual circumstances in which I have been placed, so soon after my arrival in the Colony.

I now leave the matter in your Lordship's hands, in the most perfect confidence that you will do me the justice to believe that I have been actuated solely by a desire to do what is best for the interests of the great and important Colony in which it is my privilege and pride to have been placed.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Glasgow*.

The Right Hon.

The Lord Knutsford, &c, &c, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

## Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

MINISTERS respectfully desire, through his Excellency, to direct the attention of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to a difference between his Excellency the Governor and his Ministers, on a question which Ministers think involves the status of a self-governing Colony of the Empire.

The facts are briefly as follows :—Immediately after the last general election the then Governor, Lord Onslow, appointed upon advice, seven members to the Legislative Council. The Government of Sir Henry Atkinson was, as the result of the election at the time, in a minority, and resigned office upon the day of the meeting of Parliament. Mr. Ballance was sent for to form an Administration and his Government was supported by a large majority of the House of Representatives. A short session was held, and the General Assembly was prorogued to enable the Government to bring down their policy in another session. In that session their principal measures were carried by large majorities in the House, but some of the vital points of policy in these measures were defeated by still larger majorities in the Legislative Council, the position of the Government in the second Chamber on the question being represented by adverse votes of 18 to 5.

In the majority were included six out of the seven members (the seventh being the Speaker) appointed on the advice, at the time, of a defeated Ministry. During the recess, and shortly before Lord Onslow's departure from the Colony, Mr. Ballance advised his Excellency to appoint twelve members, as the least number thought necessary to allow the Government to be fairly represented in the second Chamber, and to enable the legislative and other functions which constitutionally pertain to this branch of the Legislature to be adequately performed.

Between the time of Mr. Ballance's Government being formed and when advice was tendered to Lord Onslow there had been six deaths, one vacation through absence, and leaves of absence extending over the next ensuing session, while it was notorious that several Members were, through old age, extremely unlikely to attend the next meeting of Parliament. Notwithstanding these facts, Lord Onslow refused to appoint a greater number of Councillors than eight, which number Ministers refused to accept. Lord Onslow left a confidential memorandum

See page 23

(which he was good enough to submit to Mr. Ballance for perusal) for his successor in which was contained an extract from a Wellington Opposition newspaper extremely hostile to the Government, containing reasons for not accepting the advice of Ministers. The responsibility was transferred from Lord Onslow to his successor, Lord Glasgow.

Between the departure of Lord Onslow and the arrival of Lord Glasgow the strength of the Council was still further diminished by one death. Upon the arrival of Lord Glasgow Mr. Ballance tendered his Excellency the same advice as he had given Lord Onslow, namely, to call 12 new members to the Council. His Excellency declined to accept the advice, but offered to appoint eight, with an additional member when the written resignation, telegraphed by the Agent-General, of the Honourable Randall Johnson arrived in the Colony. Ministers declined to accept a less number than they advised. Since then a Member of the Council, the Speaker, Sir Hurry Atkinson, has died, while another has resigned. In this position the question remains.

Ministers would point out that the Parliament is in session, and they are answerable to the House of Representatives for the advice tendered to his Excellency. It has been alleged that they ought to have resigned when their advice was declined, but they relied on the constitutional practice as expressed in "Todd's Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies, 1880," p. 590, which is as follows: "They would be responsible for the advice they gave, but" could not strictly be held accountable for their advice not having prevailed; "for, if it be the right and duty of the Governor to act in any case contrary "to the advice of his Ministers, they cannot be held responsible for his action, "and should not feel themselves justified in retiring from the administration of "public affairs."

"Ministers are of opinion that the responsibility of appointments to the Council should have rested with the responsible advisers of his Excellency, and that the refusal to accept their advice is in derogation of the rights and privileges of a self-governing Colony, In this case his Excellency is placed in the position of acting without advice, unless it be the advice of persons who are not responsible, and withdraws from those responsible the confidence which the Constitution requires him to repose in them, upon the inadequate ground that, nine are preferable to 12 additions to the Council.

It is further to be observed that while the advice of a Government that had just been defeated at a general election was accepted, the advice of a Ministry enjoying the confidence of a large majority of the representatives of the people is declined. Ministers, in fact, are impelled to the conclusion that the way in which their advice has been treated is more in harmony with the methods of a Crown Colony than with the practice followed in a great self-governing Colony which has long enjoyed the advantages of a free Constitution and a wide autonomy within the limits of the Empire.

(signed) J. Ballance.  
Premier's Office, Wellington,

5 August 1892.

## **SCHEDULE of Enclosures to Despatch of 8th August 1892 from the Earl of *Glasgow*, Governor of New Zealand, to the Right Honourable The Lord *Kmfsford*. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

1. A compilation of Acts and Instruments relating to the Constitution and Government of New Zealand.  
\* Not printed.
2. An Act of the General Assembly of the Colony of New Zealand, entitled an Act to alter the mode of appointments to the Legislative Council.
3. Secret memorandum left behind him in Government House, Wellington by the late Governor, the Earl of Onslow, accompanied by:—
  - List of the several Premiers to whom present Councillors owe their seats.
  - Memorandum showing the manner in which the Councillors appointed at Sir H. A. Atkinson's instance exercised their votes on Government Bills.

- Papers laid on the Table of the House in New South Wales with reference to appointments to the Legislative Council.  
Printed as an Appendix. p. 69.
  - List of Government measures, or measures supported by the Government, and rejected in the Upper House, 1891.
  - Article from "Evening Post" with alterations expressing the view which Lord Onslow took in public of the duties of the Governor with respect to appointments to the Legislative Council.
  - Remarks of the Premier on this Memorandum of Lord Onslow.
4. Excerpt from "Hansard" on the 24th June, question asked by the Leader of the Opposition, and the Premiers reply.
  5. Return showing the strength of the Legislative Council for the last fifteen years.
  6. Return to the House of Representatives, dated 30th June 1892, showing the names of the present Members of the Legislative Council, the dates of their appointments, and the names of the Premiers in office, with notes thereto by the Governor.
  7. Memorandum from the Governor to the Premier, dated 27th July 1892.
  8. Memorandum from the Premier to the Governor, dated 2nd August 1892
  9. Memorandum from the Governor to the Premier, dated 4th August 1892
  10. Memorandum from the Premier to the Governor, dated 5th August 1892.
  11. Memorandum from the Governor to the Premier, dated 8th August 1892.
  12. Memorandum from the Premier to the Governor, dated 9th August 1892.

## Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

1891. ANALYSIS. No. 25.

### Title.

- Short Title.
- Appointment of Members.
- Members to hold office for seven years only. Saving as to existing Members.
- Vacancies.
- Questions as to Vacancies to be decided by Council. Appeal.
- Quorum. Decision of Questions. Casting-vote.
- Election of Speaker.
- Clerk of Council to be Clerk of Parliaments.
- Definition of "public defaulter."
- Repeal. Saving of Appointments, &c.
- When Act to come into force.
- Privileges granted to retiring Members.

AN ACT to alter the Mode of making Appointments of Members of the Title. Legislative Council of New Zealand, and to regulate Vacancies therein.

17 September 1891.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of New Zealand in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:-

1. The Short Title of this Act is "The Legislative Council Act 1891."

Short Titk

2. The Governor may from time to time, in Her Majesty's name, by an Appointment of Members.

instrument or instruments under the Public Seal of the Colony, summon to the Legislative Council of New Zealand (hereinafter called the "Council") such persons as he shall think fit, and every person so summoned shall thereby become a Member thereof: Provided that no person shall be so summoned:

- Who shall not be of the full age of 21 years, and either a natural-born subject of Her Majesty, or a subject of Her Majesty naturalised by or under any Act of the Imperial Parliament or by or under an Act of the

General Assembly of New Zealand; or

- Who at any time theretofore has been bankrupt and has not received his discharge, or who has been attainted or convicted of any treason, felony, or infamous offence within any part of Her Majesty's dominions, or as a public defaulter within the Colony, unless he has received a free pardon, or has undergone the sentence or punishment to which he was adjudged for such offence.

3. From and after the passing of this Act, every person who shall be

Members to hold office for seven years only.

appointed Member of the Council shall hold his seat therein for seven years, to be reckoned from the date of the instrument of his appointment, and no longer: but every such person may from time to time be reappointed.

Nothing in this Section contained shall apply to any Member of the Council

Saving as to existing Members.

who was appointed thereto before the passing of this Act.

4. The seat of any Member of the Council, whether appointed thereto before Vacancies.

the time of the passing of this Act, or subsequently thereto, shall *ipso facto* be vacated:—

- If he takes any oath or makes any declaration or acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience, or adherence to any foreign Prince or Power; or
- If he does, or concurs in, or adopts any act whereby he may become a subject or citizen of any foreign State or Power, or is entitled to the rights, privileges, or immunities of a subject of any foreign State or Power; or
- If he is a bankrupt, or compounds with his creditors under any Act for the time being in force; or
- If he is a public defaulter, or is attainted of treason, or is convicted of felony or any infamous crime; or
- If he resigns his seat by writing under his hand addressed to and accepted by the Governor; or
- If for more than one whole Session of the General Assembly he fails, without permission of the Governor notified to the Council, to give his attendance in the Council.

Questions as to vacancies to be decided by Council.

5. Any question which shall arise within the Council as to any vacancy in the Council, or as to the right of any person to sit or vote therein, shall be referred by the Governor to the Council, which shall hear and determine the same :

Appeal.

Provided always that either the person respecting whose seat such question shall have arisen, or Her Majesty's Attorney-General for New Zealand on Her Majesty's behalf, may appeal from the determination of the said Council to Her Majesty; and the judgment of Her Majesty, given with the advice of Her Privy Council thereon, shall be final and conclusive to all intents and purposes.

Quorum.

6. The number of Members of the Council necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers shall be regulated from time to time by Standing Orders of the Council.

Decision of questions,

All questions which shall arise in the Council shall be decided by a majority of votes of the Members present, other than the Speaker, and when the votes

Casting-vote,

shall be equal the Speaker shall have the casting-vote.

Election of Speaker.

7. Whenever, after the passing of this Act, the office of Speaker of the Legislative Council becomes vacant the said Council shall have the power and authority to elect one of its Members to fill the vacancy; and the Speaker so elected shall remain in office for five years, unless his seat as a Member of the Council becomes sooner vacant by resignation or effluxion of time or otherwise.

Clerk of Council to be Clerk of Parliaments.

8. The Clerk of the Legislative Council for the time being, so long as he shall hold such office, shall hold the office of Clerk of the Parliaments.

Definition of "public defaulter."

9. A "public defaulter" in this Act means any person who is convicted of wrongfully expending, using, or taking any moneys the property of Her Majesty, or of any local authority, or of any corporation represented by a local authority.

Repeal.

10. Sections 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39 of the Constitution Act, "The Legislative Council Quorum Act 1865," and "The Clerk of Parliaments Act 1872," are hereby respectively repealed. Section 34 of the

Constitution Act shall not apply to any future appointments to the Council.

Saving of appointments, &c.

Notwithstanding such repeal, all existing appointments of Speakers, Members, or officers respectively in the said Council, and all existing Standing Orders of the said Council, shall continue in force as if this Act had not been passed.

When Act to come into force.

11. On this Act coming into operation the Imperial Act passed in the 31st and 32nd years of the reign of Her Majesty, chapter 57, shall cease to have any further operation.

Privileges granted to retiring Members.

12. Any Member of the Legislative Council at the time of this Act becoming law, and who shall voluntarily resign such position, shall thereafter be entitled to a free railway pass over the New Zealand railways so long as such railways remain the property of the Colony, and shall also have access to the Parliamentary Library for the remainder of his life.

## Enclosure 3 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM from Lord *Onslow* to Lord *Glasgow*, 16th February 1892.

#### MEMORANDUM for His Excellency the Earl of *Glasgow*.

ON the 13th of February the Honourable the Premier expressed the desire of his Cabinet to submit to me the names of eighteen gentlemen for seats in the Legislative Council.

The first question which arose in my mind was how far I ought, seeing that your Excellency's appointment as my successor had been announced, to undertake responsibility in the matter.

Upon reflection, however, I satisfied myself that having closely followed Mr. Ballance's recent utterances on the subject and the debates in Parliament on similar appointments last year (for which some blame was cast both on my advisers and myself), I had no right to shrink from doing any action upon such advice of my Ministers as I thought they were constitutionally entitled to give.

I do not think it necessary to enter at length upon the circumstances attendant on the creation of the Speaker and six Councillors last year; the reasons which guided me in that action are fully set forth in the public Despatches printed and laid before Parliament, as well as in my Despatches of the 24th of January and 3rd of February 1891.

I may add, however, that the position of parties was remarkably similar to that which occurred in New South Wales subsequently.

There, instead of enrolling themselves under the banner of one party, the Labour Members announced that their support would be given to either party "in return for concessions," and Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier, whom it was loudly proclaimed had been "beaten at the polls," continued in power with the help of Labour Members for a short time.

There was nothing to prevent a similar thing having taken place here in respect to Sir Henry Atkinson's administration, had it not been for his own ill-health.

Mr. Ballance claims that he is entitled to make seven appointments to counterbalance these, and six more at least to take the place of deaths which have occurred since (one of the deaths has been of a newly-appointed Councillor), on the ground that on taking office he might have advised six or seven creations, and then have advised more consequent on deaths.

It is to be borne in mind, however, that the six made by Sir H. Atkinson's advice were the first for three years and subsequent to the deaths of a considerable number of Councillors.

The latter contention would limit Mr. Ballance's requirements to twelve new men.

I made careful enquiry into the names of the Premiers to whose advice the existing Councillors owe their seats, and to their voting last session.

Before the appointment of Sir George Grey as Premier, I am content to assume that as far as existing party distinctions are concerned none can be called of *Literal type*. Since then Sir George Grey, Sir Julius Vogel, and Sir Robert Stout have advised the appointment of fifteen out of the thirty-nine.

Mr. Ballance contends that Sir Julius Vogel was not a Liberal Premier, and that his influence on the Stout-Vogel coalition Government was so great that one-half of the appointments made on their advice were of

the political complexion of Sir Julius Vogel and not that of Sir Robert Stout.

Whether the existence of any such understanding can be taken officially into account is a matter for your Excellency's consideration.

It became apparent then to my mind that it would not be easy to justify to the Secretary of State my action, were I to consent to add such a number of Councillors to the fifteen created by Liberal Governments as could give them a majority over the existing majority of Councillors appointed by other Governments—15 + 12 would make 27—the remaining Councillors would number but 24.

I should have been accused of lending myself to a scheme which might alter the complexion of the Upper House in order to enable the Ministry of the day to carry measures upon which the voice of the country had not been directly heard, and without the direct authority of the electors given to the proposal to bring the Upper House into harmony with the Lower.

Under those circumstances I declined to receive advice such as was proposed, and desired that it might be deferred until your Excellency's arrival, inasmuch as my stay in the Colony would not enable me to see the end of consequences which a persistent refusal to accept the advice of my Ministers would entail.

Your Excellency will find that of the principal measures introduced by or supported by the Government last session their financial Bills were carried in the Council. The Factories Act and a few others passed with amendment, while the Land Bill and the Electoral Bill were lost in conference with the other House. The I and for Settlement Bill, Workmen Lieu, and Counties Bill, were rejected by majorities less than would have been counterbalanced by eight more appointments, the maximum to which I saw my way to accede, while the Shop Hours Bill and the Payment of Members Bill were rejected by very large majorities, not so great, however, as to remain unaffected if additions to the extent of Mr. Ballance's original proposal (18) were to be made.

(signed) *Onslow*.

16 February 1892

LIST of the several Premiers, to whom the present Legislative Councillors owe their seats.  
Premier in office at date of appointments.

- Stafford.
- Domett.
- Weld.
- Fox.
- Vogel.
- Atkinson.
- Hall.
- Whitaker.
- Stout.

MEMORANDUM by the Clerk to the Legislative Council showing how the Legislative Councillors appointed in 1891 exercise their Votes on Measures introduced by the Government.

**"Evening Post," Monday, 15 February 1892.**

**THE GOVERNOR'S LESSON.**

**[Alterations and comments of Lord Onslow shown in *Italics*.]**

Nothing could have been more apt, better-timed, or more suggestively true than his Excellency Lord Onslow's remarks on Friday night respecting the position and functions of an Upper Chamber. He very clearly defined the legal and nominal prerogative of such a Chamber as limited by constitutional usage. His words were pregnant with meaning in the position of affairs in this colony at the present time, although they were, of course, quite of a general character. It would have been improper for him to have pointed the application of the principles he laid down, but it is easy for the most careless observer to read between the lines. Paraphrased and simplified, his Excellency's remarks amount to this : that the constitutional function of a second Chamber is not to set up its own will in stubborn and immovable opposition to the will of the people, but to interpose such a cheque upon hasty legislation as shall give the people time to consider the subject fully, and to form and express a mature and decided opinion upon the questions at issue. For an Upper House to attempt to do more than this would, as Lord Onslow points out, be to admit that the common sense upon which Englishmen pride themselves no longer guided its action, and the inevitable result would be an irresistible movement for the

abolition of such a Chamber. The House of Lords, the most time-honoured and Conservative of Upper Chambers, has never yet so set itself against the fulfilment of the well considered and clearly-expressed popular will. Had it done so it would ere this have belonged to the things of the past. Conservative although its majorities have always been, it has gracefully yielded when unmistakably shown that the matured opinion of the people was in favour of any measure of progress. The various Reform Bills at first unhesitatingly rejected by it have been accepted after direct reference of them to the people, and their receiving emphatic approval at the polling booths. The House of Lords, having made its protest, has ever yielded gracefully when the popular verdict has on appeal gone against it. It has never been necessary to resort to the once-threatened extreme expedient of swamping the House by a creation of Peers. Lord Onslow will himself return to England to take part in another early surrender of the views of the majority of his fellow Peers to those of the people. The House of Lords will undoubtedly reject the first Home Rule for Ireland Bill which the Commons may pass, and Lord Onslow will no doubt vote with the majority. Practically, of course, the question of Home Rule will be the issue on which the impending general election at home will depend, and if Mr. Gladstone returns to power a Home Rule Bill will certainly be passed by the House of Commons. But no matter what the majority there may be, the Bill will as certainly be rejected by the Lords. Then it will be Mr. Gladstone's duty to take his Bill to the constituencies, and ask them to express a direct opinion upon it. If such an appeal is made and answered by an emphatic expression of public approval, then the House of Lords will have fulfilled its constitutional duty, and Lord Onslow and his friends will, no doubt, with characteristic common sense, accept and yield to the will of the people. There will be no howl raised at home at the action of the Lords in refusing to accept the opinion expressed in the general election on the general question, and insisting on a specific reference of the Bill to the constituencies. It will be within its rights in thus delaying definite action, and no one will complain of such a course being adopted. So in like manner, and this, we take it, was the lesson intended to be conveyed in Lord Onslow's speech, has the Legislative Council been quite within its rights in refusing to pass all the policy measures of the present Government simply because they have been formulated by a Ministry chosen from the majority returned on general principles at the last general election. [The Council has a clear constitutional right to insist that the precise measures shall be specifically referred to the verdict of the constituencies] [*not every measure but every great fundamental change*]. Then if the people declare that they want these measures passed it will be the duty of the Council to bow to that opinion, however unwise they deem it. To oppose it further would be unconstitutional obstruction. The Government policy measures which the Council rejected last Session, and on which a most improper clamour against that Chamber has been raised, were the Payment of Members Bill, in respect to the largely-increased payment proposed; the Land Bill, so far as the extinguishment of the freehold tenure is concerned; and the [re-purchase of private lands for settlement purposes] [*rejected by small majority*]. The Council is perfectly right in insisting that the deliberate sense of the country shall be taken on these proposals. Certainly they were not prominently before the country at the general election. The proper course for the Government to adopt is to appeal from the Council to the country on these measures [*or on the question of bringing the Upper House into harmony with the Lower*], instead of attempting to swamp the Council by the creation of new members without the country being consulted, or the using of wild threats with a view to coercing the Council into abandoning its constitutional position. Lord Onslow has in the most admirable manner pointed out to his Advisers the constitutional course which they should follow. If they pursue it, they will, we are convinced, find that the Council will accept the interpretation of its functions as laid down by the Governor, and act constitutionally with the common sense credited to it by his Excellency.

## **MEMORANDUM from the Premier.**

The Premier presents his compliments to his Excellency, and has perused the Memorandum proposed to be left for Lord Glasgow. The Premier does not at present see the necessity of going into the question at length. The Government think that their position in the Council is such that the legislation demanded by the country cannot be given effect to, and that, in order to carry out the will of the people, as represented at the ballot-box, at least twelve new Councillors ought to be created. The Premier does not acknowledge the accuracy of the article contained in the "Evening Post," a journal personally and malignantly hostile to the Government.

(signed) *J. Ballance.*

Premier's Office,

16 February 1892.

## **His Excellency the Earl of Glasgow:**

THE enclosed papers were shown to the Premier that he may know exactly what has taken place between Lord Onslow and his successor, but Lord Onslow judges that he is within his rights in leaving any memorandum he may think it right to leave for the information of his successor.

The article in the "Evening Post" only professes to interpret Lord Onslow's personal views, and Lord Onslow says that they accurately represent them.

The "Post" has also been, up to their article, "personally and malignantly "hostile to Lord Onslow," and it is not, therefore, for any reason that the article is appended except that it expresses in an easily-read form exactly that which Lord Onslow feels.

(Initialed) O.

16th February 1892.

## **Enclosure 4 in No. 9.**

### **EXCERPT from "Hansard," 24th June 1892; Legislative Council.**

Mr. Rolleston asked the Premier if the rumour which is current to the effect that Ministers have on two occasions during the recess tendered important advice to the Crown affecting the present constitution of the Upper House, and that the advice has not been accepted, is correct; and if so, will he state, for the information of this House, the particulars of the course which Ministers have taken, and what they propose to do under the circumstances?

Mr. Ballance said that to the first part of the question he had to reply that the rumour was correct, that during the recess the Governor had been advised to make such addition to the strength of the Legislative Council as would enable it more effectively to discharge its functions, and to perform them more in harmony with the opinion of the country, and that that advice had not been accepted.

In answer to the second part of the question he had to say that the Government had conveyed to his Excellency the advice that less than the addition of twelve members would not place the House in a state of efficiency. The course which Ministers might pursue would depend upon the course of legislation.

## **Enclosure 5 in No. 9.**

Number of Members in the Legislative Council who have appeared on the Roll each year for the last 15 years :—

## **Enclosure 6 in No. 9.**

### **1892.—NEW ZEALAND.**

### **PRESENT Members of the Legislative Council (Return showing Names of).**

Return to an Order of the House of Representatives dated the 30th day of June 1892. —*Ordered*—"That a Return be laid before this House showing the names of the present Members of the Legislative Council, the

dates of their several appointments, and the names of the Premiers in office at the time such appointments were made."—(Hon. Sir J. Hail.)

Name of Member. Date of Appointment. Premier in Office.

Glasgow.

## Enclosure 7 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM for Ministers.

HIS Excellency has considered the draft Memorandum\* left, with him yesterday

*See* Enclosure 1.

by the Premier, and he desires to make a few remarks upon it for the consideration of Ministers.

He observes that the Memorandum, in quoting page 590 of Todd's "Parliamentary Government, in the British Colonies, 1880," recognises that the difference between himself and Ministers is "a question of an Imperial "nature, in which," in a sense, "the general policy of the Empire is involved," and in which it is the duty of a Governor to exercise the power vested in him, "in his capacity as an Imperial officer, without limitation or restraint."

That this is so is evident, because it is only under such circumstances that, according to the latter part of the same paragraph, Ministers can claim, that while they are responsible to Parliament for the advice they have given they cannot be strictly held accountable for their advice not having prevailed.

This being so, his Excellency is at a loss to understand how Ministers can be of opinion "that the responsibility of appointments to the Council should have "vested with the responsible advisers of his Excellency, and that the refusal to "accept their advice is in derogation of the rights and privileges of a self" governing Colony; "and he desires to point out that no self-governing Colony possesses the right they claim.

With regard to the statement that in offering a smaller number of appointments than Ministers asked for, he withdrew "from those responsible the "confidence which the Constitution required him to repose in them," upon the inadequate ground that nine [9] are preferable to twelve [12] additions to the Council; in the first place he replies that he feels himself bound to resist their advice upon the ground that to grant the numbers Ministers asked for would be an unconstitutional interference with the liberties of the Legislative Council.

In the second place, considering that his Excellency is personally responsible to the Crown for the manner in which he exercises the prerogative right of making appointments to the Council, he considers that the difference between nine [9] and twelve [12] appointments is an inadequate reason for creating a question between his Excellency and Ministers.

(Initialed) G.

Government House, Wellington,

27 July 1892.

## Enclosure 8 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM for His Excellency.

IN reply to his Excellency's Memorandum of the 27th ultimo, the Premier respectfully would observe that Ministers do not admit that the case is one in which "it is the duty of a Governor to exercise the power vested in him in "his capacity as an imperial officer, without limitation or restraint." If this were so the Governor might make appointments to the Council without the advice of Ministers.

The reference of Ministers in the Memo, to the authority quoted (Todd) was merely a reply to the assumption of those who would contend that, while the appointment of Councillors was different from the

ordinary exercise of the Governor's powers, Ministers were bound to resign if their advice was not taken.

That this limitation was placed on the quotation is evident from the fact that Ministers immediately proceeded to state their own opinion with respect to Ministerial responsibility.

The same authority goes on to say (Todd, page 590): "But according to" constitutional analogy, no right should be claimed by the Governor, except "in cases wherein, under the Royal Instructions, he is bound as an Imperial "officer to act independently of his Ministers." Ministers do not find that in respect to the question under consideration such independence is expressed or implied in the Royal Instructions. They believe the powers referred to in the passage quoted are of a different character from those exercisable in the appointment of Members to the Legislative Council.

His Excellency states that "he feels himself bound to resist their advice" upon the ground that to grant the number Ministers asked for would be an "unconstitutional interference with the liberties of the Legislative Council."

This Ministers submit, is the whole question at issue. They have given reasons why the appointment of twelve Members would be constitutional and proper, and they respectfully remark that his Excellency has stated no reason why nine would be constitutional and twelve unconstitutional, or upon what grounds it would be "an unconstitutional interference with the liberties of "the Legislative Council."

In reference to the last paragraph of his Excellency's Memorandum, Ministers do not agree that the Governor is "personally responsible to the Crown for the" manner in which he exercises the prerogative right of making appointments to "the Council" in any other sense than the exercise of responsibility upon the advice of his Responsible Advisers.

They would further observe that the appointment of Councillors is not a "prerogative right," but a statutory act under "the Legislative Council Act," 1891" (N.Z.).

His Excellency's attention is respectfully directed to Despatch of 11th April 1891 from Lord Knutford to Lord Onslow, in which the Secretary of State remarks: "With regard to the appointments to the Legislative Council "recommended by the late Government, I am of opinion that, in accepting the "advice tendered to you by your Lordship's responsible Ministers under the "circumstances described in your Despatches, you acted strictly in accordance "with the Constitution of the Colony; but I do not desire to be understood to "offer any opinion upon the action of your Ministers in tendering that advice." The terms of this Despatch, Ministers are of opinion, show that the appointment of Councillors is not "a personal act "on the part of the Governor in the sense referred to by Todd in the passage cited by his Excellency.

Ministers agree with his Excellency that the difference between nine and twelve appointments is "an inadequate reason for creating a question between "his Excellency and Ministers," but they also think that this argument applies also to the effect on the "liberties of the Legislative Council" of the three appointments his Excellency has been unwilling to make. If these form an inadequate reason for creating a question between his Excellency and Ministers, they are as inadequate to deserve the name of "an unconstitutional interference "with the liberties of the Legislative Council."

Ministers thought, and were therefore bound to advise, that less than 12 would not be sufficient to enable the functions of the Council to be properly discharged. They also think their advice was not unreasonable or unconstitutional.

(signed) *J. Ballance*,

Premier's Office, Wellington,

2 August 1892.

## **Enclosure 9 in No. 9.**

### **MEMORANDUM FOR THE PREMIER.**

IN reply to the Premier's Memorandum of the 2nd August, the Governor notes that Ministers do not admit that the case is one in which it is the duty of a Governor "to exercise the power vested in him as an Imperial officer without "limitation or restraint;" in that he agrees with Ministers, and as the inference (which the Governor still thinks he was justified in drawing, from the reasons given by Ministers for not resigning) turns

out to have rested on a misconception, the argument which he based on it falls to the ground, and it only remains for him to notice one or two points.

The Premier directs attention to the use the Governor made of the words "prerogative right." The sentence should have run thus," considering that the "Governor is personally responsible to the Crown for the manner in which he "exercises the prerogative right in discriminating as to the number of appointments which ought to be made to the Council, he considers, &c., &c."

With regard to the statement that in the opinion of Ministers the appointment of Councillors is not a "personal act" on the part of the Governor, the Governor replies that the appointment of Councillors is, in his opinion, a matter in which he is not bound to follow the advice of his Ministers, except on the occasion of great emergency, and that precedents in the history of the Mother Country exist, sufficient to show what are to be considered such occasions; in ordinary circumstances the Governor would naturally accept Ministers' advice as to appointments, but occasions may arise when the Governor is of opinion that the appointments proposed may interfere with the balance of parties in the Upper House; in such a case it is essential in the interests of the Colony that appointments should only be made to such an extent as shall be safe.

In a Despatch written by Sir H. Robinson to Lord Kimberley on 27th August 1872, will be found the following :—" It will be seen that in every instance "hen "questions have arisen as to the appointment of additional members of-Council, "the Governor has acted on his own responsibility without previous reference to "the Secretary of State, and that when the course adopted has been reported "home, the Secretary of State has simply express, d his opinion on the propriety "or otherwise of the previous proceeding-."

The Governor add ices this extract as a proof that he is by no means the first Governor who has acted on his own responsibility on similar questions in Colonies possessing Responsible Government.

In a Despatch written by Lord Carnarvon to Lord Norman by in 1874, occurs the following :—"In a Colony having a Constitution such as Queensland, the "tendency to introduce a large addition to the number of the Legislative Council "for the purpose of giving effect to a particular course of policy, will from time to "time make itself felt. But if the balance of Constitutional power is not to be "more than a mere theory, it is clear that such a tendency cannot be encouraged "to take its full course. \* \* \* It is prudent to avoid such an increase in the "number of Legislative Council, as may give a temporary advantage to one party, "thereby altering the Constitutional character and functions of the Legislative "Body, weakening its general influence, and possibly, if not provoking political "reprisals at some future day, at least encouraging a practice, which the more it "is indulged, the less easy will it be to restrain."

The Governor claims that the arguments used by Lord Carnarvon, though used under slightly different circumstances, meet the present case, in so far as that what Ministers ask would give them the right Lord Carnarvon deprecates.

In the Memorandum which Ministers propose should be sent to the Secretary of State, they aver that the responsibility of making appointments should have vested with the Responsible Advisers of the Governor; if this is conceded, then Ministers may give way to the tendency deprecated by Lord Carnarvon without check or hindrance; indeed nothing but their own moderation could hinder a strong Ministry, on entering office, from taking steps to bring the Upper House into harmony with the Lower, a step which the Governor need not remark can only be done constitutionally on an occasion of great emergency.

In reply to Ministers' remark that the Governor has given no reason for thinking that it would be unconstitutional to grant twelve Members, and constitutional to grant nine, his reason was based on the best information he was able to give on his arrival in the Colony, and it is supported by the Return issued on the 13th July showing the names of present Members of Legislative Council, from which he finds that there are in the Council, excluding the Speaker, eighteen Councillors appointed by Conservative Governments, and sixteen appointed by Liberal Governments. But he understands that four of these appointed by Sir Robert Stout were really the appointments of coalition Members of his Ministry, and should therefore be counted as Conservatives. Taking four Members from the Liberals and giving them to the Conservatives brings on the numbers as twelve Government supporters against twenty-two Opposition Members, or a difference of ten. The Governor, therefore, concludes that nine is the largest number he can offer.

The Governor is aware that the Premier does not agree that this is a proper measure of the strength of Parties, and he admits that it is not easy to come to a conclusion in a non-representative House, but the Governor believes that when new policy of an advanced kind is introduced in such a Chamber, Members vote according to their consciences and not on Party lines, and that when the crisis is over, Members generally will return to their Party allegiance.

With regard to Ministers' reasons for preferring twelve, the Governor desires to point out that besides those given in the draft Memorandum addressed to the Secretary of State, which practically meant efficiency, the Premier, in his reply to the Leader of the Opposition on the 24th June, gave a reason of a different nature, the gist of which was, that the Governor had been advised to grant such appointments as would enable the Chamber

more efficiently to discharge its functions, and to perform those functions more in harmony with the feelings of the country.

The latter phrase confirms the Governor in the opinion that he should not grant more than the number he has offered, and having reconsidered the whole question, he finds that he cannot recede from the position he has taken up, and he will be prepared to forward Ministers' Memorandum to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and he begs that he may have it not later than Friday evening (5th instant).

(signed) *Glasgow*.

4 August 1892.

## Enclosure 10 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM for His Excellency.

MINISTERS have read his Excellency's Memo, of the 4th inst., and are glad to recognise that his Excellency does not insist on the position of "an Imperial "officer, without limitation or restraint; "that his Excellency is bound to accept the advice of his Ministers "on the occasion of a great emergency," and that "in ordinary circumstances the Governor would naturally accept Ministers' "advice as to appointments," but they cannot admit that his Excellency has been well informed that the proposed appointments would "interfere with the "balanc of Parties."

In reply to the remark of Ministers that no reason had been given that it would be unconstitutional to grant twelve members and constitutional to grant nine, his Excellency replies that "his reason was based on the best information "he was able to get on his arrival in the Colony, and it is supported by the "Returissued on the 13th July, showing the names of the present Members of "the Leislative Council." Ministers would observe that "the best information" referred o was never submitted to them in order that its character or source might [*unclear*: hve] been examined by responsible Ministers, so that they might have had the opportunity of advising his Excellency upon it, and they desire to express heir astonishment and regret that a course should have been taken which tods to discredit the Government.

That he information referred to is supported by the Return is not shown. His Excellency has apparently made a mistake in respect to the Members appointe by Conservative and Liberal Governments. In the Memo, of Minister of the 2nd August they gave the numbers as 26 and 9, whereas his Excellency states the numbers as 22 Opposition Members and 12 Government supportes. His Excellency believes that "when the crisis is over Members "generaly will return to their Party allegiance."

Minisers do not know of any "crisis," and think that there is as little like lihod of Members returning to their Party allegiance as there is of a Whig who has become Tory after being made a Peer returning to his allegiance to Mr. Cadstone. The precedents are so few for such a reversion in politics that the; prove the rule that once Members leave the Liberal fold they leave for good. The "crisis" in this instance is the well-developed policy of the Liberal Party in the country, which an overwhelming majority of Tory gentlemen in the Legislative Council have found themselves in a position to mutilate and destroy.

Nor do Ministers understand why the phrase used by the Premier "to" perform those functions more in harmony with the freedom of the country" should confirm the Governor in the opinion that he should not grant more than the number he has offered Ministers respectfully submit that the Governor, being neutral in politics, is in no way permitted by the spirit of the Constitution to do anything that will prevent the feeling of the country from being expressed in legislation. It would indeed be a dangerous doctrine, keeping in view the friendly relations that should exist between the Colony and the Mother country, that the representative of Her Majesty should consider it to be his duty to thwart, the people of the Colony in giving expression to their feelings and opinions.

Ministers do not consider the authorities, quoted in his last Memo, by his Excellency, are applicable in the present case, and they need not be more particularly noticed.

Ministers thank his Excellency for the intimation that he will forward their Memorandum to the Secretary of State, and they respectfully request that the whole of the Memoranda on the subject may be forwarded at the same time

Premier's Office, Wellington,

(signed) *J. Ballance*.

5 August 1892.

## Enclosure 11 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM for the Premier.

THE Governor, in reply to Ministers' Memorandum of the 5th inst., does not propose to make any comment upon it, except in the first place to explain that "the best information he was able to obtain" was procured solely from public documents and the Memorandum left by Lord Onslow.

In the second place, with regard to the passage where Ministers submit "that the Governor being neutral in politics, is in no way permitted by the "spirit of the Constitution to do anything which will prevent the feelings of \*' the country from being expressed by legislation," he wishes it to be distinctly understood that the sentence quoted accurately expresses the principle which has actuated him in the course he has adopted. The country should not in any way be prevented from expressing its feeling as to legislation.

The fact is, that the idea underlying the whole case of Ministers is that whatever measures an Administration brings forward are certain to express the feeling of the country.

The Governor directly traverses that assumption, and points out that the suspensory powers conferred by the Constitution on the Second Chamber is a constitutional check intended to give power to the Electorate, through the intervention of the Legislative Council at any time to step in and control legislation.

This plan ensures greater freedom to the Electorate than that favoured by Ministers.

The Governor sees no reason for continuing the correspondence, and he intends to send the series of communications between Ministers and himself, of which this is the last, along with the reference which he has been asked to send to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

8 August.

(signed) *Glasgow*.

## Enclosure 12 in No. 9.

### MEMORANDUM for His Excellency.

MINISTERS beg to acknowledge the receipt of his Excellency's Memorandum of the 8th inst., and desire to notice one or two matters therein. His Excellency remarks that the "best information he was able to obtain was procured solely from public documents, and the Memorandum left by Lord "Onslow." Ministers reply that no public documents have ever been submitted to them by his Excellency of any kind bearing on the question, and they have had no opportunity of expressing any opinion upon them. The same observation will apply to the Memorandum left by Lord Onslow in so far as it was treated confidentially, and although a Memorandum (probably that referred to) was sent the Premier for his inspection, no copy was kept, and his Excellency has never asked for the opinion or advice of Ministers on this confidential Memorandum. Moreover the circumstances affecting the Council have greatly changed since the departure of Lord Onslow, and his Memorandum could hardly be supposed to express the present condition of affairs.

Ministers take exception to the statement "that the idea underlying the "whole case of Ministers is that whatever measures an Administration bring "forward are certain to express the feeling of the country." It would be more correct to say that measures passed by large majorities of the House of Representatives within eighteen months of its election are sufficient to entitle Ministers to the confidence of his Excellency, and to express in terms not to be misunderstood in a self-governing community that the measures do express the feeling of the country.

Ministers notice that his Excellency points out "that the suspensory powers "conferred by the Constitution on the Second Chamber is a constitutional check "intended to give power to the Electorate through the intervention of the Legislative Council at any time to step in and control legislation," and that "this plan ensures greater freedom to the Electorate than that favoured by "Ministers." Ministers reply that the argument if applied in practice would prove immediately destructive to the Constitution. It means that with the sanction and support of the Governor the Council is at all times to possess the power to impose a penal dissolution on the country; that a Nominee Chamber is to be accepted as a better judge or exponent of the feelings of the country than the representatives of the people; and that a decisive majority in the Second Chamber is to be maintained by the representative of Her Majesty in order to "control legislation." It also means that a majority irresponsible for its acts may harass, by the expense and worry of an election, the representative body, and it suggests the fatal position that the Governor is to be associated with the Council as to the practical application of the doctrine.

If Ministers could believe that this was the true intent and meaning of the Constitution they would despair of its survival beyond the popular recognition of the fact, but they have not so read it, and hope, for the sake of the Constitution, that such a construction may not prove to be accurate.

The construction may be stated (in accordance with actual facts in recent history) to be this. A majority in the Legislative Council should be in harmony with the minority in the House of Representatives when the Liberals are in power, with a penal dissolution suspended over the heads of the Government; but when the Conservatives are in power they should have majorities in both Chambers without the "Constitutional check." If the first plan ensures "greater freedom to the Electorate," it is difficult to describe the constitutional bearings of the second. Yet Ministers have asked for no more than a respectable minority in the Second Chamber. It is against the application of such constitutional doctrines as these that Ministers respectfully enter their protest.

Ministers

Ministers thank his Excellency for the information that the series of correspondence will be sent to the Secretary of State, and request that this Memorandum may be included.

Premier's Office, Wellington,

(signed) *J. Ballance*.

9 August 1892.

—No. 10.—

**The Marquess of Ripon to the Earl of Glasgow.**

**TELEGRAPHIC.**

**[Answered by Nos. 13 and 14].**

24 September 1892.—I HAVE carefully considered your Despatch of 8th August No.9.

, and appreciate difficulties of your position, but I have no hesitation in advising you to accept your Ministers' advice.

It does not appear to be a case of swapping the Legislative Council. The Division lists of that body should be considered rather than politics of Premiers who originally nominated the Members.

I will state fully my reasons by Despatch, but you should at once re-open matter with your Ministers and waive your objections to their proposals.

The Agent General is anxious for information which I cannot withhold after to-morrow, but I am anxious to give you an opportunity of making your own announcement to your Ministers.

— No. 11. —

## The Marquess of *Ripon* to the Earl of *Glasgow*.

[Answered by No. 16].

Downing-street,  
My Lord,

26 September 1892.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 8th August  
No.9.

respecting the question which had arisen between yourself and your Ministers with regard to certain proposed nominations to the Legislative Council of New Zealand.

This question has been referred for my consideration by agreement between you and your Ministers. I have carefully considered it, and in so doing I desire to say that I fully appreciate the difficult position to which you succeeded immediately on your arrival in the Colony, to assume for the first time the duties of a Colonial Governor.

I had, however, no hesitation, in advising you by telegraph on the 24th instant,  
No. 10.

to accept the recommendation of your Lordship's Ministers; and I now proceed to indicate the reason which led me to that conclusion.

The Legislative Council, as I understand, consisted, at the date of your Despatch, of 35 Members, and your Government proposed that to this number an addition should be made of 12, making altogether a Chamber of 47 Members, a number which is not larger than that which has existed in previous years, and the case is therefore distinguishable from those in other Colonies when it was proposed to make so many additions that the Chamber would have exceeded all former limits.

In the House of 35 Members, I gather that your Government could only rely on the consistent support of five. I do not assume that the remaining 30 Members could all be considered as opposed to the policy of your Ministers, but it seems to me that your Government is entitled to hold that it is not adequately represented, either for speaking or voting purposes, in the Upper Chamber, and that if the 12 Members were added as they desire they would only have 17 consistent supporters in a House of 47. In considering this aspect of the question, I am clearly of opinion that the only fair and satisfactory mode of estimating the representation of the present Government in the Legislative Council, and of judging whether their claim to be allowed fuller representation is one to which no constitutional objection can be taken, is to examine the results of the voting in that House on the measures with which the Government of the day is identified.

I cannot, therefore, conclude that the proposed appointments constitute one of those cases to which the term "swamping" has been applied, in which the proposed addition of Members at the instance of the Government for the time being has been so great, in proportion to the balance of parties in the Upper Chamber, as to overthrow that balance altogether.

Your Lordship was willing to appoint nine new Members, and your Government desired that 12 should be appointed. It can hardly be considered that the difference between these limits is so great or important as to require a Governor to assume the very serious responsibility of declining to act on the advice of his Ministers, and possibly of having in consequence to find other advisers. Moreover it must be remembered that these appointments under the Colonial Law of 1891 will be for seven years only, and not for life, as in the case of some other Colonies possessing a nominated Upper House.

I have therefore dealt with the merits of the particular case on which my advice has been sought. But I think it right to add that a question of this kind, though in itself of purely local importance, presents also a constitutional aspect which should be considered on broad principles of general application.

When questions of a constitutional character are involved it is especially, I conceive, the right of the

Governor fully to discuss with his Ministers the desirability of any particular course that may be pressed upon him for his adoption. He should frankly state the objections, if any, which may occur to him, but if, after full discussion, Ministers determine to press upon him the advice which they have already tendered, the Governor should, as a general rule, and when Imperial interests are not affected, accept that advice, bearing in mind that the responsibility rests with the Ministers, who are answerable to the Legislature, and, in the last resort, to the country.

A Governor would, however, be justified in taking another course if he should be satisfied that the policy recommended to him is not only, in his view, erroneous in itself, but such as he has solid grounds for believing, from his *local* knowledge, would not be endorsed by the Legislature or by the Constituencies.

In so extreme a case as this, he must be prepared to accept the grave responsibility of seeking other advisers; and I need hardly add, very strong reason would be necessary to justify so exceptional a course on the part of the Governor.

I have &c.  
(signed) *Ripon*  
The Earl of Glasgow

— No. 12. —

## The Earl of *Glasgow* to the Secretary of State for the Colonies

(Received 27th September 1892.)

My Lord,  
Wellington,

16 August 1892.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the telegram which I received on the 11th inst.  
No. 7.

from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a copy of which is forwarded by this mail to the Colonial Office in the usual manner; also a copy of my telegram

No. 8.  
in reply to above.

I trust that the latter made my estimate of the strength of the Council clear to his Lordship, the late Secretary of State; I regret that he found it necessary to telegraph, because I am obliged to infer that he could not have received any Despatch on the subject from my predecessor.

Your Lordship will be aware that the same advice that I declined to accept was tendered by Ministers to Lord Onslow just before he left New Zealand; and that he left a confidential Memorandum

Enclosure 3 in No. 9.

addressed to his successor, detailing what had happened and giving his reasons.

It was only because I was persuaded that these reasons had been fully laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies that I refrained from going fully into them, although I gave my reasons for their adoption in writing my Despatch of the 22nd June.

No. 6

With regard to the present position of the difference between myself and my Ministers, I have the honour to report that the Premier called on me yesterday and tendered my Ministers' advice that, in response to a question put by Sir George Grey, in the House of Representatives, I should agree to lay before Parliament Ministers' reference to the Secretary of State, as well as all other despatches bearing on the subject.

Although I believe it to be contrary to usual practice to lay before a Local Parliament a reference to the

Secretary of State before the reply is received, yet, considering the peculiar circumstances, that it is the strong desire of Ministers that they should be produced, that Ministers have advised me to agree to this production, and that I could not conceive of any injury that would be done to the public service by doing so, I agreed to accept their advice, and the correspondence will be laid before Parliament to-morrow : I have, however, declined to produce my Despatch of the 22nd June,

No. 6.

although I agreed, in case of Ministers thinking it well to yield this point, to telegraph to you for leave to lay that Despatch also on the table. I also agreed to lay on the table my Despatch of 8th August,

No. 9.

as I thought it only right that my remarks in my Ministers' reference should be laid before Parliament at the same time.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Glasgow*.

The Right Hon. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c, &c, Downing-street.

— No. 13. —

**The Earl of *Glasgow* to the Marquess of *Ripon*,**

**(Received 27th September 1892)**

**TELEGRAPHIC.**

No. 10.

RECEIVED your telegram acted according to your advice.

— No. 14. —

**The Earl of *Glasgow* to the Marquess of *Ripon*.**

**(Received 29th September 1892.)**

**TELEGRAPHIC.**

(Extract.)

ON receipt of your advice

No. 10

I at once waived my objections. Two days afterwards I sent text to Ministers who laid it before Parliament best possible results. My relations with Ministers quite satisfactory.

— No. 15. —

# The Earl of *Glasgow* to the Marquess of *Ripon*.

(Received 5th January 1893.)

[Answered by No. 18].

My Lord,  
Auckland,

2 December 1892.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have made twelve (12) appointments to the Legislative Council in accordance with the advice of my Ministers as set forth in the extract from the Supplement of the "New Zealand Gazette," which I have the honour to enclose.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Glasgow*.

The Right Hon. The Marquess of Ripon, K.G., &c, &c, Colonial Office, London, S.W.

## Enclosure in No. 15.

### EXTRACT from the Supplement to the "New Zealand Gazette" of Thursday, 13th October 1892.

### MEMBERS of Legislative Council appointed.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Wellington,

15 October, 1892.

His Excellency the Governor has, in Her Majesty's name, summoned—

- William McCullough, Esq., of Auckland.
- William Jennings, Esq., of Auckland.
- Thomas Kelly, Esq., of New Plymouth.
- The Hon. Edward Richardson, C.M.G., of Wellington.
- John Rigg, Esq., of Wellington.
- William Montgomery, Esq., of Christchurch.
- John Edward Jenkinson, Esq., of Christchurch.
- William Campbell Walker, Esq., of Christchurch.
- James Kerr, Esq., of Greymouth.

- William Mouat Bolt, Esq., of Dunedin.
  - John MacGregor, Esq., of Dunedin, and
  - Henry Feldwick, Esq., of Invercargill,
- to the Legislative Council of New Zealand, by writs of summons under the Seal of the Colony.

*P. A. Buckley.*

## — No. 16. —

# The Earl of *Glasgow* to the Marquess of *Ripon*.

(Received 5th January 1893.)

[Answered by No. 17].

My Lord,  
Auckland,

3 December 1892.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, dated 26th September 1892, No.11.

which enters fully into your reasons for advising me to accede to the advice of my Ministers with regard to the Legislative [Council] Appointments.

2. I beg your Lordship to believe that I fully appreciate the consideration which you have shown me in this matter; the incident is now closed, and it is in no controversial spirit that I venture to make some remarks on your Despatch, but simply because, by means of the light thrown on the affair by the proceedings of the Legislative Council during the last Parliamentary Session, I think that it would be well to consider the conclusions to be drawn from what has occurred.

3. Your Lordship was perhaps justified in assuming that the question had been referred to you by agreement between myself and my Ministers. Strictly speaking, I was a party to the reference, but it was only because I did not consider that it would be proper for me to decline to forward a memorandum when asked by my Ministers to do so; personally, I have always been strongly of opinion that, under the Constitution of New Zealand, the question might have been solved in accordance with the traditions of Constitutional Government within the Colony, but I did not think I had any right to express any such opinion to your Lordship, or to appear to interfere with the undoubted right of my Ministers to appeal to the Secretary of State.

4. It is evident that when I declined to accept my Ministers' advice they were not willing to resign, but it appears to me that when a difference arises between a Governor and his advisers, the only justification for it is its importance, and this can only be gauged by the result.

5. If after an exchange of ideas the Governor incurs the responsibility of adhering to his own view, and the Ministers consider the case sufficiently important, they should resign; if they do not do so, they should give way, but my Ministers did neither, and I submit that a Colony possessing responsible Government, and with the means of putting pressure on the Governor, which Ministers in such a Colony possess, an appeal to the Colonial Office to interfere between the Governor and themselves is not a course that would naturally be expected from a Ministry with a proper conception of the rights and privileges of a self-governing Colony.

6. In this case the question as to whether I or my Ministers most correctly estimated the effect of the proposed appointments can best be judged, as I think your Lordship will agree, by an examination of the Division Lists of the Legislative Council during the past Session.

7. From the Returns which I have the honour to enclose, it will be seen that without any addition to the Council, out of thirty-seven (37) Government measures introduced, all were carried except two, that had the

nine (9) appointments been accepted, the Government would have had the majority in every Division in the Legislative Council except five (5), and that if twelve (12) appointments had been made, the Government would have been victorious in every Division except one.

8. The effect of the twelve (12) appointments may therefore be considered to be that the Government has now by their means obtained the majority in the Council, a result which I thought it my duty to do what I could to resist.

9. It is therefore apparent to me that had your Lordship, on receiving the Ministers' memorandum, replied that you thought the question was one that could be settled more satisfactorily on the spot, there would have been an entire collapse of the situation, for the simple reason that the results of the Session have proved that the assumption that nine (9) appointments were insufficient to give the Government adequate support rested on an unsubstantial basis, and that I was sufficiently justified in the position I took up.

10. The information derived from this result was, of course, only available after your Lordship's decision became known.

11. With regard to the different opinions expressed by your Lordship and myself as to which method formed the most reliable basis of calculation, as to the strength of the Government in the Legislative Council, I submit that further experience proves that neither would have foreshadowed approximately the result shown by the returns, and my opinion is that the Legislative Council as a body has voted in this Session according to conviction, tempered by a feeling that in those cases in which the Country's opinion is known, the Council should give way.

12. In conclusion I beg to remark respectfully, that I do not feel that my personal position has in any way been detrimentally affected by the fact that your decision has been against my view, but I submit that the experience gained by a review of the whole incident may be expressed in the following sentence:—That the practice of referring the differences between Colonial Governors and their Ministers to the Colonial Office, of the calibre at least of the one in question, is not one to be encouraged; the great Colonies all possess the inestimable boon of self-government as fully and freely as does the Mother Country.

13. The range of questions in which the Governor has any discretion is reduced to a vanishing point, and what has happened does not make his task on such occasions any easier; and on any occasion where a difference unfortunately occurs it should be remembered that the policy of leaning on the Colonial Office is not one that commends itself to Colonists generally.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Glasgow*.

To the Right Honourable The Marquess of Ripon, K.G., &c., &c., & c.  
The Colonial Office, London, S.W.

## **Enclosure 1, in No. 16.**

# **COPY of Division Lists. Legislative Council, Session 1892, to 3rd October 1892**

3 October 1892.

L. Stone, Clerk of Parliaments.

## **LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, NEW ZEALAND.**

### **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday the 28th day of**

## **September 1892.**

Subject:—Factories Bill.

Question put, *That* the Bill be now read the second time.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday the 20th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—(Otago Harbour Board Empowering Bill to be committed, Hon. Dr. Grace's Amendment, 6 months.

Questions put, *That* that the word proposed to be omitted stand part of the question

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday the 13th day of September 1892.**

Subject :—Arms Act Repeal Bill to be now committed.

Question put, *That* the word proposed to be omitted stand part of the question.

## **NOTICE OF MOTION, Tuesday, the 13th day of September 1892.**

The Hon. Mr. Stevens to move, That this Council is of opinion that, in taking a poll on any proposal for local borrowing, whether under a general or special Act, the proposal submitted to the ratepayers should not be deemed to be carried unless two-thirds of the total votes given at the poll are in favour of the proposal, such votes being those of ratepayers the rateable value of whose property in the municipality, county, or district affected by the proposal amounts in the aggregate to one-half of the total rateable value of rateable property therein.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 13th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Hon. Mr. Stevens's motion.

Question put, *That* the motion be agreed to.

## **DIVISON LIST, Friday, the 9th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Otago Harbour Board Bill, Second Reading, adjourned Debate, to reserve Friday.

Question put, *That* "Friday" stand part of the question.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 23rd day of August, 1892.**

Subject:—Eight Hours Bill now read second time; Amendment, this day six months.

Question put, *That* the words proposed to be cancelled stand part of the question.

# **DIVISION LIST, Friday the 12th day of August 1892.**

Subject: Bible Reading in Schools Bill; second reading.  
Question put. *That* that question be now put.

# **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday the 2nd day of August 1892.**

Subject: Testamentary Trusts Restriction Hill to be committed; motion made Speaker do leave the chair, &c; amendment, omit all words after *That*, insert the Report of the Statutes Revision Committee on the Bill be agreed to.

Question put, *That* the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question.

# **NOTICES of MOTION, Tuesday the 2nd day of August 1892.**

1. The Honourable Mr. Reynolds to move, That Standing Orders relative to local Bills be so far suspended as to allow the Cook and Waiapu Counties Property Adjustment Bill to be proceeded with.

Subject: Hon. Mr. Reynolds's motion.

Question put, *That* the motion be agreed to.

# **NOTICES of MOTION, Thursday the 14th day of July, 1892.**

1. The Honourable Mr. McLean to move, That the name of the Honourable Mr. McLean be discharged from the Consolidated Stock Committee.

# **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 14th day of July 1892.**

Subject : Hon. Mr. McLean's motion, No. 1.

Question put, *That* the motion be agreed to.

# **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 14th day of July 1892.**

The Honourable Mr. McLean to move, That the name of the Honourable Sir P. A. Buckley, K.C.M.G., be added to the Consolidated Stock Committee.

Subject: The Hon. Mr. McLean's motion, No. 2.

Question put, *That* the motion be agreed to.

# **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 14th day of July**

# 1892.

Subject: New Zealand Institute of Surveyors Bill to be committed.  
Question put, *That* the Honourable the Speaker do now leave the chair.

## DIVISION LIST, the 6th day of October 1892.

Subject: Payments of Members Bill, 2nd reading this day six months.  
Question put, *That* the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question.

## DIVISION LIST, the 8th day of October 1892.

Subject: Naval and Military Settlers and Volunteers Land Bill, second reading presently.  
Question put, *That* the word "presently" stand part of the question.

## DIVISION LIST, the 10th day of October, 1892.

Subject: Naval and Military Settlers and Volunteers Land Bill, second reading, amendment this day six months.  
Question put, *That* the word "now" proposed to be omitted stand part of the question.

## DIVISION LIST, the 10th day of October, 1892.

Subject: Westland and Nelson Coalfields Administration Act, 1877, Amendment.  
Question put, *That* the amendments of the House of Representatives be agreed to.

## Enclosure 2 in No 16.

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

COPY of Division Lists in Committees of the whole Council, Session 1892. Number of Divisions — 37

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, NEW ZEALAND.

## DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 15th day of July 1892.

Subject: Unclaimed Lands Bill; Clause 15.  
Question put, *That* word stand part of clause.

## DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 15th day of July 1892.

Subject: Unclaimed Lands Bill; Clause 15.  
Question put, *That* word be inserted in place of word struck out.

## DIVISION LIST, Friday the 15th day of July 1802.

Subject: New Zealand Institute of Surveyors Bill.

Question put, *That* Clause 11, as amended, stand part of Bill.

The numbers being equal, the Hon. the Chairman (The Hon. Captain Baillie) gave his casting vote with the Ayes.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of July 1892.**

Subject: Oyster Fisheries Bill; Clause 7.

Question put, *That* consideration be postponed.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of July 1892.**

Subject: Oyster Fisheries Bill.

Question put, To report progress and ask leave to sit again.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 27th day of July 1892.**

Subject: Land Transfer Act Amendment Bill.

Question put, Clause 13, *That* a certain word stand as printed.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 28th day of July 1892.**

Subject : Land Transfer Acts Amendment Bill.

Question put, *That* Clause 15 stand part of the Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 28th day of July 1892.**

Subject: Wellington City Sanitation Loan Empowering Bill, Clause 3.

Question, *That* word "seventy," stand.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 24th day of August 1892.**

Subject: Ocean Beach Public Domain Bill, Clause 23.

Question put, *That* the Clause be postponed.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 8th day of September 1892.**

Subject : Petone Corporation Loan Empowering Bill, Clause 4.

Question put, *That* words proposed to be omitted stand part of Clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 14th day of September 1892.**

Subject: West Coast Settlement Reserves Bill, Clause 19.

Question put, *That* words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill.

Question put, *That* consideration of Clause 3 be postponed.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 8.

Question put, *That* words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of September 1892.**

Subject : Electoral Bill, Clause 9.

Question put, *That* certain words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 21st day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 13.

Question put, *That* the words proposed to be omitted stand part of clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday the 22nd day of September, 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 62.

Question, To extend Electoral Right to Harvesters.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 22nd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 66.

Question put, *That* Words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, the 22nd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 102.

Question put, *That* Words proposed to be omitted stand part of Clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Thursday, 22nd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 7.

Question put, To report progress and ask leave to sit again.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 23rd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill.

Question put, *That* New Clause be added—Electoral Right for Women.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 23rd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill.

Question put, *That* New Clause be added—Dividing City Electoral Districts.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 23rd day of September 1892.**

Subject: Electoral Bill, Clause 3.

Question, To put "Person does not include woman," for "Person includes woman."

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Land Bill, Clause 17.

Question put, *That* Words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Land Bill, Clause 76.

Question put, *That* words stand part of clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892,**

Subject:—Land Bill.

Question put, *That* Clause 87 stand part of Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Land Bill, Clause 89.

Question put, *That* words stand part of clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Land Bill, Clause 89.

Question put, *That* words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Land Bill, Clause 134.

Question put, *That* words stand part of Clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Tuesday, the 27th day of September 1892.**

Subject:—Land Bill, Clause 157.

Question put,—*That* words be inserted.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 28th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Mining Companies Act Amendment Bill.

Question put, *That* Clause 5 stand part of Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Wednesday, the 28th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Land Bill.

Question put, *That* Proviso be added to Clause 187.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 30th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Shops and Shop Assistants Bill, Clause 2.  
Question put, *That* definition of "closed" stand.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 30th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Shops and Shop Assistants Bill, Clause 3.  
Question put, *That* clause stand part of Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Friday, the 30th day of September 1892.**

Subject: Factories Act Amendment Bill.  
Question put, *That* Clause 8 stand part of Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Monday, the 3rd day of October 1892.**

Subject: Industrial Conciliation Bill, Clause 42.  
Question put, *That* Sub-section (2) stand part of clause.

## **DIVISION LIST, Monday, the 3rd day of October 1892.**

Subject: Industrial Conciliation Bill.  
Question put, *That* Clause 44 stand part of Bill.

## **DIVISION LIST, Monday, the 3rd day of October 1892.**

Subject: Industrial Conciliation Bill.  
Question put, *That* Clause 65 stand part of Bill.

## **Enclosure 3 in No. 16.**

## **MEMBERS absent from the Legislative Council, Session 1892.**

With his Excellency the Governor's leave Hon. Mr. Bowers.

With his Excellency the Governor's leave Hon. Mr. Peacock  
Absent in England without leave, which is not necessary when a Member is only absent one Session Hon.  
Mr. Ackland  
Absent in England without leave, which is not necessary when a Member is only absent one Session Hon.  
Mr. Wilson.  
Absent for the greater part of the Session:  
Present total of Roll, 35.

## Enclosure 4 in No. 16.

Concerning Division Lists in the Legislative Council or in General Committee thereof; also particulars concerning the said Council.

During the Session of 1892 the Legislative Council's strength was thirty-five (35), but from absence and indisposition only twenty-seven (27) were present.

Forty (40) Government measures were introduced in the Legislative Council; of these thirty seven (37) were passed, one (1) was dropped, and only two (2) were rejected, and these only after conference with the other House.

The Governor is empowered under the Constitution of the Colony to call to the Legislative Council such persons as he shall think fit, and no limitation has been made to the number, although on one occasion a Committee of the Council reported in favour of limiting the Council to one-half the strength of the House of Representatives. That was in 1887 when, in deference to public opinion, the strength of the House of Representatives was reduced from ninety-five (95) to seventy-four (74) members. At that time the strength of the Legislative Council was forty-nine (49), or a fraction more than half of the other House. From that date till 1891 no appointments were made, and the strength of the Council fell to thirty-nine (39), or a fraction over half the other House. After reduction in 1891 the late Governor (Lord Onslow) granted Sir Harry Atkinson seven (7) appointments; the number now granted makes the strength of the Council forty-seven (47), or only two (2) less than when the other House numbered ninety-five (95), as against seventy-four (74) now.

General view of results of Divisions as shown on ensuing pages:—

Whereas the unbiassed opinion of the Council as it existed before reinforcement gave the Government a majority in only ten (10) divisions, although all the Government measures were carried except three.

## LIST of DIVISIONS in the Legislative Council and in the Committee of the whole Council, during the Session of 1892, in which the Government possessed a majority.

Date of Division. Votes for Government. Votes for Opposition. Majority for Government. REMARKS.—Showing the number who Voted out of twenty-seven (27.) 13 September 16 8 7 23 voted. 23, 12 5 7 17, 27, 9 6 3 15, 27, 7 6 1 13, 28 1 3 6 7 19, 28 1 4 6 19 " 6 October 17 2 1 5 19, 8, -12 7 5 19, 10, -12 7 5 19, 10, -16 2 1 4 18, 10 Divisions.—

The following is the only DIVISION which took place during the Session when the Opposition would have retained a majority, had the twelve (12) appointments been made.

Date Votes Votes Majority of for for for REMARKS. Division. Government. Opposition. Opposition. 30 October - 3 16 13 19 voted out of 27.

## LIST of DIVISIONS in the Legislative Council and in Committee thereof, during the Session of 1892, in which an addition of twelve (12) appointments to the Council would have put

# the Government in the majority, instead of the minority.

Date of Division. Votes for Government. Votes Opposition. Majority for Government.

—No. 17.—

## The Marquess of Ripon to the Earl of Glasgow.

My Lord,  
Downing-street,

17th February, 1893.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 3rd December, No. 16.

with its enclosures, respecting the recent appointments to the Legislative Council of New Zealand.

Your Lordship questions in that despatch the propriety of an appeal from the Government of a Colony possessing Responsible Government to the Colonial Office upon such a matter.

I would observe, in the first place, that such an objection to a reference to this department should, if taken at all, be taken at the time of the reference, and comes too late if not made till after my opinion has been asked. Your Ministers submitted to your Lordship a memorandum in which they invited my attention to the difference which had arisen, and this memorandum, with others that passed subsequently, you rightly transmitted to me. In doing so you commented upon the statements of your Ministers, and after expressing your own opinions you concluded by leaving the matter in my hands. I do not find that you raised any objection, either in your correspondence with your Ministers or in your despatches to me, to their action in referring the question to me; on the contrary, you were, as I understood, and as you recognise in your despatch under reply, yourself a party to the reference.

Neither I nor my predecessor, during whose tenure of office this reference was actually made, in any way sought it. It came to me as a joint reference from yourself and your Government.

I do not feel myself called upon to express any opinion upon the advisability of the course taken by your Ministers in seeking my advice on such a question; but I am of opinion that I should not be justified in refusing an expression of my views when it is asked for by the Governor of the Colony or by his constitutional advisers.

You proceed to express the opinion that, when Ministers are unable to come to an agreement with the Governor, they should, if they consider the case sufficiently important, tender their resignation. This is, no doubt, the step which in the last resort a Colonial Ministry must take in the case of any acute difference between the Governor and themselves, in order that it may be made apparent whether they are supported by the Colony. But it is for the Colonial Ministry to judge whether this step should be taken. On the occasion now under discussion they thought proper to adopt another course, and, with your concurrence, to refer the matter at issue to my predecessor.

With regard to the Returns which you enclose in the despatch under acknowledgment. I would observe that I had to arrive at my conclusions on the materials then in my possession. In one of the memoranda from your Government it was stated that some of the vital points of policy in their measures were defeated by large majorities in the Legislative Council, and that an inspection of the division lists of the preceding Session showed that the Government could, as a rule, only rely on the support of five members. The Returns now sent do not show to what extent the divisions referred to therein proceeded upon party lines, and I do not (feel able to draw the inference from them that your Ministry would, with the help of the twelve appointments, have necessarily commanded a majority for party purposes in the Legislative Council. Indeed, it appears that in Committee on the Land Bill, the Bill to which Mr. Ballance especially referred as rendering it necessary to strengthen his position in the Legislative Council, the Government were only able to muster at the most six supporters, and at times only two, three, and four.

As the matter has now been disposed of by the appointment of the additional members reported in your

despatch of 2nd December,

No. 15.

I have only to add that I have received with great satisfaction the assurance that you do not feel that your personal position has been in any way detrimentally affected by the fact that my decision has been against your view, and I fully recognise the difficulties which you felt in regard to the question, and your desire to represent the whole matter to me in the fullest light.

I have, &c,

(signed) *Ripon*.

Governor,

The Earl of Glasgow, G.C.M.G.

## — No. 18. —

# The Marquess of *Ripon* to the Earl of *Glasgow*.

My Lord,

Downing-street,

17th February, 1893.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the and of December,

No. 15.

reporting that in accordance with the advice of your Ministers you had made twelve appointments to the Legislative Council of New Zealand, as set out in the extract from the Supplement of the "Colonial Gazette" which you enclosed.

I have, &c,

(signed) *Ripon*.

Governor, The Earl of Glasgow, G.C.M.G.

## APPENDIX I.

COPIES of Parliamentary Papers published in *New South Wales* and enclosed in the Earl of *Glasgow's* Despatch of 8th August 1892.—(No. 9 in Series.)

### LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—NEW SOUTH WALES.

### APPOINTMENTS to the Legislative Council. (Despatches and Correspondence, &c., Respecting,—From 1861 to present date.)

#### *Ordered by the legislative Assembly to be printed, 13 August, 1872.*

Return (in part) to an *Address* from the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, dated 6 August 1872, praying that His Excellency the Governor would be pleased to cause to be laid upon the Table of this House,—

"COPIES of all Despatches (not confidential) from the Right Honourable the "Secretary of State to the Governor of this Colony, and of all Despatches" (not confidential) from the Governor to the Secretary of State; and also "copies of all Minutes, Letters, or other written Documents by the Responsible" Advisers of the Crown, having reference to Appointments to the Legislative Council, from the year 1861 to the present date, inclusive."

#### **(Mr. Robertson.)**

THE following Papers are transmitted to the Colonial Secretary, in compliance with the request contained in

the Address from the Legislative Assembly, relative to Appointments to the Legislative Council:—

There are further Despatches on this subject; but they are marked confidential, and so cannot be given.

*G. H. de Robeok.*

## **APPOINTMENTS to the Legislative Council.**

### **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir *John Young.***

(Separate.)

SIR,  
Downing-street,

4 February, 1861.

I HAVE been reminded by your predecessor's Despatch No. 113, of the 19th November last, that the period is approaching when the present Members of the Legislative Council will vacate their seats, and a new appointment of Councillors will become necessary.

The Members of the first Council were appointed under the Constitutional Act, in May, 1856, and were to retain their seats for five years. In May, 1861, therefore, it will become the duty of the Governor, with the advice of his Executive Council, to appoint not less than twenty-one (21) Legislative Councillors, who are to hold their seats for life.

I am very deeply impressed by the importance of this conjuncture to the well-being of the colony; not because I at all anticipate that the opportunity will be taken to place unfit persons in that branch of the Legislature, but because the occasion appears to me one which is calculated to try very severely the system of party government now established more or less in the principal British colonies.

A Government representing not the entire community, but that political party which is in the ascendant, is in an evidently false position when called upon to reconstruct a branch of the Legislature. If they adopt the task, it cannot be expected that they will place their own party in a minority in the Council. But it is equally clear that if they give themselves a majority in that body, it will be liable to be viewed as the mere creature of the party which appointed it, and that their opponents will probably conceive themselves justified, on succeeding to office, in adjusting the inequality by the creation of fresh Councillors. On every change of Ministry the same argument will be equally good, and the consequence may be that the first act of each administration may be to swamp the Council which has been previously swamped by their predecessors.

Such a result would of course amount to a total change of the present Constitution. But far worse than any change of the Constitution would be the demoralising effect of the mode in which that change had been effected. No Government can subsist unless the Legislature is an object of respect. No party Government can long subsist with advantage to the community, unless rival political parties are tacitly agreed that great constitutional cases shall be treated with reference to the public good, and not to party interests.

Now, in the circumstances I have supposed, a branch of the Legislature, without ceasing to exist, could not fail to sink into a state of weakness and disrepute. And this misfortune would have arisen from the fact that a number of gentlemen finding themselves in power at the period of a great constitutional change had treated, or at least had allowed it to be supposed that they had treated, that occasion as a mere means of party advantage, and that their opponents on coming into power had endorsed their proceedings, by following (as far as possible) their example.

Not knowing who may be your advisers when this despatch reaches the colony, I may be allowed, without any disrespect to them, to say, that these considerations appear to me conclusive as to the dangers inherent in the mere nomination of a fresh Legislative Council in the terms of the Colonial Act of Parliament by the Governor and Executive Council.

But it is possible that some of those who are dissatisfied with the existing Constitution may be desirous of using this opportunity to bring the Legislature into a position of such embarrassment as shall force an alteration of its composition.

Such a course seems to me hardly less detrimental to the permanent interest of the colony than the nomination of a partisan council. I do not inquire how far the Constitution is suited to the exigencies of New South Wales—this is a question for those who inhabit that colony; but of this I am, certain, that in a free country little permanency can be expected for any reform unless it has been carried either without material opposition, or under such circumstances as compel even the minority to acknowledge that they have been fairly

heard and decisively vanquished.

This is a consideration of the greatest weight in a new country where the Constitution has not had time to acquire that authority which is earned by long and successful use. There, most of all, is it desirable that fundamental changes should be so carried as to be secure from reversal. But such reversal is almost invited when an important change in the Constitution of the Legislature is carried, not after argument and experience by the deliberate judgment of the community, but by the hasty and adroit use of an exceptional necessity.

It is scarcely requisite to point out an obvious mode of avoiding these difficulties by the bare re-appointment of the present Legislative Councillors. I do not know how far these gentlemen at present command the confidence of the colonists; and it can hardly be supposed that if the appointments were to be made in 1861, all the same persons would be placed in the Council who were nominated to it in 1856. But without anticipating the judgment of the colonists on the public conduct of these gentlemen, I may be allowed to say that, if there should be no paramount objection to their reappointment, I see in that course a promise of permanent advantage, or rather an escape from a very serious danger, and that I should learn with great satisfaction that your Government had decided upon adopting it.

It is most probable that the considerations which have pressed so strongly on my own mind may have presented themselves with still greater force to your advisers long before you receive this despatch; and it is possible that public opinion (which must also have been directed to the subject) may have already decided upon some sufficient mode of obviating the inconveniences of which I am apprehensive.

If this be the case, the present despatch is happily unnecessary.

But it is also possible that the question may be still involved in embarrassment, and that the political parties who are concerned in bringing it to a constitutional settlement may be aided in their object by the suggestions of one not unacquainted with the exigencies of Constitutional Government, and who cannot be suspected of any other motive than an earnest desire for the welfare of New South Wales.

It is under this impression that I have addressed you. If this very important question is likely to settle itself in a manner conducive to the welfare of the Colony, there is no reason why you should give any publicity to this despatch; but you are at liberty to make use of it in such a way as you may find expedient, if you think that its communication to your Government, or to the colonists generally, will be advantageous to the public interest.

I have, &c.  
*Newcastle.*

## **Governor Sir John Young to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 37.)

My Lord Duke,  
Government House,

21 May 1861.

I HAVE the honour to enclose a copy of the Proclamation proroguing the Parliament of this Colony on the 11th instant.

It was necessary to close the Session, in consequence of the expiration of the period to which the first nominations to the Legislative Council were limited.

Several useful enactments were made, the Estimates thoroughly discussed, and the Appropriation Act passed in due form, so that the current expenditure up to 31st December next will proceed under full legislative sanction, which has not been the case for two or three years past.

The Land Bills, I am sorry to say, were not passed, and this difficult and embarrassing question still remains open. At one time there was every prospect of an agreement on all points between the two Houses, and the leading and most moderate men in both gave me the most satisfactory assurances. But unfortunately, during the last week of the Session, a different spirit came over the proceedings. The Legislative Assembly rejected, by large majorities, the amendments of the Legislative Council, which the Legislative Council again insisted, by large majorities, on maintaining.

The Ministers said they had submitted to "indignities" in attempting to pass these Bills, and that their honour was so nearly concerned that additional nominations to the Legislative Council must be made, so as to ensure the passing of the Bills.

The choice, if choice it can be called, placed before me on the morning of Friday, the 10th instant, was, either to accept the advice of the Ministers, or to break with them, backed as they are by six-sevenths of the

Legislative Assembly, and by the people, in a cry which was all-powerful on the hustings, at the General Election, no later than last December.

It was admitted on all hands to be impossible to form any other Ministry. The Legislative Council was to expire, in terms of the Constitution, on the following Monday.

No precedent could be founded on the proceedings, as similar circumstances can never recur in the history of the Colony, and it seemed desirable to make an effort to end the long, harassing, and injurious agitation on the Land question before the question of the new nominations to the Legislative Council came upon the carpet.

Accordingly, after some hesitation, and after receiving the assurance that the step taken should not prejudice the reconstruction of the Legislative Council, that all the gentlemen to be specially appointed for the single night the Council had to last should be made clearly to understand that they would have no claim or right thereby to future reappointment, I consented to the course pressed on me by the Ministers.

The nominations were made accordingly, but the opposite party defeated the ministerial intentions by resigning. The President's resignation in particular had the effect of preventing a House being formed. There was "No House," so the new Members were not sworn in, and the adjournment which ensued, as a matter of course, was nominally to the following Tuesday, but it really closed the Session, for it went over to a period when, by the effluxion of time, the Legislative Council—the old as well as the new nominations—had ceased to have effect.

Matters now stand thus :—The Parliament is prorogued. Whether it will be called together to pass the Land Bill one month or three months hence is not yet decided.

The expenditure and current business are proceeding in due form, and with all requisite sanctions.

The Land question remains unsettled, which is to be deplored, as the state of conflict and uncertainty is deeply hurtful in many ways, but the public mind is quiet.

The people are satisfied that all that could be done to pass the Bills on which their hearts are set has been done by Ministers.

No meetings have been called. The tone of the Press is moderate, and measures for the reconstruction of the Legislative Council have been taken on a basis which accords with your Grace's recommendations.

These measures are not sufficiently advanced for me to make a positive statement as to the result at the present moment, but I think I may say there appears to me to be ground for hoping that I shall be enabled to make your Grace a satisfactory announcement on this anxious subject by the next mail.

I have, &c.

*John Young.*

## **Governor Sir John Young to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 51.)

Government House, Sydney,

19 July 1861.

My Lord Duke,

AT Sir William Burton's request, I have the honour to send herewith a statement of his services, and of the circumstances which appeared to him to call for his resignation of the office of President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

This document is a narrative, in some sort an impeachment, of the whole policy and proceedings of the existing Ministry, who, on their part, are prepared to combat Sir William Burton's position.

Your Grace will probably be inclined to view what may be urged on the one and on the other side as matter rather for constitutional discussion between those who take opposite sides in the Colony than for imperial cognizance. If, however, you should think proper to institute a minute review of these affairs, and so judge between the parties, I shall take the earliest possible opportunity, on being so instructed, of furnishing you with the necessary materials, which, indeed, comprised the Bills, Reports, Parliamentary Debates, and Proceedings of more than one Session.

In no other way than by so extensive a study can light be thrown on the reasons which induced Ministers to introduce some Bills, to oppose others, and give to a third class a modified opposition or support as the case may have been.

There are some (four) points in Sir W. Burton's statement which I feel called upon to notice, as affecting myself. I will take them in the order of the pages as they occur. I must, however, premise that on my arrival here I found a political storm raging with the utmost violence. Throughout all the different phases which it

assumed I have acted on the advice or with the concurrence of my Executive Council.

If the wisdom of the policy I have pursued is to be judged of by its effects, I may with great confidence refer to the present aspect of affairs : the political excitement has calmed own, and the really important question at issue—the reconstruction of the Legislative Council—has been effected on terms counselled by the leaders of the popular party who are in power, and admitted on all hands to have given satisfaction and confidence to the richer classes, and to all whose capital and industry seek permanent investment in the colony.

1st. At page 19, Sir W. Burton mentions that he waited upon me at twenty minutes past 2 o'clock on the 10th May, in company with Mr. Deas Thomson, to present an Address and other papers connected with the business of the Session, and complains that I allowed him to leave without making any explanation of the ministerial intentions.

I could scarcely have done so with propriety : no decision had been formally taken at the time. The Executive Council (the Ministers) had not met to arrange and conclude their plans, and your Grace will, I am persuaded, be of opinion that I was not at liberty to impart to any others, however respectable, the course the Ministers had in view, while it was not definitely settled. What Sir W. Burton expected, as a courtesy to himself, would have been a breach of confidence to the Ministers.

Sir W. Burton was, however, perfectly aware of the importance which I attached to the proceedings of the Legislative Council upon the Land Bills, not on their own account, but on account of the difficulties their rejection would inevitably entail upon the far graver question of the reconstruction of the Legislative Council.

Ten days previously, upon my pointing out the impolicy of further resistance to the Land Bills, under the peculiar circumstances and probability that the Legislative Council might by undue pertinacity permanently injure the interests they wished to protect, and adding that, looking to the results of the General Election and to the position in which Ministers stood, I could take no responsibility for what might occur, Sir W. Burton assured me the Land Bills would certainly pass, and that I might make my mind perfectly easy on the subject. This assurance was, I am persuaded, given in good faith, though his expectations, as well as my own, were disappointed by the event.

It appeared to me that the Land Bills, if open to objection, might be altered and amended in subsequent Sessions, but that which governed the whole issue and rendered it so anxious, was, the expiration in a few days of the Legislative Council, and the necessity for its immediate reconstruction. A faulty reconstruction might prejudice the legislation of the Colony for years to come, and entail permanent injury.

No reconstruction could be effected by the Governor, except with the advice of the Executive Council; and the Executive Council are the men who have for years headed the popular party unanimous in its demand for the Land Bills, and rendered all-powerful in the Legislative Assembly by the recent General Election.

At page 22, amongst the Constitutional courses opened to me, Sir W. Burton enumerates a recommittal of the Bills—the dissolution of the Parliament—a change of Her Majesty's Ministers—or a conference between the two Houses—as to the exact state of matters technically between the two Houses. I can only speak on the authority of Ministers—they point to Amendments insisted upon by the Legislative Assembly—rejected by the Legislative Council by majorities of 20 to five and 15 to five—and they say they were unable to infer from these majorities, and the apparently determined stand, the intention to yield the points on recommittal or in a conference; they add, the Minister who had charge of the Bills in the Legislative Council had submitted to "indignities" in attempting to pass the Bills, and declared "their honour was at stake"—they tendered their advice or their resignations. As to a dissolution of Parliament: It is to be remarked that the Parliament had been dissolved so late as last December—not half-a-year before, on the very points at issue; and as Sir W. Burton himself admits (page 3)—"The opinion of the country had been very unmistakably given, by the return of such Members to the new Parliament as the constituencies considered were prepared to adopt the particular views contained in the Bill."

As to a change of Ministers: Supported as they were by 60 or 65 Members out of the the 72, the adoption of such a suggestion would only have involved the Crown in a contest, certain to end in defeat, with the Legislative Assembly and the constituencies.

But it may be said, I might have temporised during the 48 hours which were to elapse before the old nominations to the Legislative Council expired, and the body ceased to exist—perhaps induced Ministers to withdraw their advice; I thought of this, but the objections to such a course seemed grave; it would have satisfied nobody, and settled nothing, and made the reconstruction of the Legislative Council on fair and equal terms between parties next to impossible.

The position would have been this: The Land Bills rejected by the Legislative Council, representing the upper or richer classes—the Ministers apparently acquiescing in the defeat, the people disappointed and distrustful, the Legislative Assembly irritated and exacting. The consequence would have been that the reconstruction of the Legislative Council, which could not be avoided or postponed, and which could only be effected with the advice of the Ministers, could hardly have been effected on any reasonable terms. The

Ministers would not have ventured to advise or acquiesce in the nominations of any but decided partisans on the popular side. Now that the business is brought to a fortunate issue, I am persuaded, reflecting upon all that passed, that I was fortunate in adopting the Ministerial advice; it was the least of the evils that stood for choice, and, though hazardous and thorny enough, it was the only path that led to safety. The Legislative Assembly and the public were reassured and contented, the honour of the Ministry vindicated, and themselves left free to act with forbearance to the opposite party, and that wise moderation in the nominations for life to the Legislative Council which they have since evinced.

At page 27 Sir W. Burton complains he was not offered a seat in the reconstructed Council. The Ministers were not inclined to give the necessary sanction of their advice to his reappointment, but wish me to add that, whatever their inclination, room was not left for any consideration on their part, so great was the haste with which Sir W. Burton advertised his house and property for sale, and announced his intention of leaving the Colony.

Page 28, as to the favourable report Sir W. Burton bespeaks from your Grace. Although Ministers have not advised my availing myself of his services in the Legislative Council, and although I may not think the alternatives he proposed at an anxious crisis other than unsafe, and inapplicable to the requirements of the time and the Colony, yet I should be very sorry indeed if, on these accounts, there were withheld any portion of the recognition and respect which are due to his age, his unblemished private character, and his long services as a judge.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *John Young*,

### **Governor Sir John Young to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 53.)

My Lord Duke,  
Government House, Sydney,

20 July 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Grace that the Legislative Council of this Colony has been duly reconstructed, as required by the terms of the 3rd clause of the Constitution Act.

2. I enclose copies of the "Gazette" containing a list of the names of the gentlemen appointed. Seats were in the first instance offered to 27 gentlemen, that being the number fixed upon as suitable and convenient; five declined the offer on grounds of a personal and private nature, and one was objected to by Ministers as announcing in his answer his intention of opposing the Land Bills and generally the policy of the Government.

Seats were then offered to three others, of whom two accepted, and one declined on private grounds. This leaves the number at 23 for the present, but it is understood that as occasion may arise four more names may be added, so as to complete the number up to 27, which is taken as the complement not to be exceeded, except under very special and exceptional circumstances.

3. Of this list of 23, 12 were in the late Legislative Council; some others held seats in past times, and three filled the office of Attorney General in former administrations. All are gentlemen of high standing and character, and the names of the ablest and most distinguished persons in the Colony are to be found in the list.

4. The selection has created a very favourable impression on the public mind, and forms a body to which the important functions to be discharged by an Upper House may be safely assigned.

5. There is sent herewith a copy of the Minutes of the Executive Council, which will put your Grace in possession of all particulars, and of the result of the Ministerial deliberations.

6. I have already had occasion, in former Despatches, and in my answer to Sir W. Burton's statement, to speak at length of the perplexities of the situation and the political excitement I had to face on my arrival; I shall not therefore allude to them further than to say that I feel happy in thinking that the reconstruction, though complicated by so many causes of doubt and anxiety, has thus been happily accomplished in accordance with the wise suggestions of your Grace's Despatch of the 4th February last.

I have, &c,  
(signed) *John Young*.

### **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir John Young. (Separate.)**

Sir,  
Downing-street,

26 July 1861.

I HAVE to acknowledge your Despatch, No. 37, of the 21st May, enclosing a copy of the Proclamation by which you had prorogued the Parliament of New South Wales, on the 11th of that month, in consequence of the approaching expiration on the 13th of the period to which the first nominations to the Legislative Council were limited.

With regard to the reconstruction of that body, I have nothing to add to my Despatch of the 4th February last, the recommendations of which I am glad to hear from you will not have been overlooked by yourself and your Ministers in taking the measures necessary for the purpose; but I cannot pass by without notice your report of the means which you took, by the advice of your responsible advisers, to ensure the passing of the Land Hills through the Legislative Council; the creation, namely, upon a sudden, and for a single night, of a number of Legislative Councillors, which you do not specify, but which must have been sufficient to convert a large majority against the Bills into a majority in their favour.

I am fully sensible of the very difficult position in which you found yourself when pressed to take such a course, under a threat of resignation, by Ministers who you say you could not have replaced. I regret, however, that they should have offered you that advice, and that you, even under the circumstances which you describe, should have accepted it. A measure so violent and in its nature so unconstitutional could only be justified by circumstances of the gravest, danger and the greatest urgency, which did not, as it appears to me, exist on the present occasion. Your resistance to it could only have led to the same state of things (after, perhaps, a Ministerial crisis) which has actually resulted from the defeat of the attempt to force the Bills through the Council by the counter stratagem to which the Opposition resorted, and would, I can hardly doubt, have received a large amount of approval and support from the public opinion of the Colony, irrespectively of the merits of the measures which happened to be in question.

I have thought it my duty to say so much by way of comment upon a proceeding which is not creditable to the cause of constitutional government in Australia, while it tends to weaken the position of the Governor; but I can at the same time make great allowances for the difficulties of the dilemma in which you found yourself placed so soon after your arrival in a new sphere of duty, and I am sure that you acted as appeared to you, at the moment, best for the public interests.

I have, &c. (signed) *Newcastle*.

**The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir *John Young*.**

(No. 67.)

Sir,  
Downing-street,

21 October 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 55, of the 20th July, reporting the reconstruction of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, as required by the 3rd clause of the Constitution Act.

It affords me much pleasure to observe in the list of Legislative Councillors so many names of gentlemen of eminence and tried ability, and it is my earnest hope that the construction of the new Legislative Council may tend to promote the welfare of the Colony.

I have, &c. (signed) *Newcastle*

**The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir *John Young*.**

(No. 68.)

Sir,  
Downing-street,

21 October 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 51, of the 19th July, forwarding a statement by Sir William Burton of the circumstances which led to his resignation of the office of President of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, and also explaining to me your view of the public questions to which this statement refers.

You will already have learnt from my Despatch of the 26th of July that, while making every allowance for the difficulties in which you were placed, I was unable to approve the creation of 21 Legislative Councillors for, the purpose of carrying a Ministerial measure through the Council. With regard to the other questions raised in Sir William Burton's letter, it does not appear to me necessary or desirable to say more than that I see no reason to doubt that the President and Members of the late Legislative Council were actuated by a sense of duty in the proceedings which they adopted during the last Session of the Parliament of New South Wales,

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Newcastle*,

**Governor Sir John Young to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 14.)

Sir,  
Government House, Sydney,

16 February 1865.

IN accordance with the request of Mr. William Forster, late Colonial Secretary, I have the honour to forward the letter

The Enclosures to this Despatch will be found on pp. 83-85.

in which he tendered the resignation of his office, for the reasons therein stated.

It will only be necessary, I think, to give an outline by way of narrative of the circumstances which led to and accompanied his resignation; for although they bear on the manner in which the issue of the question was brought about, they still have little to do with the question itself.

About a fortnight previous to the meeting of the present Parliament, Mr. Martin, the Premier, mentioned to me his wish to nominate two gentlemen to the Legislative Council. I at once stated the objections which occurred to me, and which I will presently refer to, and after some conversation I parted with Mr. Martin under the impression that the appointments would not be seriously pressed.

About a week later, however, it appeared that Mr. Forster was not satisfied, but insisted on the appointments, and on my definite refusal, his letter of 23rd January 1865, was handed to me.

It will be observed that, in insisting, Mr. Forster had not the support of his colleagues: they had yielded to the gravity of the objections which I urged. I now pass on to the grounds on which my refusal was based.

The Legislative Council at the time consisted of 32 Members, three being absent in England, one on his passage out from England, and one on the eve of departure from the Colony, so that there were present in the Colony 27 Members available for service. Nine of this number, *i.e.*, one-third, had been appointed since the accession to office of Mr. Martin's Ministry, in October 1863. The minimum number of Members for the Legislative Council prescribed by the Constitution Act is 21. It appeared to me that the creation of nine new members in so short a period was a large addition to the Legislative Council, and would have been so considered even with reference to so large a body as the House of Lords in England; how much greater, then, to so limited a Chamber as the Legislative Council of this Colony.

But was there any imperative reason assigned or existing for the proposed addition or for these appointments? No attempt was made to justify the addition on the ground of public policy or public exigency.

It was not alleged that the due representation of political parties or of any great interest required it. No special or public reason was adduced in its favour. The construction and actual state of the Council afforded no such reason.

As to the gentlemen proposed I desire to say very little, because my refusal was not based on any real or supposed unfitness on their part, but I was not pressed to appoint either of them on the grounds of any peculiar

claim or of any public service.

The position in which the Ministry stood at the time that these appointments were proposed was another consideration which had weight with me.

In October 1864, they had met Parliament. In a few days after the Minister for Works had resigned, an Amendment to the Address in the form of a Vote of want of confidence was carried. A dissolution was asked for, and I gave my consent. I could not but observe that the general result of the elections appeared to be adverse to their hopes. The vacancy in the office of Ministers of Works had not been filled, and the Finance Minister had failed to secure a seat.

The Ministry were, as far as it was permitted me to judge, *in extremis*, and so it proved; for, on the day the new Parliament was opened, Mr. Forster's resignation was announced, and an hour after an Amendment on the Address, in the form of a Vote of want of confidence, was carried against the Ministry by a majority of 42 to 14.

For the reasons I have stated, I felt that at the time when these appointments were suggested I might not unreasonably have urged that the action of the Ministry should be limited to the ordinary administration of the Government.

All Mr. Forster's colleagues appeared to feel the weight of ray arguments.

So far I have mentioned objections which apply only to the case in hand. I come now to more general considerations, which may be viewed as applying equally to this and to other future proceedings in reference to the Legislative Council.

By the Constitution Act, the number of Councillors is unlimited, subject only to a minimum of 21. But it needs no argument to prove that if every Minister determines to push his advice to the same issue as Mr. Forster, the dignity and usefulness of the Council would be destroyed. On Mr. Forster's principle every Ministry in turn might insist on any number of fresh appointments, to gratify their friends or to secure a majority. If the Governor refused they would resign, and he would in the end be left without the means of forming an Administration; while, if he yielded, there would soon be an end of the Upper House, or at least of its independence, or of any effect or utility which it might have as a deliberative body. Theoretically, in the written Constitution, there is no limit, but practically, to give life to the Constitution, there must be a limit.

Putting aside, therefore, exceptional cases and special exigencies, it appears to me that a limit ought to be observed; and, with a view to its observance, and, indeed, as the only mode that occurs to me of insuring such observance practically, weight should be allowed to attach to the opinion of the Governor as to any proposed increase of the Members, as well as to the propriety of individual appointments. Any increase of numbers should first be formally proposed, and sanctioned by the Governor, before the consideration of particular appointments is entered upon.

At both stages the Crown, or Governor acting in lieu thereof, should have a recognised independent discretion, and no offer of a seat should be made until it has been formally sanctioned by the Governor and Executive Council. The nominations to the Upper House ought not to be viewed as mere ordinary appointments, the refusal to sanction which might justly be considered an interference with proper ministerial action and responsibility.

It seems to me that, by the Constitution Act, Her Majesty's Government and the people of this Colony are entitled to hold the Governor responsible in the exercise of the power conferred on him for the preservation of the Legislative Council as an efficient branch of the Legislature.

But how can this end be attained unless successive Ministries consent to exercise moderation in pressing advice on this point, and recognise the power and responsibility of the Governor in giving or withholding assent?

At the time of the reconstruction of the Legislative Council in 1861 these difficulties were much and anxiously considered, and an effort was made to suggest what might be, subject to exceptional cases, a convenient limitation to the number of the Upper House, to which Mr. Forster takes exception. He appears to misapprehend what took place when he says that a limit was arbitrarily fixed by me to the number of the Legislative Council in concert with his predecessors.

At the time of the reconstruction of the Council I consulted the leaders of the Liberal Party on the one hand, that is, the Ministers then in office, and also with their cognizance I availed myself of the advice of gentlemen of social standing and of leading political position in other sections. In fact, I called into counsel, under the auspices of Mr. Wentworth, the framer of the Constitution Act, several gentlemen of various political opinions who were at that time prominent in Parliament, or in possession of much general influence.

It was understood that Mr. Wentworth was to be the President of the new Legislative Council, and I appointed him to the office as soon as it was formed. After many interviews and much deliberation it was the general opinion of these gentlemen that 27 Members might, with advantage, be considered a convenient usual limit of the Council, and with this view I concurred.

Mr. Cowper and his colleagues recommended that seats should, in the first instance, be offered to 27 gentlemen accordingly. Several declined on various grounds, and eventually 23 only were gazetted. That number was not subsequently augmented beyond 26—during that Administration, which lasted nearly two and a half years afterwards.

Of course it was never contemplated that the Constitution Act could be set aside, or that any succeeding Ministry could be bound by the opinion of their predecessors, although by common assent the convenience of some usual limit might be recognised; neither was it ever contemplated that the Governor could relieve himself of responsibility, by giving beforehand his assent to any unvarying course of action. But I thought that what was then done might with advantage be referred to thereafter by myself and others, not as an absolute guide, but as giving the assistance of the opinion of able and impartial men, who were all equally anxious for the permanent stability of the Constitution.

The recollection of these circumstances weighed, I admit, with me to some extent in arriving at the conclusion that no further addition should be made to the number of the Legislative Council at that time. I thought it unwise, in the absence of any particular reason, to deviate from a course which I had then approved of, and which, if constantly pursued, might gradually be confirmed by usage, and serve to maintain the strength and usefulness of the Council.

Notwithstanding the general views I took of this matter, I showed my willingness to meet the wishes of Mr. Martin's Ministry by increasing the number of the Legislative Council to 27 actually present in the Colony.

I met the wishes of the Ministry, of course, so far as I conscientiously could do so.

Thus I have stated the reasons, both general and particular, which guided me in the performance of the duty and in the exercise of the power intrusted to me by the Constitution Act—reasons which I believe justify the course I have pursued. You will observe from Mr. Martin's letter to Mr. Forster, that the Ministry, with the exception of Mr. Forster, did not meet my refusal by the resignation of their offices.

I hardly feel called upon to notice Mr. Forster's charge of partiality. I am utterly unconscious of any such bias as he has attributed to me, and I deny that there is any foundation for this accusation, which he, and he alone, has so unjustifiably preferred. I read for the first time Mr. Forster's letter a few minutes before I attended a meeting of the Executive Council, and I at once appealed to the Ministers, all of whom, except Mr. Forster, were present, to state openly, in my presence, whether there was, in their judgment, any foundation for such an imputation. They, one and all, on the spot, assured me that they considered the charge unjustifiable and untenable. This disclaimer is repeated in the Premier's letter to Mr. Forster, and if further justification were necessary, I could rely on the verdict of public opinion which Mr. Forster's charge against me called forth, and which, having being contradicted by his colleagues, did not find a single voice of support in the Assembly, and was met with general approbation by the public press of all shades of opinion.

I feel, therefore, that I need do no more than record this, my protest, against an accusation so ignoble and unfounded.

In conclusion, I must add that the position which Mr. Forster has assumed is unfortunate in this respect—that it lessens the safety of the Upper House by seeking to establish the evil precedent that the refusal of the Governor to add to its numbers when urged on no public grounds, but merely for the satisfaction of a Minister or his private friends, may be considered as a legitimate ground for the abandonment of office. The right of a Minister to resign when his advice is not taken is unquestionable, but the right should be exercised in the public interest sparingly and upon sufficient cause.

I have reason, however, for hoping that no difficulties will arise on this question. I sincerely trust that such may be the case, and that the moderation and wisdom of the leading men in the various sections may induce them to exercise with a cautious sense of their responsibility the powers which the Constitution places in the hands of the holders of office for the time being.

I have, &c.

(signed) *John Young*.

**The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir John Young.**

(No. 37.)

Sir,  
Downing-street,

26 May 1865.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 14, of the 16th of February last,

enclosing a letter of remonstrance from your late Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. Forster, against the course which you took in refusing to appoint two additional Members to the Legislative Council on the recommendation of your responsible advisers. The reasons which you give for this refusal appear to me sound and convincing; and I am glad to perceive that Mr. Forster's proceedings have not met with the approval of his colleagues.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Edward Cardwell*

**Governor the Earl of *Belmore* to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 109.)

My Lord Duke,  
Government House, Sydney,

29 September 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Grace that I have, at the instance of my Responsible Advisers, appointed three additional Members to the Legislative Council.

2. The only reason for this addition is, as stated in the enclosed letter from the Enclosure No. 1.

Attorney General, the difficulty-experienced in securing a quorum for the transaction of business, and on that ground alone I have sanctioned the increase  
Enclosure No. 2.

3. As I have not been able to find any instructions on record making it necessary for me to refer to your Grace before taking this step, as it is an understood thing that, as a rule, no nomination to the Legislative Council is to be made during the Session of Parliament, and as Parliament is appointed to meet on the 13th proximo, I appointed, on the 28th instant, with the advice of the Executive Council, the following gentlemen to be Members of the Legislative Council, viz.:—

- Frederick Matthew Darley, Esq., barrister-at-law;
- John Richardson, Esq., formerly a Member of the Legislative Assembly; and Thomas Holt, Esq., formerly a Member of the Legislative Assembly, and some time Colonial Treasurer.'

4. Two death vacancies also have occurred during the recess; these I have filled up by the appointment of—

- Henry Moore, Esq., a merchant, and the agent to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; and
- Alexander Park, Esq., a former Member of the Council before its reconstruction.

5. The Council, thus increased, now consists of 30 Members, being about two-thirds of its number prior to 1861.

6. I trust that what I have done will meet with your Grace's approval.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Belmore*.

**Enclosures.**

**The Attorney General to Governor the Earl of *Belmore*.**

My Lord,  
Attorney General's Office,

24 September 1868.

WHEN the first permanent nominations to seats in the Legislative Council were made by Sir John Young, an understanding was come to (as he informed me) between him and his then Executive Council that the number of Members should nor, as a rule, be allowed to exceed 27. The Constitution Act fixes a minimum number of 21, but there is no maximum; and, consequently, it is open\_ to the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to appoint as many Legislative Councillors as he may think expedient. When I went into

office in 1863, my colleagues and myself acquiesced in the view taken by Sir John Young in this matter, and we did not press upon his Excellency to depart from the understanding already mentioned. The gentlemen who succeeded us in 1865 adhered to the same understanding, and no attempt, so far as I am aware, was made by them to act in opposition to it.

The experience of the last two Sessions, has, however, shown that, with so small a number as 27, it is very difficult to procure the requisite quorum to enable the House to proceed with its business. Many of the Members reside at considerable distances from Sydney, and cannot be expected to give that continuous attention to their legislative duties which residents in Sydney might render without much inconvenience. Under these circumstances, it has occurred to my colleagues and myself that it would greatly facilitate the dispatch of business in the Legislative Council if the number of Members were increased to 30, and we accordingly recommend that your Lordship will be pleased to sanction such increase.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *James Martin*.

### **Governor the Earl of *Belmore* to The Attorney General.**

Sir,  
Government House, Sydney,

25 September 1868.

I HAVE to acknowledge your letter of the 24th instant, recommending me to sanction an increase in the number of the Legislative Council from 27 to 30 Members.

I am aware of the reasons which led to the understanding between my predecessor and his successive Executive Councils that the number of the Legislative Council should be limited to 27, and I fully admit the force of these reasons.

As, however, it now appears to be very difficult to procure the requisite quorum to enable the House to proceed with its business, and as such a state of things cannot but lead to public inconvenience, I am prepared to sanction, for the reason put forward in your letter, an increase of the number of the Legislative Council to a maximum of 30 Members.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Belmore*.

### **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor the Earl of *Belmore*.**

(No. 2.)

My Lord,  
Downing-street,

18 December 1868.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, No. 109, of the 29th of September, reporting that on the recommendation of your Responsible Advisers you had appointed three additional Members to the Legislative Council.

Any increase of the number of the Legislative Council is likely to be used as a precedent for further additions, and is therefore to be regretted; but I see no cause for doubting that the reasons for the increase adduced on the present occasion are *bona fide* and sufficient.

At the same time I should have been glad to have been assured that the addition was not in fact politically material as altering the balance in any important degree in favour of the Ministry by whom it was suggested by you.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Granville*.

### **Governor the Earl of *Belmore* to The Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 109.)

My Lord,  
Government House, Sydney,

14 July 1869.

I REFERRED your Lordship's Despatch, No. 2, of the 18th December 1868, on the subject of the appointment of three additional Members of the Legislative Council by the advice of my late Government, to the present Prime Minister, with reference to its concluding paragraph.

2. Mr. Robertson has this day submitted to me the accompanying Paper on the general question of limiting the numbers of the Legislative Council, to which I beg to draw your Lordship's attention.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Belmore*.

**(Enclosure.)**

### **The Colonial Secretary to Governor the Earl of *Belmore*.**

MEMORANDUM.—Your Excellency's Memorandum accompanying the Despatch of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 18th December 1868, No. 2 (M. 2190, B), is marked "private"; and all that your Excellency therein appears to desire at my hands is, my concurrence in an assurance to Lord Granville, that the addition made by the late Ministry to the number of the Legislative Council, as then existing, was not in fact politically material as altering the balance in any important degree in favour of the Ministry by whom it was suggested to your Excellency; and I should, I beg to say, be most glad to concur in such assurance and make no further comment, did I not conceive that the Despatch was based on a misapprehension which it is very important in the true interests of this Colony that I should endeavour to remove.

I presume, from the tenour of His Lordship's Despatch, that he is under the impression that a maximum number of the Legislative Council has been defined or implied; and that the Responsible Ministers of your Excellency may not in their discretion advise your Excellency to exceed it. If such be his Lordship's meaning, I am compelled, with all deference for so high an authority, to say that this cannot be admitted by the Members of the present Administration of this Colony.

The 2nd section of the Act 17 Victoriae, No. 41, enacts that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by an Instrument under the Sign Manual, to authorise the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, in Her Majesty's name, by an Instrument or Instruments under the Great Seal, to summon to the said Legislative Council of the Colony such persons, not being fewer than 21, as the Governor and Executive Council shall think fit.

In the third paragraph of your Excellency's Instructions, to which I trust that I may be permitted to refer, attention is particularly drawn to the terms above quoted; and the paragraph ends with the following words, but without any intimation, implied or expressed, of a limit to the number of Members to be appointed by your Excellency with the advice of the Executive Council:—"We do, therefore, by these Our Instructions authorise you from time to time to summon to the said Legislative Council such persons as you and Our said Executive Council shall think fit"

It is thus, I submit to your Excellency, abundantly clear that the law fixes no limit to the number of the Legislative Council of the Colony, and that the determination beyond the legal minimum of 21 rests in your Excellency with the advice of your Ministers. There is no warrant in law for a contrary conclusion, and it follows, therefore, that it is to be hardly imagined that the Secretary of State for the Colonies would, unless under some misapprehension, have used the terms "increase the number of the Legislative Council," or expressed a regret that an addition has been made, or that it was likely to be used as a precedent for further additions. The fact is, that additions have been made from time to time, and no question has ever been raised as to the legality of such additions, or of the right of Ministers in their discretion to advise them. I think, therefore, that the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies will scarcely deem it proper for him so to question or comment on the advice offered, or that may be offered by the constitutional Ministers of Her Majesty's Representative in a British colony having a Representative Assembly and Responsible Government, as to practically have the effect of nullifying without law in a material respect a most important constitutional principle, such as the right of extension of the Legislative Council. His Lordship will no doubt remember that even British Parliamentary Legislation "on any subject of exclusively internal concern "in any such Colony, has

been pronounced, as a general rule, unconstitutional, and only to be exercised in extreme cases in which necessity at once creates and justifies the exception. Parliamentary Paper, 1839, No. 118, page 7:—May's Constitutional History of England, vol. 2, folio 371.

In the Colonial Debates during the passage of the Constitution Act (*see* "Sydney Morning Herald," 22 December 1853—an extract is enclosed), Mr. Wentworth, who is the author of that Act, substantially advocated a nominee Upper House because of its flexible and expansive character, and he saw therein the safety of the Constitution. His remarkable words were, that an Elective Upper House would lead to a revolution; that it would control the Lower House, and trample on the rights of the people.

The recent "deadlock" in the neighbouring Colony of Victoria has shown some of the difficulties of a fixed number. With such a principle established, and with Members, like ours, holding their seats for life, our difficulties would not only be equal to those of Victoria with Members chosen under the elective principle and for a short term of years, but would be likely some time or other to overwhelm the Colony with anarchy and bloodshed. Mr. Wentworth was in favour of a nominee Upper House, which, he asserted, would give way rather than excite a revolution, and also because he felt assured that the Responsible Minister of the day would compel it to give way in such an exigency.

I may perhaps, in this view of the Constitution Act under which this Colony is governed, urge the right of any Ministry, having what they believe a great national measure to carry through the Legislative Council, to see in its importance, if obstructed therein, a reason to advise the Governor for the time being to summon such a number of additional Members as may secure the safety of the measure. His Excellency of course would possess as perfect a right to refuse to act upon such advice and to call other Advisers to his aid. Whether or not it would be proper in a Minister to advise so extreme a course, or in a Governor to refuse compliance therewith, would, I take it, depend on the justice and importance of the measure involved,—on the amount and length of continuance of the obstruction of the nominated Legislative Council, on the proportionate number and importance of the majority of the colonists demanding it, and on the depth and fervour of their determination in doing so. In other words, the wisdom of the course could only be determined by the effect which compliance or refusal would have on the prosperity of the Colony and the welfare and happiness of its people.

I desire, therefore, to convey to your Lordship, not only from myself, but from my Colleagues in the Government, that we would consider any action of ours, having a tendency, however remotely, to limit the number of the Legislative Council as at present constructed, as an unwarrantable abandonment of our duty as Ministers alike responsible to your Excellency, to the Parliament, and to the people of the Colony.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

(signed) *John Robertson.*

July 1869.

### **EXTRACT from Mr. *W.C. Wentworth's* Speech on the Third Reading of the Constitution Bill. ("S. M. Herald," 22 December 1853.)**

"With reference to the clamour which had been raised about the nominee Upper House being likely to override and undo all Constitutional Government, and to surrender all the power into the hands of the squatters,—the number of elected Members in the Lower House, which was to consist of no fewer than fifty-four members, would make it utterly impossible for such to be the case. A House so constituted would be, as it had always when occasion required it, proved itself to be, too powerful for the Upper House, and even for the Throne. A proof of this power had recently been exhibited in England; and many such proofs existed in earlier history. An Upper House had occasionally attempted to resist the popular will, but never determinately and with ultimate success, because the popular will was found to be irresistible, and an Upper House which would be obstinate in its resistance would surely be swept away. The reasons cited by the opponents of the nominee principle, in behalf of an elective Upper House as superior to a similar structure on the nominee principle, was its unexpansive and inflexible character; and for the very same reason he had been strenuous in his opposition to the elective principle prevailing in the Upper House. The erection of such a body would lead to a revolution. (Hear, hear.) It would control the Lower House, and could trample on the rights of the people. Therefore he was in favour of a nominated Upper House, which he felt assured would and must give way, rather than excite a revolution, and also because he felt assured that the responsible Minister of the day would compel it to give way in such an exigency. He was opposed to the principle of an elective Upper House on account of its inflexible and unexpansive character, an argument which, though used in its behalf, was fraught

with the most dangerous character; and because he preferred the British Constitution, which had stood the test of ages, which had worked well, and had been found congenial to the feelings and sentiments of Englishmen. (Loud cheers.) It was because under such a Constitution Englishmen could live contentedly and securely, that he proposed giving such a Constitution to the Colony, and such an Upper Chamber to the Legislature; and he, therefore trusted the House would show their concurrence in his opinion by passing the third reading of the Bill by a large majority. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

## **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor the Earl of Belmore.**

(No. 77.)

My Lord,  
Downing-street,

2 October 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 109, of the 14th of July, enclosing a Memorandum by Mr. Robertson on the subject of my Despatch, No. 2, of the 18th December last, relating to some additional appointments which had been made to the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

When writing that Despatch I was fully aware that the number of the Upper House in New South Wales was unlimited. I am also fully aware that, on certain critical occasions, it may become not only expedient but indispensable to bring the two Houses into harmony, by creating, or threatening to create, a number of Legislative Councillors sufficient for that purpose. But it is not the less clear that the whole value and character of the Upper Chamber will be destroyed if every successive Ministry is at liberty, without any sufficient occasion, to obtain a majority in the Council by the creation of Councillors. To prevent this, some constitutional understanding, having in the public eye the form of a valuable though not absolutely inflexible precedent, and limiting the circumstances under which such creations can properly take place, is desirable. Such an understanding did, in fact, exist between Sir John Young and his successive Ministers; and the object of my Despatch of the 18th of December was to enforce on you the inconvenience of any course which was calculated, without necessity, to impair the authority of that understanding, and to the expediency of making it clear, in the interest of the Colonial Constitution, that any necessary violation of its letter was not really a violation of its spirit; that is to say, that it was resorted to not to strengthen a party, but in reality for the convenience of legislation.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Granville*.

## **PROCEEDINGS of the Executive Council, on the 28th March 1861, relative to the appointment of the Honourable *John Robertson* as a Member of the Legislative Council.**

Minute No. 61/13.—Confirmed 8th April 1861.

HAVING been invited to the consideration of the subject by His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, at the instance of the Honourable the Vice-President, the Council advise that the Honourable John Robertson be appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Edward C. Merewether*, Clerk of the Council.

## **PROCEEDINGS of the Executive Council, on the 2nd September 1861, relative to the appointment of new Members of the Legislative Council.**

Minute No. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>40</sub>.—Confirmed 9th September 1861.

REFERRING to the proceedings on the 11th June last, His Excellency the Governor, at the instance of the Honourable the Vice-President, invites the attention of the Council to the desirability of making some further appointments to the Legislative Council.

The Council advise that Samuel Deane Gordon and Edward Butler, Esquires, both of Sydney, who have expressed their willingness to accept seats in the Legislative Council, be appointed Members of the said Council, and summoned thereto accordingly.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*, Jun.,  
Clerk of the Council.

### **MINUTE 62/34, 13th October 1862.—Confirmed 20th October 1862.**

HIS EXCELLENCY the Governor acquaints the Council that William Charles Wentworth, Esquire, has resigned the office of President of the Legislative Council, and invites their attention to the necessity of appointing his successor.

His Excellency having informed the Council that Terence Aubrey Murray, Esquire, late Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, has expressed his willingness to accept a seat in the Legislative Council, they thereupon advise that Mr. Murray be summoned to the Legislative Council accordingly, and further advise that he be thereupon appointed President,

Terence Aubrey Murray, Esquire, having been introduced, His Excellency, under the 33rd clause of the Constitution Act, administered to him the prescribed oath, and he then withdrew.

The Council upon the present occasion desire to place on record the deep sense which they entertain of the valuable services rendered to the Colony by Mr. Wentworth, in having accepted the office of President of the Legislative Council, and of the manner in which he has fulfilled the important duties of that high position during a very critical period in the history of the Colony.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*, Jun.,  
Clerk of the Council.

### **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir *John Young*.**

(No. 14.)

Sir,  
Downing-street,

5 February 1863.

I HAVE received your Despatch, No. 93, of the 18th of October, informing me that, acting on the advice of the Executive Council, you had nominated Mr. Terence Aubrey Murray, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, to a seat in the Legislative Council, and the Presidency of the Council, in succession to Mr. Wentworth, who was about to proceed to this country.

You further inform me that the Legislative Assembly have unanimously selected Mr. John Hay to fill the office of Speaker, which had been vacated by Mr. Murray.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Newcastle*.

### **MINUTE of the Colonial Secretary (Mr. *Cowper*).**

#### **Appointments to the Legislative Council.**

**GEORGE HENRY COX, Esquire, Mudgee; Edward H. Lloyd, Esquire; William Walker, Esquire, Sydney; Robert Towns, Esquire, Sydney.**

#### **PROCEEDINGS of the Executive Council, on the 17th June 1863, with reference to the appointment of certain Gentlemen to seats in the Legislative Council.**

### **Minute 63/21.—Confirmed 24th June 1863.**

HAVING been invited to the consideration of the subject by His Excellency the Governor, at the instance of the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, the Executive Council advise that the following gentlemen, who have intimated their willingness to accept seats in the Legislative Council, be forthwith summoned thereto accordingly, viz. :—(1) George Henry Cox, Esquire, Mudgee; (2) Edward Henry Lloyd, Esquire, Sydney; (3) Robert Towns, Esquire, Sydney; and (4) William Walker, Esquire, Sydney.

(signed) *Chas. Cowper*, Jun.,  
Clerk of the Council.

**Minute 63/21, 17th June 1863.—Confirmed 24th June 1863.**

**MINUTE of Colonial Secretary (Mr. *Forster*).**

23 November 1863.

Edward David Stewart Ogilvie, Esq., Yulgilbar, Clarence River.  
John Blaxland, Esq., The Hermitage, Ryde.  
Robert Johnson, Esq., Brooksby, Double Bay, Sydney.

**PROCEEDINGS of the Executive Council, on the 23rd November 1863, with reference to the appointment of certain Gentlemen to seats in the Legislative Council.**

**Minute 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.—Confirmed 1st December 1863.**

HAVING been invited to the consideration of the subject by His Excellency the Governor at the instance of the Honourable the Attorney General, the Executive Council advise that the following gentlemen, who have intimated their willingness to accept seats in the Legislative Council, be forthwith summoned thereto accordingly, viz.:—

- John Blaxland, Esq., The Hermitage, Ryde;
- Robert Johnson, Esq., Brooksby, Double Bay, near Sydney; and
- Edward David Stewart Ogilvie, Esq., Yulgilbar, Clarence River.

(signed) *Alex. C. Budge*, Clerk of the Council.

**MINUTE of Colonial Secretary (Mr. *Forster*).**

**Joseph Docker, Esq.**

LET the papers necessary to the nomination of the above to the Legislative Council be prepared.—*W. F.*

**PROCEEDINGS of the Executive Council, on the 1st December 1863, relative to the appointment of *Joseph Docker*, Esq., to a seat in the Legislative Council.**

**Minute 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.—Confirmed 7th December 1863.**

HAVING been invited to the consideration of the subject by His Excellency the Governor, at the request of the Honourable the Attorney General, the Executive Council advise that Joseph Docker, Esq., of Scone, who has intimated his willingness to accept a seat in the Legislative Council, be forthwith summoned thereto accordingly.

(signed) *Alex. C. Budge*, Clerk of the Council.

**MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

19 May 1864.

I RECOMMEND that Thomas Icely, of Coombing Park, near Carcoar, Esq., be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

(signed) *James Martin*, Attorney General.

## **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

19 May 1864.

I RECOMMEND that Alexander Campbell, of Rosemont, near Sydney, Esq., be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

(signed) *James Martin*, Attorney General.

## **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

14 October 1864.

I RECOMMEND that the following gentlemen be appointed Members of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, viz.:—

- James Chisholm, of Kippilaw, Esquire.
- Francis Lord, of St. Leonards, Esquire.
- Sir William Macarthur, of Camden.

(signed) *James Martin*, Attorney General.

## **THE Colonial Secretary to Governor Sir John Young.**

Sydney,

23 January 1865.

Sir,

YOUR Excellency having declined to nominate to the Legislative Council the two additional Members lately recommended by my colleagues and myself, through the Honorable the Attorney General, I consider it my duty to resign the office of Colonial Secretary, together with all other offices thereto appertaining. And as I understand your Excellency's objection to the nominations in question is in no way founded upon personal reasons, but rests chiefly upon the assumed desirability or expediency of confining the number of Members of the Legislative Council within a certain fixed limit, arbitrarily determined by your Excellency, in concert with our predecessors, but never assented to by my colleagues or myself, and wholly without authority or recognition from the Constitution Act, or from any other statute, I feel bound to place on record my respectful but most emphatic protest against what appears to me an unwise and unconstitutional attempt on your Excellency's part to control the operation of our constitutional laws in a manner calculated to favour the political opponents of the present Ministry, and to paralyze the action of representative institutions. And I take occasion further to remark upon the extraordinary contrast presented on the one hand by your Excellency's unwillingness to accept the recommendation of my colleagues and myself in this particular instance, as well as in other instances of a similar kind, which I need not specify, and on the other by the apparent readiness evinced by your Excellency in acting upon similar recommendations from the Ministry that preceded ours, as, for instance, on that memorable occasion when, with the concurrence and by the authority of your Excellency, twenty-one new Members were, during the last Session of the former Legislative Council, suddenly and simultaneously nominated to that body, for the notorious and openly avowed purpose of rescuing the then Ministers out of a purely political difficulty; and again, on a later occasion, when, in constructing afresh the present Legislative Council, your Excellency and the Executive Council used their formal authority expressly to secure for the same Ministers what, in the peculiar language of that Minute of the Executive Council, by means of which this piece of business was transacted, was termed a "fair working majority," or, in other words, a majority to aid in retaining the same Ministers in office. The cases to which I have above referred, I regret to say, appear to me to betray a degree of partiality on your Excellency's part towards our predecessors, as

compared with the Members of the present Administration, inconsistent with your Excellency's position as Her Majesty's Representative in this Colony, and of which my colleagues and myself have some reason to complain. I have accordingly the honour to request that your Excellency will forward a copy of this letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *William Forster*.

## **THE Colonial Secretary to the Attorney General.**

Sir,  
Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

24 January 1865.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, with a view to its being laid before the Executive Council, for your and their information, a copy of a letter which I yesterday had the honour of transmitting to His Excellency the Governor, conveying my resignation of the office of Colonial Secretary, together with all other offices thereto appertaining, and containing a statement of the circumstances under which I have felt it my duty to adopt this course. I need scarcely say that I regret exceedingly being compelled, by what appears to me an ill-judged resistance on His Excellency's part to the wishes of his Constitutional Advisers, to separate myself from your Ministry at the present crisis of public affairs. I am confident, however, that the principles on which I have acted, and which I have endeavoured to maintain, have the unanimous concurrence of yourself and your other colleagues, and I trust may meet with the approval of the public generally.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *William Forster*.

## **THE Attorney General to the Colonial Secretary.**

My dear Forster,  
Attorney General's Office,

26 January 1865.

I EXCEEDINGLY regret that you have thought it your duty to withdraw from the Ministry, in consequence of the refusal of His Excellency to appoint to the Legislative Council two gentlemen whose names were submitted to him by the Cabinet, through me, a few days since. I entirely concur with you in deploring His Excellency's refusal. Had His Excellency declined to act upon the recommendation of the Cabinet previously to the late vote of censure, which led to the dissolution, I think that we then might have most properly tendered our resignations to him on that ground, but I do not think that such a course can now be taken with any degree of propriety, when there is good reason to believe that on Friday next an Amendment to the Address will be moved, with every probability of its being carried. I think that it would betray pusillanimity on our part were we to evade the issue which will then be raised, by retiring from office on the avowed ground of His Excellency's refusal to act in a particular instance on our advice.

Nothing has occurred between His Excellency and the present Cabinet during the fifteen months that we have been in power that can fairly call upon us to place on record our opinion of the transactions to which you refer.

My other colleagues and myself, equally with you, concur in the principle which has led to your resignation, if we are right in understanding that principle to be a determination to withdraw from office on the refusal of the Governor to act upon our advice in any matter which we may think it our duty seriously to insist on; but, as already stated, we differ from you entirely as to the time and occasion which you have selected for the application of that principle; neither can we join with you in expressing the opinion, as you have done, that His Excellency has betrayed partiality towards our predecessors as compared with ourselves. There were many things done by His Excellency at the instance of the late Administration which we could not approve, and as the like could never by any possibility have been recommended by us, such things can hardly form legitimate topics for comparison or contrast. In my own personal intercourse with His Excellency, I have at all times

found a courteous readiness on his part to act in accordance with constitutional principle, and I do not remember any instance other than that which has led to your resignation in which he has declined to act on any recommendation of the Cabinet. While regretting his refusal, I, at the same time, think that it was unwise of you to avail yourself of this misunderstanding to withdraw at so peculiar a crisis as the present. I am aware that you care as little for the censure of the Assembly as I do, so long as we are both conscious that we have done nothing to deserve it; but, however we may disregard that censure, it is, I think, our duty manfully to meet it. My colleagues, as well as myself, are all perfectly satisfied that in what you have done you have not been actuated by any desire to throw impediments in our way, but solely by a determination to vindicate your position as a Responsible Adviser of the Crown. Although our views on this matter differ from yours, we know that our conduct in continuing in office will not be attributed by you to any motive other than that which I have already expressed. It is His Excellency's wish that you should retain your present office until your successor is appointed.

Yours very faithfully,  
(signed) *James Martin*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

6 July 1865.

I RECOMMEND that Elias Carpenter Weekes, Esquire, be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

23 May 1866.

I RECOMMEND that the undermentioned gentlemen be appointed Members of the Legislative Council, viz. :—James Macarthur, Esquire, of Camden Park, Camden; Edward Cox, Esquire, of Fernhill, Mulgoa; and Hugh Wallace, Esquire, of Nithsdale.

(signed) *James Martin*, A.G.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

28 February 1867.

I RECOMMEND that Patrick Alfred Jennings, Esquire, of Warbreccan, Deniliquin, be appointed a Member of the Honourable Legislative Council of New South Wales.

(signed) *James Martin*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

13 June 1867.

I RECOMMEND that John Hay, Esquire, of Woollahra North, be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

(signed) *Henry Parkes*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Crown Law Offices, Sydney,

28 September 1868.

I RECOMMEND the appointment of the undermentioned gentlemen as Members of the Legislative Council, viz.:—Frederick Matthew Darley, of the Edgecliff-road, Woollahra; Thomas Holt, of The Warren, Cook's River; Henry Moore, of Barncleuth, Sydney; Alexander Park, of Lewinsbrook, Paterson; and John Richardson, of Bourke-street, Surry Hills.

(signed) *James Martin*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

5 December 1868.

I RECOMMEND the appointment of Robert Owen, Esq., to be a Member of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *John Robertson*.

### **COPY of Telegram from the Hon. *John Robertson*, Esq., holding office of Colonial Secretary and Premier, dated 29th June 1869, to the Hon. *Charles Cowper*, Esq.**

Dubbo.

"DID you ever consent, by Minute or otherwise, to limit the number of appointments to the Legislative Council?" Immediate.

### **COPY of Reply, dated Dubbo, 30th June 1869, of the Hon. *Charles Cowper*, Esq.**

"Dubbo,

"I DO not remember ever to have pledged myself, either verbally or in writing, to such an agreement; and unless document can be produced to the contrary, I do not believe that I ever did so."

To the Hon. John Robertson, Esq.,  
Colonial Secretary, Sydney.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

25 January 1870.

I RECOMMEND the appointment of Charles Campbell, of Newtown, and Thomas Ware Smart, of Mona, Darling Point, Esquires, as Members of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

27 May 1870.

I RECOMMEND that William Bede Dalley, Esq., be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

4 August 1870.

I RECOMMEND that the Honourable Julian Emanuel Salamons, Esq., Solicitor General, be appointed a Member of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Charles Cowper*.

### **MINUTE Paper for the Executive Council.**

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

5 June 1872.

I RECOMMEND the appointment of the Honourable Saul Samuel, Esq., as a Member of the Legislative Council.

(signed) *Henry parkes*.

## **Appendix II.**

### **CONSTITUTION of Legislative Council (further Despatches respecting).**

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command.*

#### **No. 1.**

#### **Governor Sir *Hercules Robinson* to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 34.)

My Lord,  
Government House, Sydney,

10 August 1872.

I RECEIVED yesterday afternoon, from the Colonial secretary, the accompanying Minute of the Cabinet upon the constitution of the Legislative Council with a request that it might be transmitted to your Lordship by the mail which closes to-day.

2. I propose by the next opportunity to submit to your Lordship a few observations upon the subject to

which the Minute refers.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Hercules Robinson*.

The Right Honourable

The Earl of Kimberley,

&c. &c. &c.

## **Enclosure in foregoing.**

## **MINUTE of Cabinet.**

### **Members Present:**

- The Vice-President of the Executive Council.
- The Colonial Secretary.
- The Colonial Treasurer.
- The Secretary for Lands.
- The Secretary for Public Works.
- The Postmaster General.
- The Solicitor General.

ON behalf of your Excellency's Advisers, I have the honour to submit the following views which are entertained by the present Administration on the state of the Legislative Council of this Colony, and the serious grounds for apprehension that, as now constituted, that body will fail to work in harmony with the elective branch of the Legislature, or in conformity to the constitutionally ascertained wishes of the people.

Your Excellency will recollect that, soon after your arrival in the Colony, and some time before the defeat of the Border Duties Bill in the Legislative Council, I took occasion, in my conversations with you, to express my apprehension that the Bill would be lost in that Chamber, notwithstanding that the measure was then passing through the newly-elected Assembly by large majorities, and was framed to give effect to a policy confirmed by the result of the late appeal to the electors, and on which principally the late Administration had been removed from office. On these occasions I explained that a large number of the appointments to the Council had been made under the advice of Sir James Martin, and that several of the gentlemen so appointed were not in any other respect known to political life, and, without any personal disrespect, might be said to be gentlemen with no ascertainable political opinions. I explained further, that two members, from advanced age and paralytic affliction, were rendered incapable of attending to their duties; that one Member, owing to private circumstances, had withdrawn himself to a great distance from Sydney, where he was engaged in avocations which seemed to render his attendance next to impossible; that one Member was absent in Europe; and that several other Members very seldom attended, from age, impaired health, the distance of their residences from Sydney, the nature of their occupations, and from other causes. I stated at the same time, on the authority of the Vice-President of the Executive Council (who represents the Government in the Legislative Council), that during the period your present Advisers have held office, up to the date of my conversations, it was difficult to keep a quorum together for the transaction of business. I learn to-day from the Clerk of Parliaments that three Members have never appeared in their places this Session, and that 14 have been absent from half the sittings, which have been 26 in all.

It has been ascertained that the exact number of Sir James Martin's appointments is 15 out of a House of 31 Members, and that not more than three of the other appointments have been made when I have myself had the honour to hold office. Mr. Hay and Mr. Busby were appointed by Mr. (now Sir James) Martin, during the time I held office with that gentleman, from January 1866 to September 1868; and Mr. Samuel was appointed a short time ago by your Excellency on my recommendation.

I have stated these circumstances in detail, because they seem to throw light upon the positive intimation repeatedly made to Ministers before the Border Duties Bill left the Assembly, and in apparent derision of the majorities by which it was supported, that it would be defeated in the Council.

I now come to that defeat. The second reading of the Bill was moved in a House of 17 Members, exclusive of the President; and the division showed eight in favour of the Bill, and nine against it. The eight Members in favour of the Bill included several of the most considerable of our public men. Mr. Deas Thomson was many years Colonial Secretary; Mr. Hay held office in Mr. Stuart Donaldson's Administration, and has passed the Chair of the Assembly; Mr. Weekes and Mr. Samuel held office as Colonial Treasurer in several Administrations; Mr. Owen and Mr. Holt were also Members of former Administrations. On the other side, no

person of political consequence voted, if indeed Mr. Docker, the late Postmaster General, be excepted, who has never sat in the Assembly. I append (marked A.) the article on the occurrence published by the "Sydney Morning Herald," the leading journal of the Colony, which has always strongly supported the character and privileges of the Legislative Council. The resolutions of which I gave notice in the Assembly and afterwards withdrew (Appendix marked B.) correctly state the case as between the Council and the Country.

It appears to your Excellency's Advisers that they can look forward with little confidence that any measure passed by the Assembly and supported by public opinion, however important its character may be, will be considered by the Council with due regard to the interests affected by it and the expressed wishes of the people, after the course adopted on the Border Duties Bill, which embodied a policy so clearly and emphatically supported by the elective branch of the Legislature and by the Constituencies.

Under these circumstances, it devolved upon your Excellency's Advisers to decide upon the course they were prepared to take on the loss of a measure which they considered necessary to the good government of the Colony. Possessing the support of the Assembly, and sustaining defeat in the Council by a few gentlemen in the party interest, as they believed, of the late Minister, who had been defeated alike in the Assembly and before the electors, they considered it to be their duty to persevere in their line of policy on the Border question. It did not appear to them, however, that the occasion called for advice to your Excellency either before or after the defeat of the Bill. They were aware of the views on the question of appointments to the Council maintained by Sir John Young at the time of its reconstruction in 1861, under the provision of the Constitution for life-membership, and of the understanding, concurred in by men of political prominence, that a maximum of 27 Members should be generally recognised—though it is right to observe that it is within their knowledge that Mr. Cowper (now Sir Charles Cowper), who was then at the head of the Administration, has denied that he was a party to any such understanding. (*Appendix C.*) They were also desirous of avoiding any course which might have the appearance of tampering with the Constitution to meet a sudden emergency; but they were not the less sensible of the abortive and incongruous state of things into which the Colony was brought in the conduct of this question. The late Legislative Assembly in February was dissolved, because it was in favour of the policy of the Border Duties Bill; and a direct appeal was made to the Constituencies on the question, as is proved by Sir James Martin's address, when seeking re-election (*Appendix D.*) The result of the dissolution proved that a majority of the electors were in accord with the Assembly; the new House affirmed the same views of policy by large majorities; and the measure which was produced by these causes, and received the constitutional sanction of these events, is defeated in the Legislative Council in July, by a majority of one, without calling forth any exercise of power to avert or moderate the consequences. This state of things, they felt assured, could not fail of giving rise to popular dissatisfaction and an angry feeling in the public mind: and, after mature consideration of the case before them, your Excellency's Advisers arrived at the opinion that the action of the Legislative Council on this occasion, viewed in connection with the unsatisfactory character of certain appointments in past years, and the facility with which, in their belief, outside and merely personal influences could be exercised upon the Council's deliberations, afforded signal evidence of the failure of the nominee principle. Nor could they conceal from their view that the working of the principle on which the Council is based, had invoked the interference of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in a manner not expressly sanctioned by law, and which, with expressions of deep respect, your Excellency's Advisers cannot but consider incompatible with the rights of self-government secured to the Colony by the Constitution.

Your Excellency's Advisers have therefore decided to introduce, in the next Session of Parliament, a Bill to reconstruct the Legislative Council on an elective basis, which they feel assured will receive the support of a large majority in the Assembly and throughout the country. Although this part of their policy does not of itself require any explanation at the present time, still it cannot be contemplated without the prospect of a contingency in respect to which it appears to your Excellency's Advisers desirable that their views should be communicated to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State. They cannot entertain the hope that the measure which they contemplate will be carried without much difficulty in the Council, whose Members will have a life-interest in its resistance. In this event, which is regarded as most probable, the legislation of the Colony will still have to be carried on, possibly for several years, with the continued existence of the nominee principle in the Council; and your Excellency's Advisers are compelled to weigh beforehand the considerations which ought in their judgment to determine appointments to that body. Considered as a matter of argument, they could not recognize the wisdom and sound policy of a low maximum; but, if an arbitrary rule were to be kept in view, they are of opinion that a maximum equal at least to one-half of the Assembly would be safer for the public interest, and more likely to secure a true representation of those elements of political experience, mature judgment, and the distinction and authority arising from public service, which ought to prevail in the Legislative Council, and would afford better guarantees against small personal organisations and clique influences. But so long as the nominee principle exists in the Constitution, your Excellency's advisers must continue to recognise the full force of the principal argument employed by Mr. Wentworth in support of its

introduction, which was its expansiveness; and they cannot admit that the letter of the Constitution should be refined away by any unwritten arbitrary rule whatever. They respectfully submit that all appointments to the Legislative Council should be determined by the circumstances of each case, the exigencies of the time, and by grave considerations which cannot be foreseen and estimated until they arise; and that it was intended that they should be so determined by the framers of the Constitution. While dutifully expressing their loyal attachment to the Throne and institutions of the Empire, your Excellency's advisers cannot, even by implication, consent to relinquish the smallest vestige of the liberties of this colony, or concur in any rule or instruction at variance with the absolute right of its people to govern themselves in all matters within their own shores, as secured to them by the Constitution.

They respectfully request that your Excellency will transmit this minute, by the outgoing mail, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Attorney General was unavoidably absent from the meeting of Cabinet; but he concurs in the views herein expressed. I append copies of the Division Lists on the Border Duties Bill in the Assembly and Council (marked E. and F.)

(signed) *Henry Parkes*.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney,

8 August 1872.

**(A.)**

### **EXTRACT from the "Sydney Morning Herald" of 27th July 1872.**

The rejection of the Border Customs Convention Bill by a majority of one in the Legislative Council is a disastrous exercise of an undoubted right, besides being contrary to that policy which usually governs an Upper House. The measure is one purely of administration, the mode of collecting revenue. It has, moreover, the recommendation in principle of five years' practice. The policy of those five years the late Government professed to renew.

The Members of the Upper House who voted for the Bill are mostly persons of established political reputation. Mr. Deas Thompson, Mr. Hay, Mr. Samuel, Mr. Weekes, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Holt, are all men of long standing, of great political experience, especially conversant with subjects of Customs and finance, and all having been Members of the Lower House. In the other list, not one man has held any office in connection with the administration of Customs and finance, and only one has shared in the Government, Mr. Docker, a gentleman who owed his elevation to the Upper House to the personal regard of the late Premier, and who never was elected by the people. An adverse vote, therefore, ought to have been given under very solemn convictions, after a close examination of the subject, and a conscientious discharge of all preparatory Sessional duties.

If the decision is to be taken as final, its wisdom will have to be proved by the event. It was a solemn thing to listen to the warnings of that distinguished public man, Mr. Deas Thomson, who has acquired by his intelligence and moderation the title to be called a statesman, when he told his hearers that the House should not look at the measure merely from a fiscal point of view-; when he told them that, for the sake of a small pecuniary advantage, they were leading to the separation of the territory; and when he warned them that, if discontent were to arise, no effort on the part of the Legislature or people of this country could prevent an event which he should exceedingly deplore. He might have added that, in a conflict of this kind, where the passions were not unlikely to be awakened, consequences might result still more disastrous; and that, as in former disagreements, it might be requisite to send the Permanent Force to maintain a system declared to be odious and oppressive. We fear that there were few much impressed with any other consequence than the immediate result of rejecting the Bill. The motives, however, which influence men are often pure as well as mistaken, and there were, in the majority of one, persons incapable of giving a vote for the sake of serving a partisan or defeating a Ministry. Yet a celebrated writer, referring to the first American quarrel, traces the views of some who precipitated a separation. "He meant," speaking of the leader of the Opposition, "only to ruin a Minister, and he destroyed an empire.

Looking at the names and connections of those who voted for the rejection of the Bill, we do not see many persons whose lengthened experience of public affairs, and whose command of the confidence of their fellow-colonists, will explain their thwarting a measure approved by the great majority. Mr. Deas Thomson

affirmed "that he could not doubt for a single moment that this measure had received as it were the assent of the whole colony."

What course the Government may choose to take should be marked by coolness and deliberation. They should not meet a vexatious exercise of power with threats, as if one error destroyed the utility of an institution. It is indeed possible, by adopting a wrong principle in the nomination of Members, to permanently impair its usefulness. If nominations are made of persons who have held no office as representatives of the people, but are chosen merely because the great man of the day thinks proper to distinguish them with his favour, we may lose that highly valuable constitutional principle which assigns a legislative power on the nomination of the Crown, but confines that nomination only to persons of an established reputation. These mistakes have in other countries led to changes which have made a Legislative Council an inferior duplicate of the Assembly in political authority, and therefore utility. Hitherto the Legislative Council has given effect to the views of the representatives in principle, and has therefore maintained the power of moderating their action. In this instance it has reversed the policy of the colony, long established and deliberately affirmed, by taking advantage of the lapse of regulations which it was the object of the Bill to restore and maintain. The Legislative Council has not therefore repelled a measure proposing a novelty, but upset a system which had till recently the force of law.

It may be proper for the Government to consider whether there is any remedy for the mischief. Nothing is more thoroughly established than the rules of Parliament which forbid the bringing in of a Bill of the same "argument" and "matter" in the same Session. We learn from "May's Parliamentary Practice" (third edition), 249th page, that so imperative is this regulation, that in 1807 Parliament was actually prorogued for a week in order to admit the revival of a Bill which had been rejected by the Lords. We infer from the proceedings in the Upper House that the wish of a majority of one was to precipitate an irrevocable decision; that the aim of Mr. Samuel was to postpone it, to give time to bring up Members to support the measure. If therefore it is known that their absence caused the Bill to be lost, the public may be saved great inconvenience, and perhaps worse, by a short prorogation. If the country had never been heard upon the subject, and if the party who had opposed the measure had done so upon a well-known and traditional policy, or if the Bill introduced any practice not already tested by years of experience, and to a late date never disputed in principle, the Legislative Council would have been justified in commending the question again to the deliberation of the country, and reserving for it the benefit of second thoughts. This, indeed, is the real business of the Upper House, and its power of maintaining an effective influence is in carefully respecting the conditions under which it is exercised. But in this instance it has attempted to arrest the discussion of an important fiscal measure, which would certainly have admitted a more careful consideration than could be given in a sitting of a few hours.

Mr. Parkes has, however, put upon the Motion Paper a series of resolutions intended to dispense with the law. The Attorney General (Mr. Butler) repeatedly told the Assembly, during the discussion on the Bill, that the collection of the customs on the border remained a legal obligation, and that it could only be abolished by the authority of Parliament. Have the Ministry abandoned this opinion, and have they consented to a policy which they declared to be unlawful? We hope not Better lose the Bill and suffer the inconvenience of delay than set up the Assembly above the whole Legislature, and especially upon an assumption utterly unjustifiable, that the Council will approve hereafter of a policy which they have condemned, and cure its illegality by an *ex post facto* law.

**(B.)**

**Tuesday, 30th July 1872.**

Government Business—Notice of Motion :—

1. Mr. Parkes to move, That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider the expediency of adopting the following Resolutions, namely :—

That an humble Address be presented to his Excellency the Governor, transmitting to his Excellency the following Resolutions:—

- That Parliament was dissolved, and an appeal made to the people, in February last, on the question, Whether or not the Customs Duties should be actually collected on the Boundary between this Colony and the Colonies of Victoria and South Australia; and that the First Minister who advised the Dissolution put this issue, and this issue alone, to the electors.
- That a large majority of Members were returned to this House in support of the policy of accepting a specific sum from the adjoining Colonies in lieu of the actual collection of the Duties.
- That a Bill to give effect to this policy was read a second time in this House by a majority of 37 to 17, and a third time by a majority of 29 to 14, and was duly transmitted to the Legislative Council for its concurrence.

- That the said Bill, embodying the policy approved by the late and the present Legislative Assembly, and confirmed by the collective vote of the constituencies, has been defeated in the Legislative Council, in disregard of the expressed will of the people and their representatives in Parliament, by a majority of nine to eight out of the 31 Members forming that House.
- That this House is of opinion that the circumstances of this conjuncture justify the Government in proceeding without delay to make an agreement with the Governments of Victoria and South Australia, or with either of those Governments, for securing the payment of a specific sum, fairly ascertained as the approximate amount of revenue to which this Colony is entitled, in lieu of the actual collection of the Border Duties, such agreement to be subject to ratification by Parliament in this or the next following Session.

### (C.)

Copy of Telegram to the Honourable Charles Cowper, Esq., Dubbo, from the Honourable John Robertson, Esq., holding the position of Colonial Secretary and Premier, dated 29th June 1869.

Did you ever consent, by Minute or otherwise, to limit the number of appointments to the Legislative Council?

Reply of the Honourable Charles Cowper, Esq., dated Dubbo, 30th June 1869, to the Honourable John Robertson, Esq., Colonial Secretary, Sydney

I do not remember ever to have pledged myself, either verbally or in writing, to such an agreement, and, unless a document can be produced to the contrary, I do not believe that I ever did so.

### (D.)

## **EXTRACT from the "Sydney Morning Herald" of 8th February 1872.**

To the Electors of East Sydney.  
Gentlemen,—

FROM 1855 to September 1864 no duties were received by this colony on goods imported across the Murray. The loss to our Treasury during that period by reason of such non-collection must have been at least 400,000*l.*, every penny of which went into the Treasury of Victoria. In April 1863 Mr. Cowper proposed to Mr. O'Shanassy to enter into some arrangement by which this colony might be enabled to receive the duties in question. In May 1863 the Under Secretary of Victoria wrote to Mr. Cowper in answer to his proposal, and distinctly declined to accept it. A week afterwards Mr. Cowper submitted three proposals in reference to the Border Duties. After the lapse of nearly three months, on the 30th May 1863, Mr. O'Shanassy replied, refusing to enter into any arrangement whatever, on the ground that the advantage derived by this colony from access to the Victorian market was a sufficient compensation for the loss of the Border Duties. In February 1864 Mr. Hart, the Treasurer of South Australia, undertook to re-open the question with the Government of Victoria, on behalf of this colony, and on the 19th March he sent a telegram to the Government in Sydney, stating that Victoria would agree to no terms. In June 1864, three months after this telegram, Mr. Forster wrote to the Chief Secretary of Victoria again, urging the propriety of making an arrangement to avoid, if possible, the actual collection of duties on the Murray. Mr. M'Culloch evaded the question by raising another issue. All efforts for accommodation having thus failed, and this colony having suffered for nearly 10 years a loss of revenue not less than 40,000*l* a year, on the 18th August 1864, public notice was given that the Border Duties would be collected on the 19th September following, and on that day (19th September 1864), the Custom House officers began to collect. Between that date and the end of the year 1864, three months and 11 days, the actual collections amounted to 3,600*l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.*, this sum being so small in consequence of the very large quantity of goods sent over from Victoria during the month which the liberality of this Government allowed to merchants and others for the purpose of making their arrangements. In the year 1865 the Border Duties ceased to be collected from 1st May to the 27th June, in consequence of an arrangement which afterwards fell through. The amount actually collected for the year, less the 1 month and 27 days during which there was no collection, was 32,765*l.* 4 *s.* 3 *d.* For this 1 month and 27 days Victoria afterwards paid 6,800*l.*, thus making the whole payment for the year 1865 39,565*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* In the year 1866 the Border Duties realised 61,760*l.* 14 *s.* 9*d.*, and in January 1867 they amounted to 4,976*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* The sum therefore realised by this colony for those duties, from the 19th September 1864 to the 1st February 1867, being 2 years 4 months and 11 days, was 109,902 *l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; the income of the last year (1866) being nearly 62,000*l.*

On the 1st February 1867 the arrangement came into operation by which, for five Years, Victoria paid to New South Wales 60,000*l.* a year, being nearly 2,000*l.* a year less than the actual collections in 1866. Mr. Samuel opposed this arrangement, on the ground of the inadequacy of the sum of 60,000*l.*, which he said would, during the next five years, be "more than quadrupled." Mr. Macleay, in the same debate, while eulogising the Government for making the best arrangement that could be made under the circumstances, hoped that we should be in a position "to make a better arrangement with Victoria when the agreement then in existence should expire."

Towards the close of last year no one doubted that a much larger sum than 60,000*l.* a year ought to be paid by Victoria if the Border Duty arrangement were to be continued. In order to effect such an arrangement, two of my colleagues and myself went to Melbourne, and were at once met with the distinct assurance by Mr. Duffy and Mr. Berry that under no circumstances would Victoria pay more than 60,000*l.* My colleague and I therefore saw that there was no prospect of an agreement, and we submitted to Mr. Duffy and Mr. Berry a memorandum in which this distinct refusal of theirs to pay more than 60,000*l.* was set forth. To that statement they took no exception, but they afterwards proposed that the Border Duty arrangement should be extended for another year, and that during that year an account should be taken, which might serve as the basis of a new arrangement. This we declined to accede to, considering that we should have grossly betrayed the interests of this colony if we had consented to receive for the year 1872 a sum less by 2,000*l.* than the actual collection for the year 1866.

Immediately after the conference was closed, and since Mr. Duffy has expressed a willingness to have accounts taken, and to pay what these accounts shall show this colony to be entitled to. We have declined to accept any sum less than 60,000*l.*, having no doubt whatever, and believing that no one else has any doubt whatever, that the amount of the duties payable to this colony, after deducting the duties payable to Victoria, will be much more than that sum. We have insisted on the payment of that sum at least, and as much more as the accounts will show to be our due, as we know that the amount cannot possibly be less. In this view the Assembly agreed with us, but the same Assembly afterwards, without rescinding its former vote, came to a different conclusion, and adopted the view of Mr. Duffy, that no sum should be fixed as a minimum, but that the amount to be paid to New South Wales should altogether depend upon the account.

From the decision of this Assembly, which thus within six weeks adopted two opposite and contradictory resolutions, and by the last of them played most unpatriotically into the hands of Victoria, we deemed it our duty to appeal to the Constituencies. I am therefore now before you a candidate for re-election. By the imposition of the Border Duties, at my instance, on the 19th September 1864, this Colony, in 2 years 4 months and 11 days received 109,902*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and in the subsequent five years 300,000*l.*—in all, 409,902*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* not one penny of which would have been paid if the Victorian Government could have prevented it. It is my desire that our Treasury should receive the duties to which it is fairly entitled, and no energy has been—no energy shall be spared, on my part to secure to this heavily taxed community the entire sum that those duties amount to. It would have been easy for the Government to have accepted the resolution moved by Mr. Jennings, and so have avoided the possibility of a crisis on this Border question. But we thought it was our duty rather to stand by what we considered to be the public interest, and refuse, under any circumstances, to leave open to the hazard of dispute and disagreement a portion of the public income, about our right to which there could have existed no possibility of doubt. This Government has throughout acted liberally and in good faith with Victoria. My colleagues and I have acted with firmness also, and we feel assured that, in taking the stand we have done, we shall be supported by the country.

I am, &c  
*James Martin.*

7th February 1872.

(E.)

**Wednesday, 26 June 1872.**

12. *Border Duties Convention Bill*,—The adjourned Debate on the motion of Mr. Parkes, "That this Bill be now read a second time,"—resumed.

Question put.

The House divided.

And so it was resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a second time.

**(F.)**

**Wednesday, 24 July 1872.**

9. *Border Duties Convention Bill*.—The Adjourned Debate, on motion of Mr. Samuel, That this Bill be "now" read a second time, upon which Mr. Docker had moved by way of Amendment, That the Question be amended by the omission of the word "now," with a view to add at the end the words "this day six months,"—resumed.

Question put,—That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the Question.

The House divided.

*Point of Order*.—Upon the Question being proposed,—That the words "this day six months" proposed to be added at the end of the Question be there added,—an Honourable Member offered to amend the proposed Amendment by omitting the words "six months," and adding the word "week" in lieu thereof.

The President stated, That in his opinion the Amendment thus proposed was irregular, but that if the House negated the addition to the Question of the words "this day six months," any Honourable Member might then propose to fill the blank with such other time as he may think fit.

Question then put,—That the words proposed to be added at the end of the Question be then added.

The House divided.

Whereupon Question,—That this Bill be read a second time this day six months,—put and passed.

**No. 2.**

**Governor Sir Hercules Robinson to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

(No. 41.)

My Lord,  
Government House, Sydney,

27 August 1872.

In my despatch. No. 34, of the 10th instant, I transmitted a minute of the Cabinet on the constitution of the Legislative Council, and promised to communicate in a subsequent despatch my own views on the question which was thus submitted for your Lordship's consideration.

2. I have since perused the correspondence which has passed on this subject, from the date of the establishment of the existing Constitution to the present time; and it will perhaps be convenient that I should give here a brief narrative of the facts which are presented by the papers to which I have been enabled to refer.

3. When the Constitution Act (No. 41 of 1853) was under discussion, it was decided, after lengthened deliberation, that the Legislative Council should be a nominated and not an elected Chamber. The Act prescribed also, amongst other provisions, that the minimum number of the Upper House should be 21; that the quorum should be one-third of the whole number; and that the Members first appointed should retain their seats for five years from the date of the first summonses, but that all future Members, after the expiration of that term, should be appointed for life.

4. In May 1856 the first Legislative Council was established under this Act. The number of Members then appointed was 32, but before the close of that year (three changes of Ministry having taken place in the interval) the number had been increased to 45. The maximum number of Members at any one time, during the first five years, appears to have been 48. This was exclusive of the exceptional appointments made within the last few days of the five years, when the Council was, to use a familiar term, "swamped" by the nomination of 21 new Members, to carry the Land Bills. These Members, however, never took their seats, for, on presenting themselves to be sworn in, the President, with the majority of the old Members, retired, and the House ceased to exist, by the expiration of the period specified for its duration before the next regular day of meeting.

5. Shortly afterwards—that is, in July, 1861—The Legislative Council was reconstructed by the appointment of Members for life, as prescribed by the Constitution Act. The necessity for recognising some usual limit in the number of Members—to be observed except under very special and exceptional circumstances—was then very generally admitted, as it had become apparent, from the experience of the previous five years, that unless some such limitation were adopted and adhered to, it would be impossible to maintain the character and efficiency of the Council as an independent branch of the Legislature. The consultations which took place at the time, and the understanding which was eventually arrived at on this

subject, were some years later thus described by Sir John Young, in his despatch, No. 14, of the 16th February, 1865 :—

*"At the time of the reconstruction of the Legislative Council in 1861 these difficulties were much and anxiously considered, and an effort was made to suggest what might be, subject to exceptional cases, a convenient limitation to the number of the Upper House \* \* \* I consulted the leaders of the Liberal party on the one hand, that is, the Ministers then in office; and also, with their cognisance, I availed myself of the advice of gentlemen of social standing and of leading political position in other sections. In fact, I called into counsel, under the auspices of Mr. Wentworth, the framer of the Constitution Act, several gentlemen of various political opinions who were at the time prominent in Parliament or in possession of much general influence. It was understood that Mr. Wentworth was to be the President of the new Legislative Council, and I appointed him to the office as soon as it was formed. After many interviews and much deliberation, it was the general opinion of those gentlemen that 27 Members might with advantage be considered a convenient usual limit of the Council, and with this view I concurred. Mr. Cooper and his colleagues recommended that seats should in the first instance be offered to 27 gentlemen accordingly. Several declined on various grounds, and eventually 23 only were gazetted. That number was not subsequently augmented beyond 26 during that administration, which lasted nearly two and a-half years afterwards. Of course it was never contemplated that the Constitution Act could be set aside, or that any succeeding Ministry could be bound by the opinion of their predecessors, although by common consent the convenience of some usual limit might be recognised; neither was it ever contemplated that the Governor could relieve himself of responsibility, by giving beforehand his assent to any unvarying course of action; but I thought that what was then done might with advantage be referred to thereafter by myself and others, not as an absolute guide, but as giving the assistance of the opinion of able and impartial men, who were all equally anxious for the permanent stability of the Constitution."*

6. Mr. Cowper's Ministry was succeeded in office by that of Mr. Martin, which lasted from October, 1863, to February, 1865, and during that period Sir John Young yielded so far to the wishes of the Ministry as to increase the Council to 32, so as to give 27 Members present in the Colony and "available for service,"—four Members being at that time absent from the Colony, and one about to leave for England. But when Mr. Martin, in January, 1865, shortly before the break-up of his Administration, urged a further increase of the effective Members from 27 to 29, Sir John Young refused, and the refusal led to the resignation of Mr. Forster, the Colonial Secretary, as explained in the despatch from which I have already quoted. Mr. Cardwell, in his despatch, No. 37, of the 26th May, 1865, considered the reasons given by Sir John Young for refusing to appoint two additional Members to the Legislative Council, on the recommendation of his responsible advisers, sound and convincing.

7. In September, 1868, Mr. Martin, being again in office, prevailed on Lord Belmore to  
Lord Belmore—No. 100, 29 Sept. '68.

increase the Legislative Council from 27 to 30 Members on the ground of the difficulty experienced in securing a quorum for the transaction of business; and on this increase

Lord Granville—No. 2, 18 Dec. 1868.

being reported home, Lord Granville expressed his regret at the step, as he feared it would be used as a precedent for further additions.

8. In October, 1868, Mr. Martin went out of office, and was succeeded by Mr.

Lord Belmore—No. 109, 14 July, 1869.

Robertson, who in the following July submitted a memorandum in reference to Lord Granville's despatch of the 15th December, 1868, in which he deprecated as unconstitutional the imposition of any limitation in the number of the Legislative Council, and

Lord Granville—No. 77, 2 Oct. 1869.

declined, on behalf of his Cabinet, to recognise any such understanding. In acknowledging this memorandum, Lord Granville observed :

"When writing that despatch, I was fully aware that the number of the Upper House in New South Wales was unlimited. I am also fully aware that on certain critical occasions it may become not only expedient, but indispensable, to bring the two Houses into harmony by creating or threatening to create a number of Legislative Councillors sufficient for that purpose. But it is not the less clear that the whole value and character of the Upper Chamber will be destroyed if every successive Ministry is at liberty, without any sufficient occasion, to obtain a majority in the Council by the creation of Councillors. To prevent this, some constitutional understanding, having in the public eye the form of a valuable though not absolutely inflexible precedent, and limiting the circumstances under which such creations can properly take place, is desirable. Such an understanding did, in fact, exist between Sir John Young and his successive Ministers; and the object of my despatch of the 18th of December was to enforce on you the inconvenience of any course which was calculated, without necessity, to impair the authority of that understanding, and to the expediency of making it clear, in the

interest of the Colonial Constitution, that any necessary violation of its letter was not really a violation of its spirit; that is to say, that it was resorted to not to strengthen a party, but in reality for the convenience of legislation."

9. In December, 1869, Mr. Robertson recommended to Lord Belmore appointments to the Legislative Council which would have involved a further increase in the number of that Chamber from 30 to 33 Members. He urged in support of his proposal, that he still declined to recognise the validity of any such understanding as that agreed to between Sir John Young and former ministries, and that so small a number of the Council had been appointed by Governments of which he had been a Member that additional appointments were then necessary to enable him to carry on the Government. Lord Belmore declined to act on the advice tendered, and the appointments were not made. Mr. Robertson soon after resigned office, on grounds unconnected with this refusal, and the course adopted by Lord Belmore in this matter was approved by the Secretary of State.

10. Since then the number of the Legislative Council has not been allowed to exceed thirty, except occasionally when, as at present, an extra Member has been appointed to give the Minister of the day a Representative of his own selection in the Upper House.

11. Thus it will be seen that, although several attempts have been made to break through the understanding come to in 1861, such attempts have always been successfully resisted, except in the one instance, which I have detailed, in the year 1868, when the maximum was increased from 27 to 30. And, indeed, notwithstanding this increase, I think it may be fairly contended that the spirit of the understanding of 1861 has been adhered to up to the present time; for, as I have shown, Sir John Young himself interpreted that understanding as meaning 27 members "present in the Colony, and available for service"; and if from the number of 31, now on the roll, there be deducted one Member absent in England, two Members who are by age and infirmity rendered incapable of attending to their duties, and one who has been obliged, in consequence of altered circumstances, to remove to a great distance (350 miles) from Sydney, there will remain only 27 members available for service, many of whom even are prevented from attending regularly by a variety of causes.

12. I now come to the Minute of the Cabinet upon the present composition of the Legislative Council, which has been submitted for your Lordship's consideration. In that paper Mr. Parkes alludes, in the first place, to the large number of appointments to the Council which have been made by Sir James Martin, several of the gentlemen so selected being, he considers, unknown to public life, and without ascertainable political opinions. He calls attention next to the irregular attendance of a considerable portion of the Council, from a variety of causes, and he proceeds to animadvert upon the course adopted by the Council on the Border Customs Bill, which was defeated by what he characterises as a party vote. He adds that he and his colleagues are of opinion that "the action of the Legislative Council on this occasion, viewed in connection with the unsatisfactory character of certain appointments in past years, and the facility with which, in their belief, outside and mere personal influences could be exercised upon the Council's deliberations, afforded signal evidence of the failure of the nominee principle." And he intimates that the Cabinet had, in consequence, decided to introduce, in the next Session of Parliament, a Bill to reconstruct the Council on an elective basis. This, of course, is a perfectly legitimate issue to be laid before the country. It is obvious that so long as the appointments to life seats in the Upper Chamber are made by the minister of the day, no guarantee can be afforded that the selections will always be made with regard solely to the fitness of the person chosen, and his ability and willingness to devote himself with assiduity to the business of legislation. Other considerations of a personal or party character will often present themselves which, practically, it will be very difficult to resist; and it remains, therefore, for the Legislature and the public to weigh carefully the evils which are inseparable from the nominee system, in comparison with those which attach to a Chamber constructed on an elective basis, and to adopt the form which may, on the whole, be held to present the fewest disadvantages.

13. The object of Mr. Parkes's minute, however, as he explains, is not to discuss the merits of the policy which he is prepared to pursue, but to bring under your Lordship's notice the considerations which, in his opinion, ought to determine appointments to the Legislative Council as at present constituted; for he thinks it most probable that the legislation of the colony will still have to be carried on for several years with the continued existence of the nominee principle in the Council. He is of opinion that if any limit in the number is to be observed, 36 would be a better maximum than 30, but he objects strongly to the recognition of any understanding on such a subject, as he considers that all appointments should be determined by the merits of each case.

14. The grounds urged for a maximum of 36 are that such a number "would be safer for the public interest, and more likely to secure a true representation of those elements of political experience, mature judgment, and the distinction and authority arising from public service, which ought to prevail in the Legislative Council, and would afford better guarantees against small personal organisations and clique influences." But I must confess I am unable to see why these results should follow a mere increase in the numerical strength of the Council from 30 or 31 to 36. The evils complained of by Mr. Parkes in the present composition of the Legislative Council are

not traceable, as far as I can see, to any limitation in the number. If Members were selected solely with regard to fitness and to their ability and disposition to attend regularly, 27 or 30 would be found amply sufficient to meet all the requirements of an Upper Chamber, whilst if their selection be influenced by other considerations, a mere increase in the number will not affect any permanent improvement. This view is, I think, supported by the experience of the past. For the first five years after the establishment of the Council the average number of Members was 44, and the quorum for this number would be 15. I find that the largest division during each of the seven Sessions which were held in those five years was as follows :—26, 29, 37, 26, 31, 27, and 29. The smallest division in each Session was—14, 11, 13, 14, 9, 11, and 11—nearly all below a quorum, and therefore inoperative. During the same period the House was unable to proceed to business from the absence of a quorum a quorum on 14 occasions, and was counted out 15 times during the progress of business. These facts would seem to indicate that the attendance was relatively not much better than it has been of late with a smaller number; and it must be remembered that after five years' experience of a House which, as I have stated, averaged 44 Members, the leading men of all political parties were agreed that the Council was too large, and ought to be reduced.

15. At the same time, I do not pretend to say that the present number is precisely the best that can be fixed, and I am not aware of any special reason why the limit should be 30 instead of 36. I believe that Mr. Parkes is so impressed with the necessity of exercising great care in making appointments for life to the Upper House, that if he had to nominate five or six new Members, he would, I feel assured, make selections which would prove an acquisition to the Chamber; but the difficulty I see is that if any addition were now made without special cause, it would furnish a second precedent for further additions, which it would then be extremely difficult to resist.

16. As regards the constitutional objections urged by Mr. Parkes to the recognition of any understanding as to a limit in the ordinary number of the Council, I need only point out that similar objections were advanced by Mr. Forster and Mr. Robertson; and as their representations have already been, in my opinion, conclusively answered in Sir J. Young's and Lord Granville's Despatches, to which I have referred, I need not go over the same ground again. I will merely observe in reference to Mr. Parkes's allusion to Mr. Wentworth's opinion as to the advantage of expansiveness in a nominated Council, that a perusal of the debates on the Constitution Bill will show that when advocating the superiority of the nominee principle (as compared with an elective Upper House) on the ground of its greater flexibility and expansiveness, Mr. Wentworth had in view not the constant exercise of an unlimited power of making appointments to meet the ordinary exigencies of party Government, but the power which the nominee system would, as a last resort, place in the hands of the responsible Minister of the day to bring the two Houses of the Legislature into harmony with each other, by the creation of new Members, if it should ever be found indispensable to the public safety to adopt such an extreme measure, after every other means of reconciling conflicting opinions had failed. And Mr. Wentworth, after five years' experience of the Council without any recognised limit, concurred, on the reconstruction of that body in 1861, in the advisability of fixing an ordinary maximum, which should not be exceeded except under very special and exceptional circumstances.

17. There is only one other point in the Minute upon which I feel it necessary to offer any further remark. I refer to the passage which alleges "that, the working of the principle upon which the Council is based has invoked the interference of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in a manner not expressly sanctioned by law, and which, with expressions of deep respect, your Excellency's advisers cannot but consider incompatible with the rights of self-government secured to the Colony by the Constitution." I can find nothing in the past correspondence to support such a charge. When Sir John Young "swamped" the Legislative Council in 1861 and reported the circumstance home, the Secretary of State merely expressed his regret at the course adopted by the Governor, which did not appear to him to be justified by the urgency of the occasion. When Sir John Young refused to enlarge the Council, in 1860, and Mr. Forster in consequence resigned, and appealed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Cardwell simply replied that he thought the reasons given for the refusal were sound and convincing. When Lord Belmore enlarged the Council, in 1868, from 27 to 30, and reported the appointments home, the Secretary of State only remarked that any increase was likely to be used as a precedent for further additions, and was therefore to be regretted. And when Lord Belmore declined, in 1869, to increase the Council from 30 to 33, and reported to the Secretary of State the grounds for his refusal, Lord Granville merely approved of the language which Lord Belmore had held to Mr. Robertson on the occasion. Thus it will be seen that in every instance when questions have arisen as to the appointment of additional members of Council, the Governor has acted on his own responsibility without previous reference to the Secretary of State, and that when the course adopted has been reported home, the Secretary of State has simply expressed his opinion as to the propriety or otherwise of the Governor's proceedings,—an opinion which on one of the occasions referred to was specially invited by the Minister who conceived himself aggrieved by the Governor's decision. The understanding between the leading politicians in 1861, as to a limitation in the ordinary number of the Council,

was not come to in consequence of any suggestion from home, nor was it even reported to the Secretary of State for several years. I can only imagine, therefore, that the passage in the Minute to which I have called attention has been written under some misapprehension as to the facts of the case.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Hercules Robinson*.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley,  
&c. &c. &c.

### **No, 3.**

## **The Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir *Hercules Robinson*.**

(No. 89.)

Sir,  
Downing-street,

29 November 1972.

I HAVE received your Despatch No. 34, of the 10th August, transmitting a Minute by your Ministers on the constitution of the Legislative Council, and also your Despatch, No. 41, of the 27th August, containing your remarks upon that Minute.

2. Mr. Parkes, in the Minute signed by him on behalf of your advisers, after examining the composition of the Legislative Council at the time when the "Border Duties Bill" was brought before it, and the circumstances connected with the defeat of the Bill, after it had been passed by an Assembly elected with special reference to the policy to which it gave expression, stated that he and his colleagues could, after this transaction, look forward with little confidence to the action by the Council with regard to measures passed by the Assembly, lie furl her observed that the Ministers were desirous to avoid any course which might have the appearance of tampering with the Constitution, and after mature consideration had arrived at the opinion that signal evidence had been afforded of the failure of the nominee principle, the working of which they held to have invoked the interference of the Secretary of State in a manner, not expressly sanctioned by law, and incompatible with the rights of self-government secured to the Colony by the Constitution. They therefore had decided to introduce in the next Session a Bill to reconstruct the Legislative Council on an elective basis; and, with reference to probable reception of such a measure by the Council, they felt compelled to weigh beforehand the considerations which should determine appointments to that body. As a matter of argument they could not recognise the wisdom and sound policy of a low maximum, but if an arbitrary rule were to be kept in view, they were in favour of a maximum equal at least to one-half of the Assembly. But they held that no such arbitrary rule should be maintained, and that all appointments should be determined by the circumstances of each case and the exigencies of the time, which could not be foreseen; and they could not relinquish any part of the liberties of the Colony, nor concur in any rule at variance with the absolute right of the people to govern themselves in all matters within their Colony, as secured to them by the Constitution.

3. In your Despatch, No. 41, you give a clear and concise narrative of the several occasions on which the understanding arrived at in 1861, as to the number within which, for general convenience, it was expedient to limit nominations to the Council, has been questioned and proposed to be set aside, showing that it has nevertheless been maintained, with the consent of successive Ministers of differing opinions, and with only a slight modification, up to the present time, and you point out that this limitation was not suggested by Her Majesty's Government, and that its maintenance cannot justly be said to have been the result of any direct interference on the part of my predecessors.

4. Without entering into any lengthened examination of the present constitution of the Legislative Council, I would state that it does not appear to me to have been established that the appointment of its Members by nomination has been the cause of the difficulties which have from time to time induced Ministers to recommend the addition to it at once, for a particular object, of an unusual number of Members. If the tenure of his seat by a Legislative Councillor had been limited in the Constitution Act to a term of years, and it had been arranged that a fixed number of seats should become vacant, either annually or at frequently recurring periods, there would have been little danger of the Legislative Council being, or continuing for any long time to be, in opposition to the policy supported by the Elective House. And it does not seem out of place to inquire whether, if any reform of the constitution of the Council should be held to be requisite, it is necessary to abandon the

system of nomination. I do not wish to express a decided preference for either form of constitution, but I may observe that a Legislative Council constituted on an elective basis has proved itself, as your Ministers are aware, not less liable than a nomination House to come into collision with the representatives returned to the Assembly.

5. With reference to the opinion expressed by your Ministers, that the right of self-government and the liberties of the Colony have been infringed by the rule acquiesced in by preceding administrations, I think it can hardly be maintained that it is beyond the proper province of Ministers, who, from time to time, hold power as possessing the confidence of an Assembly freely elected by the people, to govern their action by such an understanding.

6. It appears to me that the arrangement by which any amendment of the Constitution Act, always a matter of serious difficulty and responsibility, has hitherto been avoided, must be held to have acquired a certain force and value, and that in default of any fresh enactment, there is nothing inconsistent with the proper working of the Constitution in maintaining it.

7. The facts detailed in the first paragraph of Mr. Parkes's Minute show clearly the practical inconveniences, not to use a stronger term, that would result from commencing the practice of making unlimited additions to the Council whenever the exigencies of the moment may lead Ministers to recommend them; and I am glad to be assured of your belief that he is impressed with the necessity of exercising great care in making appointments for life to that House. But even if the number of gentlemen having the requisite qualifications were larger than I understand it to be, and it were possible by the exercise of care to select at the present time a number of persons suitable to be appointed to the Council, that could not always be the case. When one Minister has succeeded in procuring the creation of a number of Members sufficient, in his opinion, either to redress the political balance which he alleges to be adverse to him in consequence of appointments made on the recommendation of predecessors from whose policy he differs, or to enable a measure of present importance to be passed in opposition to the views of the Council, a similar concession could not fairly be refused to his successor; and it is far from being impossible that in a few years the Members of the Legislative Council might thus be extravagantly increased, and its quality seriously deteriorated.

8. For the sake, therefore, of the permanent interests of Constitutional Government in the Colony, in the working of which Her Majesty's Government cannot but take a deep interest, although they seek in no way to interfere with its internal administration, I shall be glad to learn that your Ministers have thought it better to abstain from inviting you to depart from the understanding which has hitherto prevailed.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Kimberley*.

Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, K.C.M.G.,

&c. &c. &c.

Remarks of Mr. Justice Denniston on the more Important Provisions of "The Supreme Court Act Amendment Bill, 1894."

*Published by the Canterbury District Law Society, with the permission of Mr. Justice Denniston.*

Copy of Resolution of the Council of Canterbury District Law Society, passed at a meeting held on the 25th day of September, 1894.

"That the Canterbury District Law Society cordially approves of the views set forth in Mr. Justice Denniston's Remarks, and authorises the same to be printed, and directs that a copy thereof be sent to each member of both Houses of the General Assembly of New Zealand."

SMITH, ANTHONY, SELLARS AND COMPANY, LTD., CHRISTCHURCH.

## Remarks of Mr. Justice Denniston on the More Important Provisions of "the Supreme Court Act Amendment Bill, 1894."

THAT part of the proposed Act which relates, in the words of the side note, to Judges taking Circuits in rotation, seems to me to have been drawn by some person unfamiliar with the practical working of the judicial system of the Colony. In England the Courts sit permanently in London : the Judges go on Circuit only to try Criminal cases and issues of fact. Any important questions of law arising in any trial are decided before the Courts in London. In New Zealand, in the four large centres in each of which is a resident Judge, and in which by far the greatest number of cases are necessarily heard, all such questions are determined by a single Judge,

subject to appeal. Such questions are frequently argued and determined after the actual hearing. Comparatively few cavil cases are heard, and finally decided, immediately after the date of the sitting for which they are entered. As a consequence, the Civil Sittings extend for a long period. Practically the Courts are in Session the greatest part of the time during which the Judges are not absent from the centre of their respective districts. To treat these Sittings for civil business as Circuit Sittings would lead to the greatest inconvenience to suitors and Counsel, unless such Sittings were very lengthy, or unless their number was very much increased. Neither of these alternatives is consistent with the proposal that such Sittings should be held by the Judges in rotation. The present system is based on geographical and other considerations, which are assumed to be best met by having a number of judicial centres. The proposed scheme involves ranking all such centres as circuit towns. A proposal to alter the present system by having a single judicial centre, with circuit sittings in all other parts of the Colony, may be considered if ever made. The present proposal combines the inconveniences of both systems with the advantages of neither.

In its present form it is demonstrably unworkable. The regular Sittings in the fourteen places in which the Court sits, are in each year (treating the Criminal and Civil Sittings as one) six in each of the four centres, three in each of five other places, and two in each of the remaining five. It is obvious that sittings in rotation, in the manner prescribed by the Act, in each of such places is physically impossible. Take, for example, the case of a judge sitting in Westland. He cannot again sit there in turn until two years after such first sitting. But in this interval he would have to sit at least three times in each of the four centres. To comply with the proposed scheme, the number of sittings in each place must be equal. The Courts must sit as often in Oamaru as in Wellington.

Further, the least consideration shows that to attempt to carry out the proposal with the present judicial power is impossible. In determining the different sittings allowance must be made, unless great hardship to suitors may result, for the longest possible requirements. (This necessarily has in England led to great complaints of the waste of judicial time under the Circuit system.) Putting the four centres at three weeks, the five more important Circuit towns at two weeks, and the remaining five at one week (which is distinctly an underestimated, and taking the number of sittings in each as at present, would give 112 weeks, which, distributed among the five Judges, would give 22 weeks' actual circuit work to each Judge. This is exclusive of the time occupied in travelling to and from the various towns which (even if the various towns were visited as nearly as possible in geographical order) would occupy at least six weeks: add to this the eight weeks occupied by the Court of Appeal, and the eight weeks of the Vacations, and it will be found that the Judges, even with continued absence from their places of residence, could not overtake the work. Even if the sitting in rotation was confined to the four centres, much the greater part of the year would be spent on circuit. What sort of judicial work is to be expected from nomadic Judges, spending one out of every five days in train or steamer, and what sort of consideration to the Judges is involved in a scheme which allows them (exclusive of vacations) a few weeks out of the year in their homes, I leave to others to decide,

THE Act further deals with the Judge's charge to the jury.

It proposes to enact, in the first place, that the Judge presiding "shall, in his" charge to the Jury, carefully explain to them all points of law affecting the case under "trial."

In almost every case, to properly explain all points of law to a Jury, the Judge would require to apply the law to the evidence, and in doing so, to comment upon such evidence. If forbidden to do this, the only safe method of attempting to deal with the law will come to be what I saw and heard in the State Courts of California, where such a law as that proposed exists: that is, the mere reading from a text book the legal definition of the crime, or the general legal principles applicable. This will be in most cases of very little assistance to a Jury.

It is further provided that the Judge, if requested to do so, "shall present the" facts of the case to them, as appearing from the evidence, without comment.' "To "present the facts "of a case without comment is an impossibility. What are the "facts" of a case, is the question at issue, and to be decided by the Jury. To "present the facts as appearing from the evidence" in any degree intelligently, a Judge must collate and arrange the evidence, compare the statement of one witness with another, draw the attention of the Jury to discrepancies in testimony, refer to the demeanour and behaviour of witnesses, point out any mis-statements by Counsel of evidence or law—in fact, do all that is now done in "summing up." In all this the Judge is perforce "commenting" on the evidence. To forbid comment will be either absolutely ineffective, except as introducing an element vague and embarrassing, and leading to constant motions for new trials, or it will compel the Judge to confine his presentation of" the facts as appearing from the evidence "to simply reading over his notes of evidence without any observation. This last course seems the only logical means of carrying out the injunction (if it is to have any effect at all) of abstaining from comment. It seems to me that in that case some questions not unworthy of consideration present themselves.

The English trial by Jury is not an abstract or ideal system. It is not the result of deliberate legislative

enactment. It has grown to its present form from an originally entirely different system. No one would be likely to suggest that the ideal method of ascertaining fact would be to require that nothing was to be taken as true which had not compelled the acquiescence of twelve men taken at random, without any necessary acquaintance with the rules of evidence, or with the special matters submitted to their arbitrament.

That a system on the face of it so ill-calculated for its object—especially for a time so unlike, in the complexity and variety of the subjects which now engage our Courts, the simpler and ruder incidents of the age in which it originated—has retained public respect and confidence is due to the various modifications it has undergone, and to the safeguards with which it is now surrounded. Among these safe- guards I venture to include as perhaps the most important, that which it is the object of the present proposal to destroy—the fact that a Jury now has the assistance at the close of a case of a direction or Summing up by the President or Judge both as to the law and on the evidence,

The verdict of a Jury is the resultant of the system as it stands: those who desire to alter that system in a material point must consider the effect of that alteration on the whole system—not merely as directed to some particular objection. In looking at the proposed alteration, consider its actual effect. Take what is now so common—a case, criminal or civil, extending over several days. The question to be tried may involve much expert and technical evidence—the production and consideration of books, documents, accounts. The details are necessarily not brought out consecutively or continuously, but disjointedly. The same transactions are detailed by two sets of witnesses at different stages of the case. The Jurors are of the average class—too often carefully minimised as to intelligence and education by the challenges of the party whose case is weak or unjust. Much of the evidence is such as, with the best intentions, the Jurors are unable to carry with them in detail. At the close of the case they are addressed by Counsel, The object of the Counsel is the attainment not of abstract justice, but of success. Even if he keeps within the wide bounds allowed by professional ethics, he deals with the evidence from his own point of view. He dwells on the points in his own favour, he ignores or discredits those which tell against him. If his case be bad, he introduces and magnifies irrelevant subjects; he appeals to the passions and prejudices of the Jury. In many cases he finds it his interest, not to instruct, but to confuse and mystify. "Jurors," says Sir James Stephen, in his *History of the Criminal Law*, Vol. I. p. 572, "almost never take notes, and most of them would only confuse themselves by an attempt to do so; and I strongly suspect that a large proportion of them if examined openly at the end of the trial as to the different matters which they had heard in the course of it, would be found to be in a state of hopeless confusion and bewilderment."

It is in this condition it is now proposed to leave them, practically without any further assistance, to arrive at an intelligent and unprejudiced verdict. As I have before pointed out, under the present proposal the law will be stated by the Judge. The evidence, if read, must be read as given; to attempt to arrange or systematise it would be to comment, and as such prohibited. As the practice now stands, the Judge, at the stage I have mentioned, sums up to the Jury. He is, from his position, conversant with the principles of evidence, accustomed to deal with it, and without prejudice for or against either party. His summing up is made in open Court. Anything like bias or partizanship would not only be open to comment, but would be noted and resented by the Jury, He states to the Jury the law by which the case must be determined. He then deals with facts. He commences by clearing away the irrelevant matter which has accumulated during the proceeding—by indicating the false issues to which Counsel has endeavoured to direct them, by warning them to disregard any appeals to passion or prejudice which may have been made to them. He presents the incidents consecutively and connectedly, with such observations on the evidence, and such references to the comments of Counsel on the various points as he may think necessary to bring before the Jury the actual controversy between the parties. In this he is, what Sir James Stephen calls him," the guide and adviser to those who are ultimately to decide, and a moderator in the struggle, on the result of which they are to give their decision."

Will anyone doubt that real justice is more likely to be done when the Jurors have had the benefit of such guidance and advice, than if left to give their verdict under such circumstances as I have described ? For my own part, I should go further, and say that not only would the removal of the guiding and moderating functions now entrusted to the Judge be injurious to the administration of justice, and lead to the most serious injuries to innocent persons, but that it is the existence and exercise of such functions which have alone saved the system of, trial by Jury in spite of the abstract objections to it.

But probably the advocates of the proposed change will agree with much of what I have said on this point. Their objection is not that the summing up by a Judge is not of value, but that it is hurtful, because in the summing up Judges express opinions on matters of fact, and that these opinions unduly influence the Jury. That in many cases the Judge expresses or indicates his own opinions on the facts is true. Indeed, it is inevitable. You cannot, in many cases, piece together and comment on evidence without, either directly or incidentally, showing your own view. I see myself no reason why such should not be continued to be, as it always has been, done. The practice is as much and as ancient a part of the system of trial by Jury as is the system itself.

The real objection made by the advocates of the present proposal is founded, not so much on a dislike to the indication of an opinion by the Judge, as to the suggestion that Juries will attach an undue importance to such opinion when expressed. What is undue importance is a matter of opinion. That the opinion of a Judge deserves and should receive weight as an opinion, seems to me clear. The fear of those who propose this innovation seems to be that Juries will consider it as more than an opinion—as, in fact, authoritative and binding. I do not think this difficulty exists in fact. It is not complimentary to a Jury's intelligence, or consistent with the assumptions necessarily made by those who advocate the change. They insist that a Jury is intelligent enough to understand and pass judgment upon all the details of a complicated case without advice or assistance, and capable of detecting and resisting the fallacies and blandishments of Counsel, and yet is unable to discriminate between the expressions of a Judge's opinion and his authoritative ruling on points of law. It proposes to protect Jurors against themselves. They are assumed to be able to dispense with the Judge, but not to withstand him.

Even if it should be conceded that the expression by the Judge of his own opinion is a defect (a view opposed to the opinions of those in a position to speak with authority on the subject), the much more important question remains—Is not the proposed remedy a greater evil? It is proposed to avoid a defect which, even if real, is comparatively unimportant, to deprive a Jury entirely of that assistance of the Judge which I have attempted to express. Is that reasonable? To cure an ache, real or imaginary, you cut off a limb! To avoid a risk of a flavour of Judge in the verdict, you are content to let the verdict be the result of the latest impressions of Counsel's heated and partisan oratory.

Who has asked for this change? Where has there been any suggestion that the Judges have so abused their power, or that the risk intrinsic in the system of Juries over-valuing a Judge's comments is such as to justify this vital change in our procedure? All charges to Juries are made in open Court. In important cases they are fully reported. Is there any instance of the Press, or the public, having complained of partiality or injustice? The lawyers are as good judges on this point as any. What is their opinion? Advocates whose sophisms it has been the duty of the Judge to expose—unscrupulous Advocates, who would hope for profit in the unrestrained facilities for confusing and misleading Juries, and perhaps some few visionaries who prefer an unworkable ideal to a practical system, may support the proposal; but I feel satisfied that the great majority of both branches of the profession is against it. I may, as a Judge, be assumed to be a not altogether impartial witness in such a question. But I speak with an experience of some fifteen years' practice at the Bar when I avow my strong conviction against the wisdom of the proposed change.

Its chief, if not its only recommendation, seems to be that it has been adopted in some of the States of America. As I have said, I saw it in operation in one State, On enquiry I learned that it had been there adopted because the public could not trust the elected Judge who presided in the State Courts. It does not exist in the Federal Courts—the Court of the United States as a whole. I have no doubt those who advocate it do so on general grounds, and would deprecate any intention of reflecting on the Judicature of New Zealand. But the effect of its adoption in New Zealand alone in any British community, will be inevitably to cast a slur upon such Judicature, and inferentially to disparage the administration of justice in the Colony.

THE Bill further proposes that costs shall be in the discretion of Juries.

What is proposed is, that the Jury shall, in their own discretion, and without power of review at the trial of the facts, fix the amount of costs on any standard or principle they choose: may refuse them altogether; may order them to be paid by any party they think proper—even by a successful plaintiff. I can only express as my own opinion that it is difficult to conceive any more powerful instrument of oppression than a body entrusted with such powers—powers far beyond those now entrusted to any Judge.

It is the function of a Jury to determine disputed facts. The amount of damages sustained by a litigant is, in certain cases, one of such facts, and therefore proper to be determined by a Jury. The question of what amount of expenses has in any case actually been incurred is also a question of fact, but one most unsuitable for determination by a Jury in course of a trial.

The questions which really ought to determine the amount of costs very frequently never come before a Jury. The determination of issues of fact may be only a small part of the proceedings, and may be independent of many questions which should determine the right to costs. In an Equity suit, for instance, much of the work necessary for doing justice between the parties may have to be done after the determination of disputed questions of fact.

The principle on which costs are now determined is the simple one that (with certain precautions to penalise frivolous and vexatious actions) the litigant who has compelled another to establish his right by resort to a Court of Justice, pays the costs of the litigation he has rendered necessary. The amount is decided on proper enquiry by the Judge, or by the officer of the Court.

The present proposal is to establish for this simple and equitable principle the sentiment or caprice of a Jury. I can imagine no proposal more eminently calculated to add to the uncertainty of litigation.

The Rates of Mortality in New Zealand.

BY George Leslie, Assistant Actuary, Government Life Insurance Department, and Member of the Actuarial Society of America.

*(From the New Zealand Journal of Insurance, Mining, and Finance, September and November, 1895.)*

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## **The Rates of Mortality in New Zealand.**

### ***(From the New Zealand Journal of Insurance, Mining, and Finance, September and November, 1895.)***

The health and preservation of the life of the people are subjects which have received increasing attention for a number of years, and may now be regarded as essential elements of family, municipal, and State policy. The knowledge of the means of preserving and increasing the health of a population is the most valuable of all kinds of knowledge, for it teaches us how to live a longer, healthier, and happier life. Labour is the source of wealth, but without health there can be no labour and no enjoyment in life. It is only by means of accurate statistical observations that this knowledge can be acquired, and we are fortunate in this colony in having had for many years careful and elaborate statistics published annually by the Government. These annual reports of the Registrar-general may, as has been said of those for England and Wales, "be regarded as storehouses of facts which have been arranged on methods that are approved as useful and convenient, and to which both now and in future years students of vital statistics may resort for the elucidation of questions bearing on the social condition of the people, on national progress, on life, health, disease and death."

The object of the present enquiry is to deduce from certain enumerations of the people and the registered births and deaths over a period of years, a mortality table, showing the actual rate of mortality which has been experienced. It is further intended to compare the results with those obtained by other enquirers into the mortality of the colony—and especially with the tables of mortality based on the populations of the two chief Australian colonies, the healthy districts of England, &c., so as to bring under notice the special characteristics of our colonial mortality, characteristics which may be regarded as the effects of the different conditions of life under which the inhabitants of these islands "live and move and have their being." It would be out of place to enter at any length into the early history of the colony here, but it may be briefly stated that the work of colonisation was established on systematic principles early in the year 1840, when settlements were formed at Wellington and Auckland. Prior to that date a number of Europeans, consisting of missionaries, whalers, flax dealers, and general traders, had settled in various parts, but chiefly at the Bay of Islands, where a considerable trade with Sydney had been established. At the end of the year 1840 the population of European descent (exclusive of the military and their families) was estimated at 2,050. The first census of the colony was taken in November, 1861, when it was found that the population (excluding Maoris) was 25,707; of whom 15,035 were males and 11,672 females. Ten enumerations of the people of the colony have been made since then, the last being on April 5, 1891. The rapid progress made by the colony in population will be seen from the following table, which contains a summary of the results of each census.

The first enactment dealing with the registration of births, deaths, and marriages was an ordinance passed by the General Legislative Council on October 15, 1847, to come into operation on January 1, 1848. This ordinance continued in force till the year 1853, when it was repealed by an Act of the General Assembly. The registers provided in accordance with the ordinance of 1847 are said to be in existence and available for reference, but the particulars for the colony as a whole do not appear to have been summarised and published for any year previous to 1855. In the absence of this information, but with the assistance of the Gazette and the statistical compilations of several provincial authorities an estimate has been formed of the births and deaths for the years 1840-54. The result is Births, 9,800; deaths, 3,200. These figures, while not assumed to be strictly accurate, are believed to be sufficiently near the mark for a general summary. When these figures are added to those given by the Registrar-general in the statistical summary of the colony for the years 1855-94 we get a total of 506,107 births and 160,307 deaths. Speaking in round numbers it may be said that from the establishment of the colony to the end of 1894 the number of children born in it (exclusive of Maoris) exceeds half-a-million, and that the deaths have been less than one-third of the births. Having thus rapidly surveyed the

field of observations, it has now to be stated that the mortality tables which accompany these remarks are based on the enumerations of the people made in 1881, 1886, and 1891, and the deaths for 1880-92 (inclusive) a period of thirteen years.

Before detailing the steps taken to reach the final figures, it may be of interest to point out that the fluctuations in the annual death rate per thousand of the mean population of each sex for the period under review are smaller than might have been expected. The annual death rate for each year has been as follows :—

Here it will be seen that the highest rate of males was 1205 and the lowest 1021, a difference of 1884 per thousand. In the case of females the highest rate was 10.79 and the lowest 8.48—a difference of 2.31.

In Victoria for the same period the extreme rates of males are given by the Government statist as 17.75 and 14.81—a difference of 2.94; while for females the extremes are 16.12 and 12.15—a difference of 3.97 per thousand living,

In New South Wales for the same period, it appears from the figures of the Government statistician that the range of fluctuations has been even greater. For males the extremes are given as 17.43 and 13.38—a difference of 4.05, and for females 15.32 and 10.81—a difference of

In England and Wales for the same years the extreme rates of males are given by the Registrar-general as 21.8 and 19.2—a difference of 2.6, and of females 19.3 and 17.3—a difference of 2.3.

From this it would appear that the range of fluctuations in the annual death rates in this colony is limited, and it seems fair to assume that confidence in the final results should be increased by this circumstance.

Coming now to the construction of the tables, the first step was to tabulate the numbers living at each of the enumerations, already indicated, in quinquennial groups of ages. But as it was found that the number living at eighty years of age and over was small, these were all collected into one group. At each enumeration it was found that a certain number of males and females living were returned as of uncertain age, but as the proportions were small, and as it was found that in the death returns a certain number of both sexes were in a similar position, it was decided to ignore the unspecified altogether, as the errors resulting from omitting them must be very small.

The second step was to calculate the average annual rate of increase or decrease for each group of ages during the period from April 3, 1881, to March 28, 1886, and then from March 28, 1886, to April 5, 1891, the respective dates when the enumerations were made.

The numbers living at each group of ages were then increased or diminished (in accordance with the particular ratio relating thereto) for the fraction of the year between the census date and July 1 in each of the three years.

As the method of arriving at the corrections necessary to be made to the enumerated numbers does not appear to be quite uniform amongst those who have dealt with this subject, it may be stated that the method adopted herein has the authority of the late F. G. P. Neilson, sen., the late Dr. Wm. Farr, and the Actuary of the Citizen's Life Assurance Company, Sydney, Mr. W. R. Dovey, and I agree entirely with the remarks he made on this subject at the Insurance Institute, Sydney, in 1893.

The annual ratios of increase or decrease were as follows :—

It will not fail to be noticed that the ratios for the first group of ages 0-4, for the period 1886-91, indicate a decrease in the births of both sexes, and the Registrar general has on several occasions drawn particular attention to this circumstance. It is also to be observed that the ratios of males at the ages 26 to 49 exhibit considerable variations for the quinquennial enumerations, and even when the population is viewed at an interval of ten years the number of men living in 1881 was greater than in 1891, at the ages 25-29 and 10-44. It is difficult to account for these fluctuations on any theory of errors of age, and it seems more reasonable to conclude that the circumstance is due in some measure to emigration and possibly death from accidents. Having obtained the estimated population in the middle of 1881, 1886, and 1891 at the several groups of ages, the numbers in corresponding groups were summed, and dividing this total by the number of enumerations, the mean population of each age group for the ten years under observation was arrived at. The deaths for the thirteen years 1880-92 were then extracted from the volumes of statistics, and tabulated for the same groups of ages as the population, then taking one-thirteenth of the total deaths in each group the average number of deaths per annum was obtained. This average number of deaths was then divided by the mean population in the same age group, and the result obtained was the mean annual rate of mortality for each group, and this multiplied by 100 gave the deaths per cent. of mean population in the groups.

The facts forming the foundation of the present table of mortality, together with the aggregate and mean populations, the average number of deaths and the deaths per cent. of mean population are given in Table B :—

## **Table B.—Census Returns and Deaths in new Zealand, 1880-1892**

Males, Ages 1831, April 3. POPULATION 1886, 1891, March 23, April 5. Total, Aggregate Mean Population's Mean Population. Deaths

Having obtained the mean annual [unclear: rab] mortality for each group of ages, or [unclear: tech]mxwe are in a position to compare [unclear: the] experienced in this colony with other [unclear: mor] investigations. Before doing this, [unclear: how] attention is directed to one feature in the [unclear: n] of mortality of males. At the age group [unclear: s] the rate of mortality is found to be .5392, [unclear: be] the age group 25-29 it is .5386, or some [unclear: wh] According to some eminent authorities [unclear: o] the ages 11 to 13 the rate of mortality [unclear: ste]increasesat each age until the final [unclear: goa] reached. Others, again, are of opinion instead of the mortality in early [unclear: mant] increasing uniformly with age, there is [unclear: abun] evidence not only in English, but also in [unclear: for] mortality tables to prove that the rate [unclear: of] tality for the age period 20 to 24, is greater [unclear: t] for the age period 25 to 29, so that the [unclear: pecul] cannot be ascribed either to accidental [unclear: or] causes. This peculiarity has not been [unclear: obse] in the death rates of Victoria or New [unclear: S] Wales up to the present time, so far as the [unclear: pr] writer is aware, but in Mr. Burridge's [unclear: ar]"On the Rates of Mortality in Australia, volume 24 of the Journal of the [unclear: Insti] Actuaries, this peculiarity is found to [unclear: exist] very marked degree in the death rates [unclear: of] colony of Queensland for the decennium [unclear: 1870-](Table H, page 343).

Attention has been drawn to this [unclear: peculi] in the New Zealand rates, at this stage, [unclear: Beca] in the comparisons now to be made [unclear: the] after 25 will (to economise space) be [unclear: give] groups of 10 years, and the peculiarity [unclear: will] appear, The death Tate given in Table [unclear: B] densed as above intimated) will now be [unclear: comp] with the average rate of mortality as [unclear: gives] the following articles, or derived specially [unclear: th] the observations for the present [unclear: paper]. Mean death Tate in New Zealand, as [unclear: ded] from the aggregate mean populations [unclear: of] colony on July 1, 1874, 1876 and 1881 [unclear: (th] census years), and the deaths during the [unclear: as] years by Mr. F. W. Frank land, and [unclear: forn] part of a paper read before the Well ton Philosophical Society in 1883 by [unclear: b] A. K. Newman, entitled, "Is New [unclear: Zeal] a Healthy Country?" (2.) "The [unclear: R] of Mortality in New South Wales and [unclear: Vict]1881-91," by Mr. W. R. Dovey in a paper [unclear: re] before the Insurance Institute, Sydney, [unclear: Ju]1893. (3.) "A Life Table of the Healthy [unclear: De] triete of England, 1849-53," by Dr. W. [unclear: Farr], published 1860. (4.) "On the Rate of [unclear: Mortai] prevailing amongst the families of the [unclear: peen] during the Nineteenth Century," by [unclear: Mes] Bailey and Day, 1861.

What is the real standard of [unclear: vitality], what the natural rate of mortality [unclear: should] amongst people of our own race living [unclear: under] most favourable conditions are questions that [unclear: cs] not be answered directly. There is no "[unclear: per] state" as yet, and as Dr. Farr says, "No [unclear: lan] body of Englishmen is breathing pure air, [unclear: livi] on a perfectly sound diet, free from all [unclear: def] ment, and free from vice, exercising [unclear: duly] mind and body generation after [unclear: genera] We can point to no model city—to no [unclear: mod] caste. In the matter of health we are [unclear: all] ignorant or desperately negligent."

In the circumstances we must employ [unclear: wit] appears the most suitable measures, until [unclear: th] real standard of vitality is deduced in [unclear: happ] times, The first standard of comparison [unclear: ha] been selected, because it was the earliest, [unclear: and] so far as our knowledge goes, the only [unclear: tain] lation of the rate of mortality in [unclear: groups] ages, for each sex in this colony, up to [unclear: ti] present investigation the second, because [unclear: it] the latest exhibition of the value of life for [unclear: est] sex in colonies near to us, and with which [unclear: w] have so much in common; the third, thrid, [unclear: becaus] It has been found by experience to express very accurately the actual duration of life among the clergy and other classes of the community living in England under favourable circumstances; the fourth, because it exhibits the lowest rate of mortality at the early ages of any Standard of repute, based on what may be called general births as distinguished from particular classes of lives which have formed the subject of selection and insurance.

## Comparative statement, showing the average annual mortality per 100 living

Males Ages New Zealand 1880-92. New Zeal'nd 1874, 1878. 1881 New South Wales, 1881-91. Victoria, 1881-91. Healthy Districts England. Peerage-Families.

It will be seen by reference to these figures that, taking the first group of ages (0-4) the first place is held by the peerage families. The rates for this colony come next in order, and are considerably lower than those resulting from any of the other observations, When alt the circumstances are considered it is not to be wondered at that the rate of mortality for this early period of life is very low in the families of the aristocracy in Great Britain, but it is remarkable that the general rate for the people of all conditions in this community should so

closely approach thereto.

At the next age (5-9), and for the period of the present observations (1860-92), New Zealand holds first place for both sexes, while the families of the peerage take second place for males and fourth for females.

At the next group (10-14) the forces whose combined actions result in death are at their weakest in All the observations, and again this colony is first for males, while in regard to females it has to yield to New South Wales (by a small fraction only), Here it may be noted that at this stage the "cottage leaves the palace far behind," the peerage rates being the highest of say, and the healthy districts coming next.

At ages (15-19), the mortality increased considerably, for both sexes, in all the observations, but especially in this colony for the period 1880-92. In New South Wales and Victoria the increase was greater for females than males, while the opposite has been the case here. At this group New Zealand stands first for both sexes, according to Mr. Frankland, but third according to the new experience. New South Wales occupying the second place for both males and females. In respect of the males it may be noted that the rate of mortality is very nearly the same in the three colonies. If the rates were reduced to one decimal figure by the ordinary rule, that figure would be the same in all—viz., decimal 4, while in respect of the females, the arithmetical mean of the four rules would be decimal 37. This would seem to indicate that the force of mortality at this age group is very nearly the same for both sexes, in this colony, New South Wales, and Victoria. The healthy districts and the peerage rates are fifth and sixth respectively.

At ages 20-24, during which large numbers marry, this colony stands first by the earliest observations, and second by the present for both sexes. New South Wales occupies the third place, and Victoria the fourth for males and females, while the healthy districts is fifth in respect of males, but sixth for females. It will be noted that a great increase takes place in the rate for the males of the peerage families at this group of ages,

The next period (26-34) extends over double the term hitherto viewed. It has been called the "Athletic and poetic age : the prime of life." The rates for this colony by both observations are very nearly the same for males, and do not differ greatly for females. They are considerably below those of the neighbouring colonies, or either of the English observations, One point in connection with the male mortality may be noted—viz., that the rates proceed in order of magnitude right across the page, and is the only instance for either sex.

At ages (35-44) a great increase takes place in the rate of mortality in all the colonies, and for both sexes, but in England the increase in the male rate is very small, giving colour to the poet's words that the fathers of England are now "sober men among their boys."

This colony is still first for both sexes, but as respects males, New South Wales occupies the fifth place and Victoria the sixth. On the other hand, the rate in healthy districts is only about 12 per cent, greater than in this colony, and the peerage rate is about 6 per cent. greater than in the healthy districts. As respects females, New South Wales holds the third place, while the healthy districts is fourth, the peerage fifth, and Victoria the highest.

At ages (46-54) we reach what Dr. Farr calls "the middle arch of life," and here for the first and only time the rate for males in the healthy districts is about 5 per cent. less than the rate for this colony for the period 1880-92.

As regards females, the positions are reversed, the difference being about 10 per cent., and from this it will be seen that the rate of increase has been considerably greater (nearly double) in this colony than in the healthy district. This same feature is presented in the case of the other colonies, and with this result, that the peerage (males) comes third, and the females fourth, while New South Wales and Victoria exhibit the highest rates.

At ages (55-64) the rate of mortality increased 40 per cent. in the case of males in the healthy districts, but the increase in the colonies (the earliest observations for this colony excluded) ranges from 72 per cent. (N.S.W.) to 89 per cent. in this colony. In the case of females the increase ranges from 61 per cent. (Victoria) to 100 per cent. (peerage). Viewing the actual rates, that of the peerage is lowest for males, but highest for females; the second place for both sexes is held by this colony according to the results for 1880-92, and the third by the healthy districts; Victoria is fifth for females, but sixth for males, while the elder colony is fifth for males and fourth for females.

At ages (65-74) we reach the last group tabulated for comparison, and here the rate of increase for males ranges from 88 per cent. in Victoria to 138 in the peerage. For females, the increase ranges from 85 in the peerage to 131 in New South Wales and the healthy districts.

Again the rate of mortality in this colony, and for both sexes, is the most favourable of any of the experiences. The rate for the males of the healthy districts comes next, and differs about 5 per cent only from the experience of 1880-92. The highest rate by any of the other observations (N.S.W.) exceeds that of the healthy districts by about 20 per cent.

In respect of females, the peerage rate comes next to that of this colony, closely followed by the rate of the healthy districts, and the highest rate of the remaining experiences (N.S.W.) exceeds the healthy districts by about 7 per cent only. From this it will be seen that the differences in the rate of mortality at this group of ages

are smaller than at earlier periods of life.

Summing up the results of this comparison, it is found that excluding the first observations on New Zealand mortality, the rate in this colony is the most favourable at thirteen out of the twenty groups of ages, and second lowest at the remaining seven groups. No other experience (taken as a whole), and based on population, or sections thereof known to the writer, comes near it, and only one table of mortality of selected lives exhibits a higher rate of vitality at all the ages, from birth to final extinction; we refer to the mortality experience of the Australian Mutual Provident Society for the period 1849-88. These facts are of great significance in a variety of ways, and to those amongst ourselves who take an interest in this class of inquiries, we venture to think will be regarded with considerable satisfaction. One other feature has to be taken notice of before we pass from this comparative statement of annual mortality. It is the relative mortality of the two sexes. In the New Zealand observations it will be found that the rate for females is more favourable than that for males at every group of ages except one—viz, (26-34), whereas in Victoria the rate for females exceeds that of males at three groups of ages (15-10), (25-34), and (45-54), and this accords fairly with the rates deduced by Mr. A. F. Burrige, for the period 1871-81 (See *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries* vol. xxiv., p. 337).

In New South Wales, female life is shown to be superior to male, at all ages, but according to Mr. Burrige it was inferior at ages 26 to 39 for the period 1870-81. According to the late Professor Pell, the rate for females exceeded that of the males at one group of ages only (25-30) during 1869-75.

"On the Rates of Mortality in New South Wales' *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, Vol. xxi, p, 260

In the healthy districts of England, between the ages of 5 and 44, the rates are greater for females than males.

Finally, in the peerage families, where the male rate especially is found to be very irregular, female life is shown to be inferior to male, between the ages 5 and 20, and at age-groups (36-44) and (55-64). These variations in the rates for the two sexes, would be hard to explain satisfactorily, and for the present we think it sufficient to direct attention to them.

## On the Construction of the Mortality Tables

Coming now to the determination of the rate of mortality at each age, from the recorded data, we have to state first that two methods had to be adopted, one for children under five years of age, the other for the main part of the table—viz., ages 5 to 75. These we will now explain as clearly as possible.

### Children Under Five Years of Age.

The mortality for the first five years of life was derived from the deaths under five years of age in the thirteen years 1880-92, and the births in the twelve years 1880-91. The reason for this is, because the census returns for the period (0-4) in this colony are found to be defective. This is no new discovery, but has been found to *exist* in the census returns in many countries. The defect consists in misstatement of the ages of children. For example, a child of two years and ten months is by some called a child in its third year, and they would return the age as three years, whereas others would call it a child of two years, in one case the age is given as at next birthday, in the other at last birthday, and in this way confusion and error is produced, simply through ambiguity of the language employed.

At the census of 1891, the number of children at each age under five, was returned as follows :—

But having regard to the number of births and deaths under five years of age for the five years preceding the census, it is found that the numbers given are impossible; hence another method had to be adopted than that of population and deaths. The process employed is that described by the late Professor Pell in the article already referred to, and is in all essentials the same as that used by Dr. Farr when constructing the life table of the healthy districts, England. It has since been followed by Mr. Burrige, Mr Dovey, and others. The births and deaths employed are given in the following Table C :—

In the above table the births and deaths for the thirteen years (1880-92) have been added up for a reason which will appear later on. The first step in the process is to sum the births of males for the twelve years 1880-91, the result is 116,611; the next is to sum the deaths in the first year of life for the thirteen years, and then deduct one-half of the deaths in 1880 and 1892 from the total, the result is 11,069, and the probability of dying in the first year of life is found by dividing the deaths 11,069 by 116,611, the number of births, this gives  $0.09492 = q_0$ , and this value appears without any adjustment in the mortality table of males opposite age 0. In the same way the deaths of girls are found to be 8,955, and the births 111,556, and dividing the one by the other we get  $.08097$ , the probability of dying in the first year of life, and this value appears in the mortality table of females opposite age 0. The arithmetical complement of  $.08027$  is  $.91973$ , and is the probability of a female living one year at birth. The remaining four probabilities were found by similar equations.

The following are the probabilities of living in this colony for the first five years of life compared with those derived from the observations we have already had under review :

It may now be stated that the sum of the births for the period 1880-92 is given for the purpose of bringing into view the sex proportion at birth. In this colony, and for the period under notice, it is found that for every 1,000 girls born the number of boys is 1,044.7. This proportion is slightly under the average for some of the Australian colonies, but is above that for England and Wales; there, for the period 1881-90, the proportion was 1,0037 to 1,000. The cause of this physiological fact has never been satisfactorily explained. The sum of the deaths under five years is also given for each year, find for both sexes, for the purpose of showing that while the boys at birth exceed the girls, death claims a larger toll of the male sex than of the female. The deaths of boys in Table C sum up to 16,092, that of the girls to 13,355, and the difference is 2,737. As the difference between the sexes at birth was 5,381, it will be seen that fully one-half of it has disappeared before the fifth year is entered upon.

## MORTALITY FROM FIVE TO SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE.

After considering the various methods available for passing from the estimated mean population and the recorded deaths to the probability of living at each age, and being desirous of preserving all the well-marked features of the observations, the method employed by Mr. J. Milne in the construction of the well-known Carlisle table, and commonly known as the graphic method, was adopted. A description of the process, illustrated by a diagram of the population curve, is given in his treatise, vol. I., p. 101. In describing it we shall, as far as possible, use Mr. Milne's own words. Taking a sheet of sectional ruled paper we draw thereon a straight line of indefinite length, A Z as a base for future operations.

A B C D E F G Z

And for the first group of ages assume A B at pleasure; then let B C, C D, D E, &c., be to A B in the same ratio of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, &c., groups of ages respectively to the first interval A B. At each of the points A, B, C, &c, erect perpendiculars to A Z; then in the perpendicular that passes through B, assume Bb at pleasure, connect with the perpendicular on A and form parallelogram. In those that [unclear: pa] through C, D, E, &c, take the points c, d, e, [unclear: &c] so that the parallelograms Ab, Bc, Cd, &c, [unclear: be] completed, each of the others may be to [unclear: fi] first in the ratio of the numbers living in [unclear: f] corresponding group of ages to the number [unclear: b] the first interval. In this way the area of [unclear: th] parallelograms are made to represent the [unclear: num] her living in each group of ages.

Next let a line (as little curved as the [unclear: other] conditions will admit of) be described [unclear: through] these parallelograms, so that the point [unclear: describ] it, in its motion from the first ordinate Aa, [unclear: m] continually approach towards Z, and may [unclear: ne] change its direction abruptly, so as to form, [unclear: b] angle in its path. (In other words it must [unclear: be] a flowing line). Also, let the line thus [unclear: described] so cut each of the parallelograms, above-[unclear: me] tioned, that the area comprehended by the [unclear: bas] the two sides of the parallelogram [unclear: perpendicula] thereto and the portion of the line [unclear: which] intercepted between those sides, may be [unclear: equ] to the area of the same parallelogram. [unclear: Th] is, the curve in cutting the parallelograms [unclear: m] add an area to each equal to the area cut [unclear: of] so that the area of the parallelogram shall [unclear: be] exactly the same as before.

So shall the number of the living in [unclear: an] assigned year of age be to the given [unclear: number] the interval including that year, in the [unclear: rates] the area insisting upon the portion of the [unclear: bea] corresponding with the year assigned, to [unclear: be] area of the parallelogram in which it is [unclear: for] Similar parallelograms were set out for [unclear: f] deaths in the same groups of ages, and a [unclear: cen] drawn through them on the same condition.

We thus get two curves representing [unclear: res] tively the population and the deaths at [unclear: ea] nge, and dividing the deaths by the [unclear: popul] we obtain the function, called by Dr. [unclear: Farr] the "rate of mortality," and by Dr. [unclear: Sprag] the "central death rate," the symbol for [unclear: which] is  $mx$ . Then, in accordance with a [unclear: suggestion] by Mr. G. King (*Journal Institute [unclear: Actual]* vol. xxiv, p. 203), the values of  $mso$  [unclear: form] were plotted out on cross-ruled paper, [unclear: aa] carefully adjusted by drawing fresh [unclear: curre] to remove irregularities introduced by [unclear: famil] drawing of the first two curves, but [unclear: with] removing any of the characteristics of the [unclear: table]

Then in order to test the effect of the [unclear: grand] tion, the number living at each age [unclear: war] multiplied by  $mx$ , and the result gave the expected deaths. The sum of these should be [unclear: the] total number of deaths, according to the [unclear: org] nal facts. If there is any considerable [unclear: diff] ence the  $m$ 's must be re-adjusted so [unclear: as] remove it. The results as finally adjusted [unclear: we] arranged in quinquennial groups, and will [unclear: be] found compared with the actual death Table D, hereunder :

From the  $m$ 's we derive  $px$ , the probability of living a year by the formula.

Mathematical formula

and then starting from an arbitrary radix (in the present case 100,000 for each sex) by continuous multiplication we construct the column  $lx$  in each table, and this gives the number living at each age.

## AGES OVER SEVENTY-FIVE.

As the numbers living over 75 were few, it was not thought desirable to adhere strictly to the data after that age, and finding that the probabilities according to the healthy districts, closely approximated those of this colony, a junction was effected between 76 and 80, and the calculations completed by the probabilities of that table, with this difference, that the table of males was brought to a close at age 100, and that of females at age 103.

It will be seen from the comparisons made, and the tables appended hereto, that the rates of mortality which have prevailed in this colony are very favourable—so favourable, indeed, as to be remarkable—and a full description of the materials and processes employed has been given so that any one so inclined may test the correctness of the results.

Tables of monetary values, calculated on a 4 per cent basis, are attached, and by means of them a large number of questions relating to annuities, assurances, endowments to children, old age pensions, and superannuation to the members of Friendly Societies, can be answered.

Much has been said and written of the natural resources of this colony—of the fertility of its soil, of its mineral treasures, of the variety and grandeur of its scenery, of its many striking natural phenomena—and the results of this inquiry, while not making any claim to a discovery of a new source of wealth, will, it is hoped (from the length of time over which the observations extend, and the care exercised in dealing with the data and deducing the various results), assist in confirming the judgments passed by others on its climate, and afford fresh proof that New Zealand can still be regarded as the healthiest country in the world. The uses of such tables as we have deduced are manifold. They will be of use to the physician, to the political economist, and to the social and sanitary reformer. And here it may be said that one of the main objects in entering upon this inquiry originally, was to determine, from the actual mortality experience of the colony, the monetary value of certain benefits connected with our friendly societies, and some of the schemes of old age pensions.

For this reason tables of the values of annuities, and the single and annual premiums for the assurance of a unit (say £1), accompany the tables of mortality, and will, it is hoped, be found worthy of some attention. Whether the tables now submitted will ever be adopted to any great extent for the valuation of interests dependant on human life, will depend on the estimate formed by those more immediately interested, of how far the past experience is likely to be repeated in the future.

Meantime it behoves the people of this colony to strive to maintain the position here exhibited, and to improve upon it in every direction that science and experience dictates.

$lx$ . Number dying at each age out of 100,000 children born.

$dx$ . Number dying at each age out of 100,000 children born.

$px$ . Probability of living a year.

$qx$ . Probability of dying in a year.

$^{\circ}ex$  Complete expectation of life.

$ax$ . The present value of an annuity of £1, payable at the end of each year through which  $x$  shall live.

$Ax$ . The present value of an assurance of £1, payable at the end of the year in which  $x$  shall die.

$Px$ . The annual premium for an assurance of £1 on the life aged  $x$ .

## The Causes of Death in New Zealand.

BY GEO. LESLIE, ASSISTANT ACTUARY GOVERNMENT LIFE INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

One of the most important branches of statistics is that which deals with the causes [unclear: of] death, and the Ages at which particular [unclear: diseases] exert their maximum or minimum force on [unclear: the] human organism, so far as the same has [unclear: been] evidenced by the termination of life.

It has been shown in a previous paper [unclear: that] the number of deaths recorded in this colony [unclear: for] the thirteen years—1880-92—was 77,234, [unclear: of] which 44,547 were males and 32,287 [unclear: females] and as these deaths had been employed [unclear: in] deducing the tables of New Zealand [unclear: mortality] it was intended to exhibit in some detail [unclear: the] causes thereof as set forth in the reports of [unclear: the] Registrar-General for the years mentioned. [unclear: But] on proceeding to summarise the deaths [unclear: in] accordance with their causes it was found that [unclear: a] change had been made in the system of [unclear: classification] in the year 1885, which involved [unclear: the] establishment of fresh classes and the

*unclear*: tran] ference of some diseases from one class [*unclear*: t] another. In consequence of this, and [*unclear*: becau] it seemed desirable in any summary of [*unclear*: fa] causes of death for a period of years, that [*unclear*: the] new classification should be adopted, it [*unclear*: was] resolved that instead of the thirteen [*unclear*: years] 1880-92—the ten years during which the [*unclear*: nea] classification has been in force—viz., 1885-[*unclear*: 86] should be the period dealt with.

During this period it is found that the [*unclear*: number] of deaths of males was 36,358 and of [*unclear*: female] 26,131—in ail 62,489. But as the mortality [*unclear*: and] causes of death vary with age, the [*unclear*: number] living and the deaths must be divided [*unclear*: into] certain number of corresponding groups [*unclear*: in] order to determine the death-rate and the [*unclear*: fath] diseases in each group.

In the reports of the Registrar-General [*unclear*: the] deaths under one year of age are divided [*unclear*: into] four periods—viz., under one month, one to three months, three to six months, and six to twelve months, and then the total is shown.

From one to five years the deaths are [*unclear*: give] for each year of age, and also the total [*unclear*: dying] under five years of age. From age [*unclear*: five to] eighty the deaths are given in [*unclear*: quinquen] age groups, fifteen in all. The deaths at [*unclear*: age] eighty and upwards are all grouped together then there is a column for deaths at ages [*unclear*: ng] specified, another for the total deaths at [*unclear*: fi] years and over, and lastly a column for [*unclear*: the] deaths at all ages—making a total of [*unclear*: twenty] nine columns. From this it will be seen [*unclear*: the] particulars relating to the ages at death [*unclear*: an] given with great fulness in the annual [*unclear*: reports] and the same remark applies to the causes [*unclear*: of] death.

In an article of this character, however, it [*unclear*: is] not necessary that the same number of [*unclear*: ag] groups should be maintained, as too [*unclear*: min] sub-division of the deaths and fatal [*unclear*: disease] would, from the smaller numbers [*unclear*: employed] affect the value of the rates deduced from [*unclear*: then] for comparative purposes. Moreover, as it [*unclear*: h] been found that the relative mortality of [*unclear*: the] two sexes from particular causes at many [*unclear*: age] differs considerably, and frequently throws [*unclear*: light] upon the fluctuations in the general [*unclear*: death] rates, it is desirable that the rates of [*unclear*: mortal] of males and of females should be [*unclear*: shown] separately, and this is an additional reason [*unclear*: for] reducing the number of age periods.

As all the authorities on sanitary science [*unclear*: a] of opinion that the death-rates of infants [*unclear*: under] one year, and of children under five year of [*unclear*: re] are more important than the rates at any [*unclear*: er] groups of ages, as tests of the sanitary [*unclear*: dition] of a community there was no hesi[*unclear*: tion] in retaining these two divisions.

For the next ten years (five to fifteen), which [*unclear*: ay] be designated the school age, and during [*unclear*: ich] the boys and girls are in most cases still [*unclear*: pendent] on the exertions of others for their [*unclear*: tenance], a third division was made.

The period between age fifteen and sixty-[*unclear*: e] has been called the supporting age, because, [*unclear*: eaking] generally, the majority of persons are [*unclear*: ble] to contribute largely to their own main-[*unclear*: ance], while between the ages of twenty one [*unclear*: sixty] they do more than support themselves. [*unclear*: t] as the rate of mortality increases greatly [*unclear*: the] latter half of this period of fifty years [*unclear*: has] been deemed desirable to sub-divide it [*unclear*: to] two periods of twenty-five years each—viz., [*unclear*: een] to forty and forty to sixty-five. After [*unclear*: ge] sixty-five we again reach what in general [*unclear*: rms] may be called a dependent age, and for [*unclear*: present] inquiry it has not been considered [*unclear*: essary] to exhibit any more divisions of the [*unclear*: ths] at ages sixty-five and upwards. The [*unclear*: ths] at all ages have, therefore, been arranged [*unclear*: six] groups of ages (with an additional column [*unclear*: deaths] at ages not specified), and are so set [*unclear*: arth] for each sex in Table I., which is appended [*unclear*: this] paper.

The same table shows also the causes of death [*unclear*: rrange] in classes and orders according to the [*unclear*: lassfication] now in use, with the number of [*unclear*: eaths] registered under each during the ten [*unclear*: ars] 1885-94 and for the age groups already [*unclear*: tioned.]

For reasons which will be given later on it [*unclear*: not] intended to investigate the mortality from [*unclear*: ch] of the causes specified in the annual returns, [*unclear*: to] compare the deaths from each alleged [*unclear*: se] during one group of years with those in [*unclear*: ther], as many of such comparisons would be [*unclear*: but] little value, hence also it has not appeared [*unclear*: necessary] for us to exhibit in detail all the [*unclear*: gistered] causes of death, or the number of [*unclear*: ths] entered under each. The intention is to [*unclear*: trict] the observations mainly to the large [*unclear*: tural] groups or orders of disease, and to a [*unclear*: ited] number of specified diseases or causes [*unclear*: fatality] of distinctive character.

In pursuance of this arrangement the deaths [*unclear*: class] IV. (Constitutional Diseases)—which are [*unclear*: divided] into orders like most of the other [*unclear*: ge] classes—have been arranged in four [*unclear*: sions]. The first includes the deaths from [*unclear*: matic] fever, rheumatism and gout; the [*unclear*: ond],

deaths from cancer or malignant dis-[unclear: the] third, deaths from phthisis and other [unclear: bercular] diseases; and the last, deaths from [unclear: betis] mellitus, anæmia, and other diseases [unclear: e] to a bad habit of body.

The alleged "causes of death," as given in [unclear: e] Registrar-general's returns from year to [unclear: ar], may, we believe, be taken as on the whole [unclear: fair] approximation to the truth. At the same [unclear: me], it is necessary to remember that these [unclear: tistics] are liable to various kinds of imper-[unclear: tions,] and should be used with caution.

[unclear: In] the first place, white the number of deaths [unclear: ere] no cause at all is specified is small, there [unclear: a] considerable number in which the cause is [unclear: ted] so inadequately that they could not be [unclear: ferred] to any definite disease or class. During [unclear: ten] years under review there were 3026 [unclear: ths] of this character (viz., 1667 males and [unclear: se] females), being 4.84 per cent, of all the [unclear: ths] registered for the period.

In the second place, when a definite cause if [unclear: ren], there is reason to believe that in a number [unclear: cases] doubts may be entertained as to its [unclear: ing] strictly accurate. Only a portion of the [unclear: ple]. when stricken down with sickness or dis-[unclear: can] be visited regularly (through long illnesses, perhaps) by skilful surgeons or able physicians, so as to afford opportunities for the cause of death being determined and recorded with scientific accuracy. In the remote and sparsely populated parts of the colony, the people, if not entirely beyond the reach of a duly qualified medical practitioner, can be seen by him but seldom, and, as has been well said by an able medical statist, "He who sees only the end of a case, however skilled in diagnosis or versed in pathological inquiry, cannot always venture to certify on vague report or even shrewd suspicion, the primary or secondary cause when he has positive evidence only of the tertiary or last stage, e.g., the dropsy, or abscess, or hæmorrhage, or mortification, which was the proximate cause of death." The same writer also makes the following remarks on another practical difficulty of our certifiers of death;—"In any statistical analysis of deaths based on certified causes, only one cause can be assigned to each event, and in a large class of cases insuperable difficulties must arise in selecting that phase or stage of morbid action, that particular vital or structural change, which is to be formally returned as *the* cause of death. Among a number of reporters of various degrees of capacity and information, though all may be legally qualified practitioners, there can be no possible guarantee that all should adopt the same principle of selection."

Another source of imperfection in the returns arises from the fact that in some cases the medical attendant may, from a desire to spare the feelings of relations or other motive, be less explicit in the statement of the cause than the facts within his knowledge would warrant.

In the third place, it has been stated by more than one medical statist, as well as by the Registrar-general of England, that in comparing the mortality from specified causes in successive years, allowances have to be made for the changing fashion of medical nomenclature. The last-named authority says :—"There are times, for instance, when the ordinary medical attendant designates all deaths from vaguely diagnosed affections of the respiratory organs as bronchitis, and other times when he prefers to designate all as pneumonia." Having regard to these various kinds of imperfections in the data, as well as others that could be mentioned,

NOTE.—See Report of Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons in March, 1893, "to inquire into the sufficiency of the existing Law as to the disposal of the Dead, for securing an accurate record of the Causes of Death in all cases, &c." The Report is dated September 1, 1893, and is published by Eyre and Spottiswoode.

it seems reasonable to conclude that for purposes of comparison more reliable results will be obtained when the deaths from groups of diseases are taken together, such as diseases of the nervous system, or diseases of the respiratory organs, rather than from the deaths from single specified causes of no very decided form.

Before entering further into the subject of the causes of death it may be of interest to notice that in the ten years under review close on one quarter of the males, and nearly three-elevenths of the females who died were under one year of age; that nearly one-fourth of the males and over three-tenths of the females were between five and forty years of age; that over three-elevenths of the males, but less than one-fifth of the females, were between forty and sixty-five years of age; and that over one-seventh of the males, and more than two-fifteenths of the females, were over sixty-five years of age. This is what has been, but owing to the increasing proportion of elderly people in the population, these proportions will vary, and increases may be expected at the higher ages. The exact figures are as follows :—

Number of deaths at various groups of ages during the decennial period 1885-94, also the proportion of the deaths at each group to the total at all ages;—

NOTE.—In the above table the deaths at unspecified ages have been distributed amongst the three last groups of ages.

The registered deaths from specified causes may be viewed in three aspects—first, in relation to the total deaths from all causes either at all ages, or at groups of ages; second, in relation to the ages at which the deaths

from the specified cause takes place—that is, whether the greatest mortality takes place in infancy, youth, man-hood, or old age; and third, in relation to the number living either at all ages (which yields what is known as the general death rate) or at groups of ages, All these views are of interest and value, but not in equal proportions; the comparison of the deaths from specified causes at groups of ages with the population living at the same groups of ages being by far the most valuable of the three, and, it may be added, the most difficult of determination. Our remarks on the two first aspects will therefore be brief.

We would now direct attention to Table II., which shows the proportion of deaths from various causes to 100 deaths from all causes, first, at all ages, and then at six groups of ages.

At all ages it is found that the most fatal causes are diseases of the respiratory and nervous systems (*i.e.*, lung and brain diseases), accidents, tubercular diseases, and diseases of the digestive organs, in respect of males; and diseases of the respiratory, nervous, and digestive systems, tubercular, miasmatic, and developmental diseases, in respect of females : over one-half of the deaths being due to the causes named—viz., males 63.41 per cent., females 54.29 per cent. With the addition of miasmatic and developmental diseases to the male proportion, and circulatory and diarrhoeal diseases to the female, the causation of three-fourths of the deaths is obtained.

In the case of infants under one year of age 14.25 per cent. of the male deaths, and 15.74 per cent. of the female, are ill defined or not specified, while of the alleged causes of mortality, developmental, diarrheal, respiratory, and digestive diseases are the chief; 57.32 per cent. of the male deaths, and 56.17 per cent. of the female, being registered against the diseases named.

When we come to the deaths under five years of age (which includes those under one year) considerable variations are found in the proportions from the specified causes. The proportion of ill-defined is reduced to 11.11 per cent. in the case of males, and 11.99 per cent. in the case of females. On the other hand, the proportion from lung diseases has increased to 16.42 per cent for males, and 15.55 per cent. for females. Next in order of fatality come diarrhoeal, digestive, miasmatic and nervous diseases ranging from 13.23 to 10.26 per cent, for males, and 13.48 to 10.13 per cent. for females, and bringing the total up to close on 76 per cent. of the whole deaths in this group.

At the age group 5 to 15, it will be seen that in respect of males miasmatic diseases are accountable for close on 23 per cent, of the deaths, while close on 21 per cent. are due to accidents; diseases of the respiratory and nervous systems account for 23.61 per cent. and tubercular diseases for 9.23, making a total of 76.53 per cent, of the deaths in this group. In respect of females, miasmatic diseases are the most fatal. the rate being 30.26 per cent. Tubercular diseases come next, but are a long way after, the rate being 14.32 per cent.; then respiratory disease, the rate being 14.11, So that these three causes are responsible for 58.69 per cent., of all the deaths in this age group. It will be noticed that the mortality from miasmatic and developmental diseases, diseases of the digestive system and ill-defined causes show a great reduction upon previous percentages for both sexes. On the other hand, there is a considerable increase in the proportion on deaths from rheumatic fever, &c., as well as diseases of the circulatory system.

At the age group 15 to 40, and in respect of males, it will be seen that tubercular diseases are the most fatal cause of death, the rate being 27.76 per cent.; accidents come next, 22.07 per cent, or, including suicides and other violent deaths, 25.22 per cent. In other words, to these two causes more than half the deaths at this age period are due, so that of twelve deaths between the ages of 15 and 40, three are likely to be caused by tubercular disease, and three by violence. Such a waste of manhood in its prime by violence is greatly to be deplored, and emphasises the need of all proper precautions being taken wherever possible to reduce it. In regard to females, tubercular diseases are the most fatal, close on thirty-one deaths in every hundred being due to them. Diseases of the reproductive system are now at the maximum, the rate being 11.54 per cent, Miasmatic diseases come next, followed by diseases of the respiratory, digestive, nervous, and circulatory systems, the rate ranging from 8.24 per cent. to 6.24.

At ages 40 to 65 the percentage of deaths from a majority of the causes do not differ greatly between the sexes, with the exception of deaths from violence and cancer. In regard to the first, the rate for males is 10 per cent., and for females 3.41; in regard to cancer the rate for females is 17.02 per cent., and for males 9.81. The percentage of deaths from miasmatic and tubercular diseases show a considerable reduction but, on the other hand, large increases are exhibited in diseases of the nervous, circulatory, respiratory, digestive, and urinary systems, so that 54.22 per cent, of the male deaths, and 58.88 of the female, are registered as caused by the class of diseases known as local.

At the last group of ages, 65 and upwards, the proportion of deaths alleged to be due to old age is 21.44 per cent. in respect of males, and 27.44 in respect of females. But old age" is an ambiguous designation as a "cause" of death, and there is reason to believe that a more careful observance of the diseases of the aged would result in the deaths from this alleged cause being greatly reduced. Diseases of the nervous, circulatory, and respiratory systems come next in order of fatality, the proportion due to these three being 44.31 per cent. in the

case of males, and 44-03 per cent, in that of females. Cancer, it will be seen, claims almost the same proportion of males as females in this age group, say 7½ per cent.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be of interest to compare the percentages of deaths from each class in this colony with what has been experienced elsewhere, and in the following table a comparison is made between the rates in New Zealand, New South Wales, and England and Wales, at two groups of ages—viz., under and over five years, and for both sexes.

## Proportions Per Cent. of Deathb from Each Cause.

The effect of local circumstance is seen when we compare, for example, the proportion of male deaths over five years of age from violence in this colony with what obtains in England. In the one country 16 deaths in every 100 are due to violence, in the other, 6 only. The effects of climatic and sanitary conditions may also be traced in the varying percentages of deaths in the various classes of disease, and these would have been made more apparent had the miasmatic, diarrhœal, and some of the local diseases been exhibited in detail.

We now come to Table III., which exhibits the average annual death rates for the ten years, 1855-94, for both sexes and from various causes to 10,000 living at the groups of ages already mentioned. To arrive at these death rates the mean population of males and females for the period and for each of the groups of ages had to be calculated from the census returns of 1886 and 1891. The same methods were employed and the same care exercised as in arriving at the mean populations on which the tables of mortality are based, and we are of opinion that the estimated numbers living at each group of ages, as given at the top of each column, are substantially correct, and that the death rates derived from them may be accepted with considerable confidence as representing what has been actually experienced during the last 10 years.

For the purpose of enabling an easy comparison being made in the death rates due to any disease, in the two sexes, the rates for females are given immediately under those for mates, and are printed in a different type. It is hoped that this arrangement will be found more convenient to those who may consult it than if the death rates for the two sexes had been exhibited in separate tables.

## Class I.—Specific Febrile or Zymotic Diseases.

The deaths ascribed to this class of diseases (which for the most part are regarded as specially preventible) during the decennial period was 4,846 males, and 4,513 females, and the annual mortality per 10,000 [*unclear: living*] ages and at the six groups of ages [*unclear: give*] Table III. was as follows :—

The above table shows that in early [*unclear: life*] also at old age, there is considerable [*unclear: diff*] in the mortalities of males and females, [*unclear: t*] this would be altogether lost sight of in [*unclear: a*] bined rate of the two sexes.

This class is divided into six [*unclear: order*] diseases—viz., miasmatic, diarrheas!, [*unclear: mal*] zoogenous, venereal, and septic. By [*unclear: refer*] Table I. it will be seen 2,726, or 56.25 [*unclear: per*] of the male deaths, and 2,504, or [*unclear: 55*] cent of the female deaths are [*unclear: ascri*] diseases of the miasmatic order, and [*unclear: the*] rates of all ages, and at six groups of [*unclear: age*] both sexes are set forth in table III. [*unclear: T*] principal diseases of this order [*unclear: experi*] in this colony are measles, scarlet [*unclear: f*] influenza, whooping cough, [*unclear: diphtheria*], typhoid fever. Smallpox belongs to [*unclear: this*] of diseases, but happily up to the present [*unclear: t*] this colony has been entirely free from [*unclear: it*] growing neglect of the precautionary [*unclear: mea*] of vaccination must, however, be [*unclear: viewed*] grave apprehension. For the year [*unclear: 1893*] number of births registered was [*unclear: 18,187*] according to the Registrar-general the [*unclear: per*] tion of successful vaccinations of children [*unclear: un*] one year of age to the total births [*unclear: was*] per cent., or only 2 children in every [*unclear: 7*] and it is well that the people should [*unclear: be*] minded again and again, of how the law [*unclear: in*] matter is being disregarded, for as [*unclear: has*] said by the same authority, "if [*unclear: small*] should unfortunately be [*unclear: introduced*], occurrence by no means [*unclear: impossible*], although the greatest care be [*unclear: exercised*], present inattention to vaccination may [*unclear: be*] cause of bitter regret."

The deaths attributed to the diseases [*unclear: m*] were as follows :—

The deaths from the affections named [*unclear: t*] considerably from year to year, and [*unclear: eve*] groups of years. For example, during [*unclear: the*] half of the period under review, the number deaths was 1,887 but in the second half [*unclear: as*] and this large increase is found to be due [*unclear: man*] to the epidemic of influenza (which [*unclear: has*] vailed during the last five years) and [*unclear: b*] epidemic of measles in 1893. From this [*unclear: it*] be evident that death-rates calculated [*unclear: for*] five years 1835-39 would be much more [*unclear: far*] able to the colony than if based on the [*unclear: de*] which took place in 1800-04. [*unclear: However*], average annual rate for each disease for [*unclear: the*] years seems the most

suitable to exhibit [*unclear: is*] present article. Before proceeding to do however, there is one feature in the above [*unclear: th*] to which attention has to be directed. It is [*unclear: a*] that the deaths of females exceed the [*unclear: deaths*] [*unclear: males*] from two of the affections—viz., whooping [*unclear: cough*] and diphtheria, and as the same feature has [*unclear: been*] exhibited in the vital statistics of other countries it may be regarded as a permanent characteristic, although the cause is still matter of conjecture.

Measles.—Of the 635 deaths ascribed to this disease 525 took place in one year (1893). It is also found that of the male deaths 263, or over 76 per cent., were of boys under five years of age, while of the female deaths 194, or 77 per cent., were of girls of the same age. The aggregate death rate of males was 1.047 per 10,000 living, and of females 1.008. (To save needless repetition it may be stated that when a death rate mentioned it is the proportion to 10,000 living at all ages, or at particular groups of ages, unless otherwise indicated.) But as the disease is almost limited to childhood, an aggregate rate is of very little value for comparative purposes, hence a table will be given later exhibiting the death rate for this and the other miasmatic diseases at all ages, and at six successive age group.

Scarlet Fever.—The deaths attributed to this affection have been so few during the decennium an average of fourteen per annum—that it is not safe to draw conclusions as to the future from any ratios based upon them. Like measles it is mainly disease of childhood, most of its victims falling before the age of puberty. The death rate for males is found to be .219 for males and .243 for females.

Influenza.—In 1890 this colony, in common with many other countries, was visited by influenza in an epidemic form. In previous years a few deaths had been ascribed to this disease; the total for the five years—1885-89—being forty-three, but it is held by authorities that there is fair grounds for doubting whether the influenza deaths of those years were of the same nature and due to the same causes as the deaths since registered as due to influenza. In 1890 the deaths attributed to this affection were seventy; in 1891, 210; in 1892, 144; in 1893, 106; and last year, 233; but it is believed that the deaths really, caused by this disease were far more numerous, owing to the fact of many deaths being registered as caused by bronchitis, pneumonia, and other diseases of the respiratory system, which originated in attacks of influenza, and were complications of that complaint. The following is a statement of the deaths at various ages attributed to this disease :—

It will be noticed that the deaths of females exceed that of males at two groups of ages, fifteen to forty, and sixty-five and upwards. In Victoria for the year 1891 a similar feature was observed in respect of the deaths between ages fifteen and forty-five, but there was no excess of female deaths at ages sixty-five and upwards. In New South Wales, for the same year, the male deaths are the more numerous at all ages, except sixty-five to seventy-five. In England and Wales for 1891 there was an excess of female deaths at age five to fifteen, and sixty-five and Upwards. The larger number of deaths among females than among males over sixty-five in England has been held to be due to the fact that more females than males survive to the later ages of life; but this explanation will not hold good in this colony, where the males outnumber the females at this age period by about 2,500 in a total of about 14,000. The aggregate death rate of males was 1.345, and of females 1.262. During the last five years when influenza was epidemic the aggregate rate for males was 2.452, and for females 2.247. The deaths from this disease for the present year are, we understand, below the average of the last five years.

Whooping-cough.—The deaths from this disease numbered 1,136—namely, 531 males and 605 females—and the aggregate death rate was 1.612 for males and 2.104 for females. The mortality from this affection is at its maximum in the first year of life, when the deaths were 349 males and 354 females. After the first year is passed the mortality falls gradually year by year, and after the tenth year becomes quite insignificant. The fact that this disease is more fatal to females than to males has already been noted, but the solution is still wanting.

Diphtheria.—It has been held by some authorities that the returns of deaths under this heading are not very reliable, there being apparently no thorough agreement among medical men as to the precise use of the term, and especially there being a difference in opinion as regards its relation to croup. On this account it has been thought best to exhibit the deaths from each alleged cause side by side, although croup is regarded as a disease of the respiratory organs in the classifications now in use.

A comparison of the figures under the two headings will show that, though there may be no very clear line of demarcation between the deaths attributed to diphtheria and those attributed to croup, the two names cannot be regarded as merely synonyms of one and the same malady. For it will be observed that, taking the ages under forty, the mortality under diphtheria is greater among females at all ages except between one and five than among males, whereas the exact opposite is the case with the mortality under croup. The death rate from diphtheria is found to be 1.624 for males and 2.128 for females. In the case of croup, the proportions are : Males, 1.135; females, 1.019.

Enteric (or Typhoid) and other Fevers.—The deaths ascribed to typhus, relapsing, and simple fever have been so few in this colony, and the consequent death rates so insignificant, that all have been grouped together

with typhoid. The mortality for the decennial period was 785 males and 550 females,—making a total of 1,335, the largest number ascribed to any single affection of the miasmatic order. It is found, however, that whereas the deaths in the first half of the period numbered 691; those in the second half were 644 only; so that when the increased number living in the latter period is considered, there has been a decrease in the death rates from this class of fever. Typhoid is unlike some of the other miasmatic affections in that it is most fatal during mature life, reaching its maximum at the age period 15 to 40. The aggregate rate for all ages is 2.383 for males and 1.912 for females. The following is a table of the death rates due to the several diseases dealt with :—

## **Average Annual Death Rates of Males and Females from the Chief Miasmatic Affections (and the Deaths registered as Croup) per 10,000 living at successive age periods for the 10 years 1885-94.**

DISEASE. All Ages. Under 1. Under 5. 5-15. 15-40. 40-65. 65 & up.

Diarrhæal Diseases Order 2.—These include cholera, sporadic and epidemic, diarrhæa, and dysentery. A few deaths from simple sporadic cholera are registered every year, but up to the present the colony has been free of the more fatal type. The deaths ascribed to this order of affections were 1,777 males and 1,459 females, and the death-rate for all ages was 5.394 for males and 5.073 for females. These bowel affections are most fatal at the two extremes of life—infancy and old age, but especially the former, the mean annual mortality in the first year of life for the decennium having been 146.100 among male and 126.720 among female infants. By reference to Table III. it will be seen how the mortality falls, until a minimum is reached at the age period five to fifteen, after which it again rises continuously to the end. The deaths from diseases of this order have fluctuated considerably from year to year, the extremes being 475 in 1887 and 193 in 1893. Again the deaths in the first half of the period numbered 1,898, in the second 1,338, and in consequence the death rates for the second quinquennium are considerably less than for the first. For male infants under one year of age the rate fell from 162.01 to 129.52, and for female infants from 146.32 to 106.28 per 10,000 living at that age. Metrological conditions are regarded as having considerable influence on the causation of this order of affections.

Malarial Diseases Order 3.—These include remittent fever and ague, the bane of many countries, but in this colony the deaths in the period numbered 31 only—viz., 19 males and 12 females.

Zoogenous Diseases Order 4.—These include hydrophobia, glanders, splenic fever, and cow-pox, but from all of these the colony may be said to be yet free, seeing that in ten years the deaths entered in this order numbered three only, and these are ascribed to cow-pox and other effects of vaccination.

Venereal Diseases Order 5.—The deaths ascribed to this order of diseases were 114 males and 59 females. Of the deaths, more than one-third of the males and over two-thirds of the females were of children under five years of age. Medical authorities in Great Britain are of opinion that statistics of deaths of this order are untrustworthy. One medical statist (Dr. Long-staff) going the length of asserting that "With-out doubt the figures relating to alcoholism, venereal disease, and perhaps insanity are almost valueless." We have reason to believe many medical men in this colony hold similar opinions, and as we entirely concur with these views, further consideration need not be given to the figures at the present time.

Septic Diseases Order 6.—The chief diseases included in this order are erysipelas, pyæmia and puerperal fever. The deaths classed in this division were 209 males and 477 females. Of these 37 per cent, of the male deaths, but only 15 per cent, of the female deaths took place at ages under 15. Judging from the figures for the decennium, the death-rate appears to be declining. As this reduction might be thought to be due in some measure to the decline in the birth rate, it may be well to state that the decreased mortality is shared in by both sexes. The deaths in the first five years being 126 males and 264 females; in the second 83 males and 213 females.

In England Dr. Longstaff has been able to prove that a certain relationship exists between erysipelas and puerperal fever, the mortality from the two affections varying concomitantly.

Class II., Parasitic Diseases.—The chief affections of this class are thrush, hydatids, and worms, and the deaths in the ten years were 128 males and 109 females. Over 72 per cent, of the deaths were of children under five years of age, and nearly all these deaths are attributed to thrush or worms. Of the deaths at ages five and over—sixty-five in number—the large majority are classed under hydatids. The death-rate from diseases of this class for both sexes will be found in Table III., but it may be added that if periods of five years are taken there has been a considerable decrease in the deaths from the infantile affections, but an increase in those of adult life—the increase being greatest in the female sex. The numbers coming under observation are too few, however, for much dependence being placed on their analysis.

Class III., Dietetic Diseases.—The chief headings in this class are want of breast milk and intemperance. The deaths classed in this division numbered 401 males and 223 females, and it is found that over one-third of the male deaths and more than one-half of the female deaths were of infants under one year of age. It certainly sounds strange to find any considerable number of deaths attributed to starvation in this colony, but in the case of 135 male and 123 female infants this appears to have been the assigned cause during the last ten years.

The deaths directly ascribed to intemperance were 252 males and 93 females, and the death-rate for the ages at which the deaths took place are as follows :—

As has been already hinted at, there is so much chance of deaths from intemperance being disguised under the name of the local disease to which it gave rise—cirrhosis of the liver and the like—that but little reliance can be placed on the recorded deaths. Again, there is little doubt that many of the deaths ascribed to accident and suicide are primarily due to alcoholic excess.

Class IV.—Constitutional Diseases.—The deaths ascribed to the various diseases which are grouped together under this class number 5,892 males and 4,906 females, and the average annual death rate of this important class per 10,000 living is found to be 17.885 for males and 17.059 for females. As stated previously, the deaths in this class have been subdivided into four divisions. The deaths recorded against each are given in Table I., and the death rates in Table III. On further consideration, since these tables were made up, it seemed desirable that the deaths attributed to phthisis should be considered and dealt with by themselves. This has been done, and the results will be given in a later paragraph. Meantime, we will deal with the diseases in the order of their classification.

Rheumatism and Gout.—The mortality from rheumatic fever, rheumatism, and gout was 253 males and 259 females. By reference to Table III. it will be seen that the rate for females is considerably higher than that of males from age five to sixty-five, and this results in the general rate for females also being in excess of the male rate at all ages. This feature does not appear in the statistics of other countries we have examined, and it may only be accidental in the present instance. Dr. Newman asserted in 1883 that "rheumatism in all shapes is the great scourge of the colonist." This is no doubt true as regards the physical suffering it entails, but, directly, it never has been a specially fatal disease in this colony. In view of the hardships and exposures of the early settlers and gold-miners, one would have been inclined to look for a gradual reduction in the death rate from rheumatic affections; but such is not the case,—the death rate for the five years 1890-94 exceeding that of 1885-89 by 11½ per cent. in the case of males and 3.64 per cent, in the case of females. Can it be that these affections now *kill* more persons where formerly they only *wounded* ?

Cancer.—The deaths ascribed to cancer and other malignant tumours were 1,521 males and 1,268 females, and the average annual death rate per 10,000 living at all ages is found to be 4.617 in the case of males, and 4.409 in that of females; but a glance at the distribution of deaths from cancer in Table I. will show that a general rate for this disease must be very misleading. For it is found that over 91 per cent, of the male deaths were of persons 40 years of age and upwards, and that of the female deaths 11 per cent. took place at ages 15 to 40, and 88 per cent, at ages 40 and upwards. To obtain anything like correct results the deaths at groups of ages must be compared with the number living at corresponding ages and the death-rates divided in this manner are set forth in Table III. It has been shown that the rate for all ages is a little higher in the case of males than for females—this is contrary to the general experience in other lands, but may be accounted for here by the excess of males over females at all ages, but especially at the higher ages when cancer is most frequent. It is not possible for us to enter at any length into the alleged increase of cancer in the present article, but so much public attention has been given to the mortality from this disease that it may be of some interest and service if the deaths ascribed to cancer during the last fifteen years are grouped in three periods of five years each. This has been done in the following table and for each sex. The age grouping adopted is decennial, with this exception, that all the deaths under 25 years of age are grouped together.

At the first glance these figures [*unclear: would*] to indicate a considerable increase in the [*unclear: d*] rate from cancer, but it has to be remember that the population has also increased, [*unclear: not*] in numbers, but in age, and as cancer has [*unclear: b*] shown to be a disease of mature life, a [*unclear: large*] crease in the number of deaths from this [*unclear: c*] was to be expected. But to obtain the [*unclear: requ*] proportions we must compare the [*unclear: deaths*] each period and for each age interval [*unclear: with*] numbers living in the same period and at [*unclear: c*] sponding age intervals, and this is done [*unclear: in*] following table for ages 25 and over :—

As was to be expected from the scanty [*unclear: d*] these rates of mortality do not run [*unclear: v*] regularly, and the figures for the age [*unclear: inter*] 25 to 35, and 75 and over, may be regarded of small value. At the other age intervals [*unclear: f*] male rates manifest a continuous, though [*unclear: n*] uniform increase, but the rates for [*unclear: females*] found to be very erratic. There is [*unclear: neither*] continuous increase nor decrease in the [*unclear: r*] for the three periods at any of the age [*unclear: intern*] except one—viz., 55 to 65, and this shows [*unclear: a*] tinuous but irregular increase, and [*unclear: except*] this age interval, and possibly

the next [unclear: high] it can hardly be maintained that there has [unclear: b] any material increase in the death [unclear: rates] females from cancer during the last 15 [unclear: years]

The large increase in the male rates, [unclear: o] trasted with the stationary character [unclear: of] female rates up to age 55, and the small [unclear: incre] after that age would seem to indicate [unclear: th] much (though it may not be all) of the [unclear: inc] in the male mortality is apparent and not [unclear: r] due to improved diagnosis and more [unclear: can] statement of cause. For, as has been [unclear: statedly] the Registrar-general of England, "the [unclear: c] cerous affections of males are in a much [unclear: larg] proportion, internal or inaccessible, than [unclear: th] of females, and consequently are more [unclear: diff] of recognition, so that any improvement [unclear: k] medical diagnosis would add more to [unclear: the] than to the female figures." It may be [unclear: mentio] that the alleged increase in cancer has been [unclear: a] and exhaustively investigated by Mr. [unclear: Geo] King, an eminent British actuary, [unclear: and] Newsholme, Medical Officer of Health [unclear: f] Brighton, and formed the subject of a [unclear: jo] paper read before the Royal Society, [unclear: London] May, 1893. The conclusions arrived at by [unclear: th] gentlemen may be summarised as [unclear: follows]:—

- Males and females suffer equally in [unclear: tho] parts of the body common to man and [unclear: women]
- The apparent increase in cancer is [unclear: confin] to what may be called "inaccessible [unclear: cancel]
- The increase in cancer is only apparent [unclear: a] not real and is due to improvement in [unclear: diag] and more careful certification of death. [unclear: Thi] is shown by the fact that the whole of the [unclear: in] crease has taken place in inaccessible [unclear: canc] difficult of diagnosis, while accessible [unclear: cancer] easily diagnosed, has remained practically stationary.

The subject cannot be pursued farther here but we think enough has been said to qualify dogmatic assertions as to the *large* increase in the death rate from cancer in this community. The facts as yet available do not allow of any valid deductions being drawn, and we must be content to wait and watch. It may be of interest now to record and compare the death rate from cancer in this colony for the last ten years, with the rates deduced by the gentlemen named for England and Wales for the three years 1888-90, and this is done in the following table :—

From these figures it would appear that at age and over, the males in this colony are more subject to cancer than Englishmen; on the other hand it would appear that English females are more subject to the disease at all ages than our colonial women; but, as already hinted at, all our results regarding the rate of mortality in this colony must be regarded as tentative or provisional, and not as valid deductions, on what is admittedly a most difficult subject.

Tubercular Diseases.—The mortality from the affections we have included in this division was 3,787 males and 3,109 females, and the general death rate at all ages is found to be 11.495 for males and 10.810 for females. The deaths ascribed to tubercular affections as distinguished from phthisis—*e.g.*, tabes mesenterica, tubercular peritonitis, hydrocephalus and the like, numbered 917 males and 796 females. These diseases are mainly, but not exclusively, fatal at the early ages, as will be seen from the following death rates based upon them :—

At higher ages the rates are unimportant and need not be quoted.

Phthisis.—In a former paragraph it was mentioned that on account of the large mortality ascribed to phthisis it appeared desirable to treat it separately, and in the following table the deaths for the decennial period and the death rates are exhibited :—

Of the total of male deaths, 743, or over 25 per cent., are registered as having been born in the colony, and of the total of female deaths, 1,009, or over 43 per cent., are so registered, and this excess of deaths in colonial-born females deserves further investigation. The death rates from phthisis are seen to be high at all ages, with the exception of those under 15. In the rate for males the maximum is reached between the ages 25 and 35, then it falls to the age interval 45-55, and again rises for one interval, and falls rapidly at age 75 and over. In regard to females it will be observed that the maximum death rate is reached in the same age interval which contains the male maximum—25-35—and here also the rates in the two sexes come very near to each other—16.325 for males, 16.533 for females. After the maximum is reached the female rate falls successively in each later age period, instead of being interrupted as the fall in the male rate is. Comparing the death rates of the two sexes it is found that from birth up to 35 years of age the female rate exceeds the male, and considerably so at age periods 5 to 15 and 15 to 25. At age 35 and over the relation is reversed, and the male mortality for the remaining periods is the higher. Owing to the large mortality ascribed to phthisis, it is important to know whether the death rate due to it is increasing, decreasing, or stationary. To give some light on this point, the death rates for the three quinquennial periods 1880-4, 1885-9, 1890-4, have been calculated for all ages and for nine groups of ages, and we present the results for the first and last quinquennial periods herewith.

It will be seen from these figures that, with three exceptions (and two of them so small as to be of no

importance), a decrease has taken place in the rate of mortality at each age period and for both sexes. The one exception which is of any value is in the male rate and for the ages 65 to 75, where there has been an increase of about 14 per cent. The death rate at this age interval for the five years 1885-9 is 12.331, so that it would appear there has been a successive, although slight, increase in the rate during the last fifteen years. It may also be pointed out that the interruption in the sequence of declining death rates at ages 55 to 65 is manifested in each quinquennial period of years, so that this feature can hardly be regarded as accidental. What may be called the law of phthisical mortality appears to be the same here as in Great Britain—viz., that in the earlier stages of life the female sex, and in the later stages the male sex, is the more liable to death from phthisis. The actual rates in the two countries are, however, very different.

A comparison of the above rates with those already given for New Zealand will show at a glance how much we owe to our superior climate and surroundings.

Other Constitutional Diseases.—The chief affections in this class are anæmia and diabetes. The deaths ascribed to the first cause were 100 males and 91 females, to the second, 169 males and 102 females. These figures are far too few to yield results of much value, but it may be stated that these affections are in the large majority of cases fatal to persons of mature age. Taking the figures from year to year the death rate from anæmia and suchlike affections appears to be about stationary, while that of diabetes appears to be on the increase for both sexes. The death rates for the whole of the affections in this division are set forth in Table III.

Class V., Developmental Diseases.—The chief headings in this class are premature birth, cyanosis, congenital defects, and old age. The deaths ascribed to the various affections which are grouped together in this class numbered 2,641 males and 2,038 females. Of the male deaths 1,450, or 55 per cent., were of infants under one year of age, and 1,166 or 44 per cent, were of old men, aged sixty-five and over. Of the female deaths 1,057, or 52 per cent., were of infants, and 959, or 47 per cent., were of women, aged sixty-five and over, so that the affections of this class are most fatal at the extremes of existence. It will be noticed that the deaths of male infants greatly exceed those of female infants, and it may be remarked that despite the decline in the births the death rate of infants under one year of age from affections of this class appears to be on the increase. For the five years, 1885-9, the rate for males was 147.23, and for females 110.07; whereas for the five years 1890-4, the rate for males was 159.00, and for females 129.58. On the other hand, the rates for the same periods in respect of deaths ascribed to old age exhibit a decrease from 164.35 to 140.31 in the case of males, and from 182.00 to 163.29 in the case of females. There can be little doubt that much of this decline is due to the more precise designation of the causes of death of old persons, but we are of opinion that these proportions are capable of being still further reduced.

Class VI., Local Diseases.—The deaths attributed to the various orders of disease which are grouped together to form this large and important class were 16,335 males and 11,909 females, and the proportion of these to the total deaths from all causes was close on 45 per cent, for males, and practically 46 per cent, for females. The general death rate of males is found to be 49.583, and of females 41.617; but it varies greatly in the different orders, as will be seen by a glance at the figures in Table III.

We will treat of the several groups in the order of their classified arrangement.

Diseases of the Nervous System. Order 1.—The affections included in this order relate to the brain and spinal cord, their membranes, and the nerves. The chief headings are apoplexy, paralysis, and convulsions, and the mortality ascribed to this order of diseases was 3,991 males and 2,783 females. Of the male deaths, 1,221, or over 30 per cent., were of boys under five years of age; and of the female deaths, 987, or over 35 per cent., were of girls under five years. About three-quarters of these children are registered as having died of convulsions under one year of age; but the registration of a death from this cause may mean little more than that the children died in a fit, the cause of which was not ascertained. The chief causes of the mortality over five years of age are inflammation of the brain and membranes, apoplexy, and paralysis. The death-rate, owing to the inclusion of convulsions in the group, is high in infancy (see Table III.), after which it falls rapidly, and attains its minimum at the age-period, five to fifteen; after this it rises rapidly with each successive advance of age. It should also be noticed that at every age-period the male rate is higher than the female rate; but had the age grouping been five yearly, the female rate would have been in excess at the period when puberty is being established. It may be of interest to state that when the death rates for the five years, 1880-4, are compared with those for 1890-4 a decrease is shown in the male rates at every age-group, but in the case of the rates for females an increase has taken place at ages sixty-five and over.

Diseases of Organs of Special Sense. Order 2.—These comprise affections of the ear, nose, and eye, and the deaths numbered forty-nine males and forty-one females. Fifteen deaths of each sex were of children under five years of age.

Diseases of Circulatory System. Order 3.—The affections included in this group relate to the heart and its membranes, and the chief headings are valvular disease, fatty degeneration of heart, syncope, aneurism, and embolism. The deaths attributed to the various diseases were 3,063 males and 1,746 females. Of the males,

2,497, or 81 per cent., were aged forty years and over; and of the females, [unclear: 1] 71 per cent., were of these ages. The [unclear: m] death rate for males falls between the [unclear: fif] fifteenth year, but in the case of females in the earlier period. When the minimum passed there is an uninterrupted rise [unclear: i] successive age-periods until for age seventy and over the rate reaches 163.320 in [unclear: the] males, and 102.390 in that of [unclear: females] death rates have been calculated for each [unclear: of] last three quinquennial periods, and [unclear: wh] general decrease may be said to have [unclear: been] fested at ages under fifty-five, at and [unclear: over] five there has been an increase in [unclear: the] rates for both sexes, but the increase [unclear: is] marked in the case of males aged [unclear: seventy] years and over. It may be that the [unclear: ep] of influenza in the last five years has [unclear: contri] towards this result. It was our intention [unclear: t] investigated the deaths ascribed to [unclear: v] disease, fatty degeneration of the [unclear: heart,] aneurism, but time has not permitted.

## Table I.—Showing the Number of Deaths Registered in New Zealand During the Decennium 1885-1894, Classified According to Classes, Orders, and Diseases.

Males.Females.Causes of Death.All ages.Under 1 year.Under 5 years.5 to 15.15 to 40.40 to 65.65 and upwardsAges not specifiedAll agesUnder 1 year.Under 5 years.I 5 to 15.15 to 40.40 to 65 65 and upwards Class.

Diseases of Respiratory System. Order 4.—The affections grouped together in this order [unclear: e] late chiefly to the bronchial tubes, the lungs, [unclear: and] the pleura. The deaths ascribed to the [unclear: var] ious causes were 4,654 males and 3,278 [unclear: females] the largest mortality attributed to any [unclear: order] of diseases; and by reference to Table II. [unclear: the] proportion of these deaths to the total deaths [unclear: from] all causes will be seen. In Table I. it is [unclear: shown] that of the male deaths 1,954, or 42 per [unclear: cent] of the total, were of children under five [unclear: years] of age (indeed, 1,205, or close on 26 per cent., were infants under one year of age). At [unclear: age] forty and over the number of male deaths was 1,926, almost the same number as the deaths under five years. Of the female deaths 1,516, or [unclear: 16] per cent., were of children under five years [unclear: 1908], or 27½ per cent., being under one year). [unclear: At] age forty and over the number of female deaths was 1,048, or 32 per cent. of the total, a considerably smaller proportion than was found to be the case among males, indicating that the affections of this group am more fatal to the mile sex between the ages of five years and forty, than they are to the male sex.

The average annual death-rate for the whole order is given in Table III., but the large number of deaths ascribed to bronchitis (viz., 1,675 [unclear: ales] and 1,367 females) and pneumonia (viz., 1,729 males and 1,078 females) has induced us to [unclear: deal] these two affections by themselves. Before exhibiting the death-rates of each it falls to be mentioned that the number of deaths disrobed to these two affections in the last five [unclear: ras] was considerably greater than in the first five of the decennial period. For example, the Maths ascribed to bronchitis in the first period Cumbered 1,398, in the second, 1,644; again, the deaths assigned to pneumonia in the first quin-quennium were 1,292, in the second, 1515, and it is presumable that much of this increase was due primarily to influenza.

It will be noticed that while the general death-rates of males from both affections come near each other, in detail they show very great differences. Thus in pneumonia the maximum is in the first year of life, whereas in bronchitis the mortality in this period, though high, is much less than that experienced at ages seventy-five and over Another feature is that the death-rate from bronchitis is less than the rate from pneumonia at all age-periods under sixty-five-seventy-five, and as has been said, "the pneumonia mortality unequally spread though it is over the several periods of life, is much less so than is the case with the mortality from bronchitis" The same remarks are applicable to the female mortality, only the differences in the death-rates are greater. Another feature to be noticed is this, that the female mortality for each age-period higher than five-fifteen is in excess of the male. In England the female mortality is greater than the male at ages five to twenty years only. Again it will be noticed that the excess of the male over the female mortality at age forty-five and over is very much greater in pneumonia than in bronchitis. Indeed, at one age period, fifty-five-sixty five the male mortality from pneumonia may be said to be double that of the female sex, whereas in bronchitis—at all ages where the deaths are at all numerous—the mortality of the two sexes exhibit smaller differences.

## Table II—Proportion of Deaths From Various Causes to 100 Deaths From All Causes, at all Ages, and at Six Groups of

## Ages During the Ten Years 1885-94.

male.Female.Causes of Death.all Ages.Under 1 Year Under 5 Year 5 to 15.15 to 4040 to 65.65 and Upwards.All Ages.Under 1 Year.Under 1 Year.Under to 15.15 to Years. 40 to 65. 85 and Upwards.atic Diseases" "rtheal"

Diseases of the Digestive System. Order 5.—A large number of affections are grouped together in this order, chiefly relating to diseases of the stomach, liver, and intestines. The deaths numbered 3,070 males and 2,514 females, and it is found that 47 per cent, of the male mortality and 45 per cent, of the female was of children under five years of age, the chief affections which proved fatal to them being dentition and diseases of the stomach and bowels. On reference to Table III. it will be seen that the male mortality is in excess of the female as a whole, but that at ages fifteen and over the female mortality is the higher. The mortality of mature life is ascribed to gastritis, obstruction of bowels, peritonitis, cirrhosis, and other liver diseases. In the case of peritonitis, the female exceeds the male mortality at all ages after puberty considerably; but in the case of diseases of the liver the relation is reversed. Taking a general view of the mortality attributed to this group of diseases, for the last fifteen years a decrease is exhibited in most of the age periods, though not in all.

Diseases of the Lymphatic System. Order 6.—The deaths ascribed to this group of affections numbered 56 males and 57 females, and these numbers are so few that they need not be commented upon.

Diseases of the Urinary System. Order 7.—The chief headings in this group are inflammation of the kidneys, Bright's disease, and diseases of the bladder and prostate. The deaths ascribed to the various affections numbered 1,169 males and 501 females; 96 per cent, of the male and 92 per cent, of the female mortality was of persons aged fifteen and over. By reference to Table III. it will be seen that the male is in excess of the female mortality at all ages, but especially so at age sixty-five and over. Judging from the deaths in the last ten years, the mortality of this order appears to be on the increase, and this accords with the experience in England.

Diseases of the Reproductive System. Order 8.—The number of deaths attributed to the diseases of this group numbered 16 males and 917 females. In regard to the female mortality, It is found that during the last five years—and at all ages under forty-five—there has been a decrease (very decidedly so at ages twenty-five to thirty-five), but at the age interval, forty-five to fifty-five, and higher, the figures indicate a slight increase.

Diseases of the Locomotive and Integumentary Systems. Orders 9 and 10.—The mortality for the ten years was 262 males and 132 females, the majority being persons under fifteen years of age.

Class VII. Violence—The mortality ascribed to this class of causes was 4,448 males and 1,014 females, giving an average of close on 445 males and 101 females per annum. The general rate of mortality was 13501 for males and 3526 for females. From this it will be seen that the male mortality was close on four times as great as in the female. The excess of the male over the female mortality is very considerable even in early life, but at ages fifteen to sixty-five it is about six times as great. The mortality ascribed to accident or negligence was 3,910 males and 904 females. Of the assigned causes of accidental death, drowning, fractures, and burns or scalds are the chief. For the five years 1885-9 the general death rate of males was 12.329, but for the next five years it fell to 11.447, and the reduction would have been greater but for the deaths which took place at the wreck of the s.s. Wairarapa last year.

The deaths ascribed to *suicide* numbered 492 males and 87 females, and the death rate is given in Table III. for the decennial period. For the last five years it is found that the death rate for males is slightly over the rate for the five years 1885-9, more especially at the age interval twenty-five to thirty-five, and at ages fifty-five and over.

The average death rate for all ages in 1885-9 was 1.424, and in 1890-4 the rate was 1.557. As stated in a former paragraph the figures relating to suicide cannot be relied upon, and little improvement can be looked for under the present system of finding and certifying the cause of death. Taking the figures as extracted from the annual return, the death rate for each sex is given in Table III.

The deaths ascribed to *homicide and execution* numbered 46 males and 23 females. Of the latter 11 are registered as under five years of age In England and Wales, and for the ten years 1871-80, the death rate of males from *violence* at the undernoted ages is given by the Registrar-general as follows. The death rate for this colony is put opposite for easy comparison :—

## Table III.—Average Annual Death Rates From Various Causes to 10,000 Living at all Ages and At Six Groups of Ages During the Ten Years 1885-1894.

SEX.ALL AGES.AGES.Under 1 year.Under 5

From this it will be seen that the [unclear: ma] from violence in this colony is [unclear: consider] excess of what it is England at all [unclear: ages] under five years of age.

Class VIII. Ill-defined and Not [unclear: Sp] Causes.—The deaths entered in this class [unclear: hav] already adverted to, but it may be stated, [unclear: f] that the deaths are in about the same [unclear: prop] to the total deaths as obtains in [unclear: Engla] Wales.

It is also found that 76 per [unclear: cent] male deaths and 82 per cent, of [unclear: the] deaths are of infants under one year [unclear: of a] it is a serious reflection to think [unclear: that] many deaths the cause could not be [unclear: ascend] It is satisfactory to note, however, [unclear: that] stantial decrease in the mortality [unclear: in] class has taken place during the last [unclear: five] For 1885-9 the general rate for males [unclear: was] but for 1890-4 it was 4.457 only. For [unclear: 1885] female mortality was at the rate of [unclear: 5.699] the last five years it fell to 3.854. [unclear: We] that no small portion of this reduction [unclear: is] the efforts made by the Registrar-general by year to obtain a more definite [unclear: statete] cause from medical men in all doubtful certified by them. In cases not certified medical man, the position is very [unclear: unsatis] and should be remedied as soon as possible

Throughout this article but few [unclear: comp] have been made, and mainly for [unclear: this] that the suitable materials are not [unclear: available] death rate from cancer is an [unclear: exception;] of the death rates for England come [unclear: down] the year 1880, and important changes [unclear: h] doubt taken place in many of the rates [unclear: since]

Comparison with the death rates of [unclear: A] would have been useful and [unclear: interesting;] general rate for all ages, and in most [unclear: c] persons without distinction of sex, is, [unclear: as] shown, not of much value. The fact is, [unclear: the] rates in this colony may be said to be [unclear: sui] or a class apart, and hence there is [unclear: no] standard with which to compare them.

In several cases the numbers dealt [unclear: with] been too small for much confidence [unclear: being] in the results; but in other casts [unclear: the] deduced are likely to be near the [unclear: truth,] events, a beginning has been made, and [unclear: those] take up the subject after this will [unclear: have] ground work to go upon. In such a [unclear: nu] calculations as had to be made for [unclear: this] some small errors may have crept in, but [unclear: co] able care has been taken to prevent them. Ruskin says, "The work of science is [unclear: to] ute facts for appearances, and [unclear: demonstrate] for impressions," and we trust that [unclear: soc] has been done in this article tending in [unclear: this] tion. The rates and ratios [unclear: published] article and the accompanying [unclear: tables] selection only of results which [unclear: have] calculated out in connection with [unclear: the] but enough has been published, we hope, [unclear: to] an interest in it, and to enable medical [unclear: n] others interested in the health and [unclear: happ] the people to see somewhat more [unclear: clearly] before the lines along which improvement desirable, and indeed necessary. The [unclear: p] is, as Dr. Farr stated years ago: "[unclear: How] the people from hereditary disease, [unclear: va] and criminality . . . and to [unclear: develop] mass the athletic, intellectual, [unclear: aesthetic,] and religious qualities, which have already distinguished some of the breed. There is [unclear: a] image in the future, to which the [unclear: natioc] aspire, the first step towards it is [unclear: to] the health of the present generation." New Zealand. *Pakeha and Maori*.

A Narrative of The Premier's Trip through the Native Districts of the North Island of New Zealand, During the Month of March, 1894.

vignette Wellington By Authority: Samuel Costall, Government Printer. 1895.

## **Tana te Waharoa, Premier, Tawhiao's Government.**

## **Hon. R. J. Seddon, Premier and Native Minister.**

## **Te Ngakau, Representing Tawhiao's Government in Upper House.**

# Pakeha and Maori:

A Narrative of the Premier's Trip Through the Native Districts of the North Island.

## Introduction.

ALTHOUGH the Native question does not occupy such a prominent part in New Zealand politics as it did a few years back, it still is a subject of interest to all thinking men who desire to see such a state of affairs brought about as shall draw the European and Maori races into a closer union.

Until recently the "Maori difficulty," as it was termed, was regarded with indifference by the majority of the Southern members of Parliament, and on occasions when Native legislation and Native affairs were discussed in the House the Middle Island representatives took little interest therein. In the South Island, the sparse Native population and the pacific character of the people gave the settlers an idea that the troubles in the North had been greatly exaggerated, and consequently they displayed a degree of apathy concerning Maori affairs which, had they made themselves better informed on the subject, would not have been the case. There were, it is true, a minority of settlers in the South who were posted up in the Native question, and whose sympathies were with their Northern brethren who were struggling to hold their own against some of the more turbulent tribes who took up arms to resist the advance of European civilisation. Those, however, were only a handful of the inhabitants of the Middle Island, and it is an undoubted fact that the bulk of the Southern people, especially in the old provincial days, took little interest in the Northern troubles. The prudent though firm policy which has been pursued towards the Natives during the past few years has accomplished much in the direction of settlement, but much more remains to be done before the vast tracts of Native-owned land which are at present lying waste can be properly utilised for the benefit of both races.

New Zealand has with truth been called the "Wonderland of the Pacific," and travellers from all parts of the earth have made themselves acquainted with the magnificent scenery of the colony. The sights and sounds of beauty which produce a rapt and refined enjoyment are nowhere to be met with in such marvellous variety as in New Zealand, and they form some of the colony's most valuable assets. If Wordsworth had travelled through our islands he could, with his great power of perceiving and apprehending the beauties of nature, have aptly applied his well-known lines to numbers of our scenes:—

*The sounding cataract  
Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,  
The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,  
Their colours and their forms, were to me  
An appetite; a feeling and a love  
That had no need of a remoter charm  
By thought supplied.*

While, however, too much stress cannot be laid on what a theatrical manager would term our "scenic effects," it must be acknowledged that the Maori people themselves are calculated to inspire as much interest in the philosophic mind as the scenery of their country does in the poetic mind. They are, without doubt, one of the most remarkable races on this side of the equator, and not only "globe-trotters" but colonists themselves have paid too little attention to the study of their character. A people who in times past sailed from distant seas in their rude canoes and made their way over the stormy ocean, braving difficulties and dangers in order to plant themselves on the shores of New Zealand, are not a race to be despised. Although but a remnant of a once great nation of poets and warriors, for such they really were, they are still a "power in the land," and all true colonists are only too anxious to treat them with justice. In years past they proved themselves "worthy of British steel," and now they are proving themselves worthy of our confidence. There is no doubt that our statesmen have an earnest desire to deal fairly with them, and to bring about still more fraternal relations between the two races. The best method to accomplish this desirable object is to push civilisation and settlement into the large areas of fine country which only await proper development at the hands of industrious yeomen. If the Legislature adopt this course, it goes without saying that strict justice and equity will be the standard which will guide them. On this head a few remarks by an able political writer may be to the point. "What is that which government is meant to secure?" he asks; and the reply is, "Primarily and supremely the

aim of government is justice. In proportion as it diverges from this aim does government become tyranny; and public opinion must be inspired by the sense of justice, and must aim at securing justice, else it too becomes tyrannous, and becomes so in proportion as it fails to be inspired by this sentiment, and directed to the securing of this result."

In the opinion of many thoughtful men the Maori character, with its many sterling traits, has not been sufficiently understood by our lawmakers. The Native mind has changed from time to time, and in different tribes opinions vary considerably, and this has led to a great deal of misunderstanding between the races. For years the Natives have taken up a negative position. They have been sullen, or, as named in their Native language, they have been *pouri*—discontented with their lot, labouring under supposed grievances. Powerless to openly resist the authorities, occasionally stopping surveys, pulling up survey-pegs, &c., to show their resentment of the encroachment of civilisation. Unable and even unwilling to meet the Government in Wellington, not comprehending how to bring their wishes before Parliament, they simply retired to their Native fastnesses, living in almost destitution. The remnants of a noble race, richly endowed in lands, and yet this wealth was of no benefit to them. The course adopted by them, whilst not benefiting them, retarded settlement, and seriously militated against the prosperity of the North Island. The Natives could not come to the Government—why not deal with them as Europeans are dealt with? Ministers go from centre to centre so as to keep touch with the pakehas and to explain social and political questions, the settlement of the land, and the labour problems. Why not deal with the Maoris in the same way? This thought induced the Premier to undertake a fatiguing journey, perilous in its incidence—mountains, rivers, and lakes having to be negotiated—and, by meeting the Natives in their haunts, making himself thoroughly acquainted with all the "ins and outs" of the Native question.

That many of the chiefs are adepts in diplomatic duelling goes without saying; and the manner in which some of them subjected the Premier to a rigid examination in the political catechism afforded ample proof that, on the point of intelligence, the Maori is quite equal to the pakeha. Whilst doing their utmost to "corner" him, they at the same time mingled dignity with shrewdness, thus affording a lesson in courtesy and good manners to numbers of politicians who imagine themselves to be—

*Heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time.*

His recent trip has given him a thorough insight into the condition of the Maori people, and has, no doubt, enabled him to form an intelligent opinion as to the best course to adopt in order to secure the prosperity of both them and the Europeans. The words of the Tuhoe chief show the visit was well timed, and are worth quoting. Addressing the Premier, he said, "You are our parent; if you have come for our good, you are welcome; if you come to destroy, let it be done quickly. You are welcome. We are only the remnant of a great people, better we should go quickly than to perish slowly as we are doing. We have not wished to do wrong. We have tried to preserve our people. We have endeavoured to retain our lands, for land is our life."

We are not dealing with an ordinary savage race, but with a people who, even in their wildest state, possess many attributes which cannot fail to command our respect and esteem. If members of Parliament could only spare the time to take a trip through the Urewera and King-country they would learn much that could not fail to interest and instruct them; for, to quote Wordsworth again,—

*For the instructed, time will come  
When they shall meet no object but will teach  
Some acceptable lesson to their minds  
Of human suffering, or of human joy.  
So shall they learn, while all things speak of man,  
Their duties from all forms; and general laws  
And local accidents shall tend alike  
To rouse, to urge, and, with the will, confer  
The ability to spread the blessings wide  
Of true philanthropy.*

March, 1894.

# The Trip.

GILBERT tells us that "A policeman's lot is not a happy one." And what about a Premier's existence? It is only those who have been in political power who can appreciate the troubles and difficulties which a Minister of the Crown has to contend with. All sorts and conditions of men— yes, and women—have their grievances; and a man requires the "patience of Job" to satisfy a title of the requirements of interviewers—their name is legion. Verily, many persons prefer their claims upon the Government of the day. People of all shades of political colour labour under the hallucination that the sole business of the Government is to provide for their wants. When the Premier (Hon. R. J. Seddon), the Hon. J. Carroll, with their Private Secretary and special correspondent, started on their tour through the Native districts of the North Island, it was only to be expected that they would be met with deputations in all the business centres *en route*. But it was not only in the big centres, but also in the small ones, that the Premier and party were welcomed.

According to the special reporter of the *New Zealand Mail*,—

*"There were crowds of people at all the wayside stations between Palmerston and Mangaonoho on the lookout for an interview.*

*"At Halcombe, or thereabouts, the Crown Lands Commissioner of Wellington, Mr. Baker, cropped up. He had heard that Mr. Seddon had arranged to proceed from Phipps by canoe to Taumarunui, and he thought it but right to let him know it would be expedient to make the trip overland rather than by the river, as the journey by this latter route was beset with difficulties, and would occupy some four or five days. Mr. Baker was thanked for his information and went on his way.*

*"Mangaonoho, the present terminus of the railway (and likely to remain so for some years to come), was reached at half-past nine, and a 'bus of rather primitive design, with four horses harnessed to it, was in waiting to convey the party to Ohingaiti. It was a moonless night, but by the fitful gleam of the stars the visitors were able to dimly discern the lay of the country—the Rangitikei River far down below the serpentine curves of the road, further on the Makohine Gorge (where a viaduct 240ft. high is to be constructed), and hard by it the landslip which engulfed a where with its occupants not long since. Ohingaiti was reached at ten o'clock, and the travellers found at host Meehan's hotel all the comforts that might be expected even in a metropolitan hostelry.*

*"Ohingaiti has garnered up quite a collection of good stories, derived from its prelicensing days, when sly-grog selling was safe. Take a sample lot: An enterprising 'shebeenist' sent away for a case of whiskey, but the trouble was how to get it to the settlement without exciting suspicion. Mother-wit came to his rescue, and helped him over the stile. At the railway-station where he was to take delivery he noticed a case containing Government stores for Ohingaiti, and bearing the Public Works Office label. In a trice the label was shifted from the case of stores to the case of whiskey, and upon a Government trolley in care of Government employes the case of whiskey was unsuspectingly borne into the district. Once there, however, it mysteriously disappeared; but the shebeen drove a roaring trade for the next few days.*

*"In another instance the sly-grog seller received the 'straight tip' that the police were planning a raid. There was a spring close by, and into it eighteen bottles of whiskey were quietly stowed away. This accounts for the streak of luck which befell a couple of teamsters next morning. They took a bucket to the spring to water their horses, the bucket collided with one of the bottles, and the teamster, plunging in his hand, dragged forth a bottle of Walker's 'Kilmarnock.' In fact, he did not stop until he fished out eighteen bottles. For about a week fast and furious was the pace on the road to Moawhango, and the news spread far and wide how well teamsters So-and-so had done out of their contract, and how generously they had stood drinks of whiskey for all and sundry whom they met."*

The special correspondent also tells several other good stories relating to the trip. There is a place rejoicing in the euphonious name of Moawhango. The Natives here desired that it should be proclaimed a township, but the greatest wish of their hearts was that the Government should appoint a policeman to superintend the morals of the place. In many of our European communities the policeman is voted a bore and a nuisance, for, to quote Gilbert again, he interferes with the "enterprising burglar" when he "goes a-burgling"; but the Maoris have a better sense of the fitness of things, and according to our special reporter the Premier made the following remarks anent the appointment of a constable:—

*"Then they wanted a policeman. But before the policeman came there must be a police-station and a lock-up, and the Government had neither land in the place nor a house in which to put the policeman. He could not be put into a tent, and if the prisoners were put into a tent they would soon make tracks. Were they prepared to give the Government a piece of land upon which to put up a station, and were they disposed to contribute towards the expense of putting it up? Or should he say that if they gave the site the Government*

would put up the station? They could consider this matter, and let him have their answer when they came to a decision. At present he believed there was a district constable. However, if they had a place for the policeman and a lockup for the prisoners he would send the policeman along next week. They could hardly expect their prisoners to behave as did the prisoners in the early days of Dunedin. Those prisoners, it is alleged, used to be regularly liberated each morning to amuse themselves as they pleased all day. A bell rang in the evening to let them know that the gaol was going to be locked up for the night. Then there would be great commotion amongst the prisoners. They would say to one another, 'There goes the bell; if we don't hurry up we shall be locked out for the night.' (Laughter amongst the Natives.)"

Civilisation goes "marching on," and the swarthy inhabitants of Moawhango require a telephone. The Maoris are essentially a business people, and this fact seems very contradictory to their poetic character, for the business man and the poet seldom run together. Marcus Clarke was not much of a poet, but he was a literary genius, and a few remarks of his on "business men" may not be out of place; "They are the cream of the social bowl—in their own estimation; the stone pillars which, according to the Arabic legend, hold the earth up. There never was, or can be, anything to equal them. You may be the best fellow in the world, the sole supporter of an aged mother, and the protector of a whole boarding-school full of orphan sisters; you may work like a horse, and give all your goods to feed the poor; but if you are not a business man you are sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. To be a business man is a special gift, a sort of inherent nature, like a cast in the eye. If you are a business man you will succeed in business—that is to say, you will be a good husband, a good father, a conscientious Christian, always vote with the Government, and when you die will go straight to heaven. If you are a business man people will 'shout' for you, the papers will write you up, and your friends will give you prayer-books with gilt edges."

"Mr. Seddon went on to say he was surprised to find that the Natives wanted the telephone brought to Moawhango. He looked upon this request as having been inspired by the Europeans. In this case they were getting the Natives to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. When the land question was settled, and when, as a consequence, they had a large population settled in the district, it would be time enough to talk of the telephone and the telegraph.

"Another luxury that was asked for was a hotel. Now, this request spoilt everything else on the list. (Laughter.) He was surprised that in a place like that, so far from Hunterville, they could have got to know that such a thing as a hotel existed. (More laughter.) In fact he had thought *waipiro* could never have been brought so far inland. (Renewed laughter.) It was really strange that in the absence of a bridge across the river any one would take the trouble to cart up *waipiro*. (Great laughter.) When the Rev. Mr. Isitt, the temperance lecturer, read in the paper that the Natives were requesting the Government to establish a special licensing district among them he would not be surprised to hear that he would shortly visit Moawhango. In fact he (Mr. Seddon) would recommend him to come at once—the sooner the better, so that he might show them that what they really wanted was a temperance lecturer to teach them to drink cold water. He himself would much prefer that there should never be a publichouse in the district.

"The Premier went on to point the moral, and adorn it with a tale. Once upon a time there was a miners' camp on the West Coast where the *waipiro* had run out. The miners took to drinking Painkiller, and soon finished this. As a last resort one of them laid siege to Jacob's Oil, and this finished him. At this there was great laughter from the Maoris, and they all directed their gaze upon one of their number, who sheepishly hung his head. It appeared that the Premier had scored off a Native sly-grog seller without knowing it. This Native's name was Jacob, and his compatriots took the allusion to the deadly properties of St. Jacob's Oil to apply to Jacob's whiskey."

That the Maoris were much happier in their primitive state must be apparent to every thoughtful observer. The scientific inventions of the age are very well in their way, but, to one who thinks at all. Max Adeler's observation on the happiest way to live must carry weight: "It has always seemed to me that village life is the happiest and most comfortable, and that the busy city man who would establish his home where he can have repose without inconvenience and discomfort should place it amid the trees and flowers and by the grassy highway of some pretty hamlet, where the noise of the world's greater commerce never comes, and where isolation and companionship are both possible without an effort. Such a home, planted judiciously in a half-acre, where children can romp and play, and where one can cultivate a few flowers and vegetables, mingling the sentimental heliotrope with the practical cabbage, and the ornamental verbena with the useful onion, may be made an earthly paradise."

## Settlement of the Country.

The Premier made an important announcement to the Natives of Moawhango respecting the settlement of

Native lands.

"He (the Premier) desired to point out that the time had now arrived when settlement must no longer be retarded. The land could not be allowed to lie unproductive, for the European population was increasing, and every day longer this state of things was allowed to continue the worse it would be for the Natives. One section of the Natives wanted to have their lands subdivided and partitioned off so that they might individually and single-handed deal with them. Now, in cases where the subdivisions were small, and hundreds of Natives to put into one certificate, very little benefit resulted to the Native owners. The costs incidental to subdivision ate up the value of the land. Years ago the Natives used to engage in tribal conflicts, but now, instead of fighting each other in battle, they went into Court and fought over their claims to the land. They were no better off by doing so; litigation impoverished them, and a Maori, metaphorically speaking, might as well be killed almost as left without land or means. If this sort of thing went on it would happen by-and-by that all their land would be eaten up by the lawyers, the Native agents, and the expenses of the Courts.' (Laughter.) Perhaps the reason why they were asking for a policeman was in order that he should lock up the lawyers, Native agents, and pakeha-Maoris who came into the place. (More laughter.) If so, there was some solid ground for their request. Now, his visit to the Native settlements was for the purpose of ascertaining the Native mind on the subject of their lands, and he wished the Natives to speak to him freely and without reservation, as one friend would to another. Did they wish for subdivision of their lands, or did they desire to hand it to the Government through trustees in whom they had confidence—men who would be empowered to deal directly with the Government, and who would safeguard Native interests? There were a large number of people in the colony who said that when the land was held under Native custom and was not occupied the Government should proclaim it as Crown land, and pay over the proceeds to the Native owners. If the Natives would fight and quarrel over the proceeds, that was their misfortune; any way, whilst they were so doing settlement would not be stopped. He did not consider that this would be a fair thing. When the Natives were all-powerful they treated the pakehas as friends. Now that the pakehas were all-powerful it behaved them to return the kindness of the Natives and to deal fairly with them. This was why he said that the longer they delayed coming to some definite arrangement with the Government, and having a more simple and rapid way of dealing with their lands, the worse it would be for them. The process, he thought, was simple. First of all they needed to arrange among themselves how much land they were prepared to dispose of. Then it would be the duty of the Government to see, in arriving at the details, that the Natives were provided with ample reserves for their support. Either this, or the Government should issue debentures in payment for the land, these debentures to bear interest and to be non-transferable, so that the Natives could not be pauperised. The interest accruing from these debentures would be equal to an annuity for themselves and their children for all time. Now, a short time ago the Government paid large sums of money to some of the Natives in this district for their lands. He now ascertained that from these Natives both lands and money were gone. That was not good either for the Natives or for the colony. Better never to have had land at all. It was the intention of the Government to introduce important Native legislation next session, and in preparing that legislation he wanted to be fortified with an expression of opinion direct from the Natives themselves, so that he could assure the country what the Native mind was. The time had come when this question must be dealt with fairly and, at the same time, firmly. The Government could no longer allow millions of acres of land to remain in a state of nature while thousands of people were wanting land to settle upon and cultivate. These unutilised lands the Government were prepared to deal fairly for. A law had already been passed to empower the Government to purchase lands from the Europeans for the purposes of settlement. They were going to propose next session, as they did last session, that they should have power given them to take land from the Europeans for settlement purposes. That was where land was being held in large areas and kept in a state of nature, with only a few sheep running upon it. This was the class of land they required for settlement, and they would take it whether or not the owners liked. If Parliament passed such a law applying to European land, they were not likely to allow the Natives to keep millions of acres locked up and unused. There must be equality in their legislation. In the case of European land, its value was fairly assessed, and the price thus ascertained was paid by the Government. The same treatment would be meted out to the Natives. The Natives had now a Government in power who were friendly-disposed towards them, and who desired to be just with them. At the same time he wished to assure them there was no going back—that once having put their hands to the plough the Government were going through with this question. The Premier concluded by urging the Natives to speak their minds freely and frankly.

## ***"The Natives' Reply.***

"Ihakara te Rango, an old and influential chief, over seventy years of age, was the first to speak. He welcomed the Premier, briefly referred to the matters that had been brought forward, and expressed the hope

that Europeans and Maoris would be one in all things.

"Hiraka te Eango (son of Ihakara, and leader of the progressive party among these Natives) asked specially for an administrative committee to deal with the lands, and negotiate with the Government on the tribe's behalf. Between now and next session they would meet and consider whether there was a necessity for bringing any other matters under the notice of the Government. Hiraka then referred to the Motukawa subdivision, the position of which he said was peculiar, as a portion of it had been included in Rangipo-Waiu, a block purchased by the Government. This overlap delayed further partition. He therefore asked that the Government should legislate, if necessary, to rectify this trouble. He also asked if the portion of the Awarua Block acquired by the Government could not be partitioned off.

"Mr. Seddon: This has been arranged for, and we wish to know where it would be most convenient for the Court to sit.

"Hiraka: Utiku and I have agreed that here will be the most convenient place.

"Mr. Seddon: The Judge now sitting here could not act, as he had purchased the shares claimed by the Government; but the case will be taken immediately.

"Hiraka: No. 2, No. 3, No. 3A, No. 3B, No. 4, and No. 4A might be heard at the same time. We want this Court to take up the work of that partition as soon as Oruamatua is concluded. He then proceeded to say that, with regard to the school, a census of the children had been taken, and three acres had been selected for school-buildings. As to the necessity for a policeman, they lived in an isolated part of the country, which was frequently visited by the scum of European society. They had agreed to give a portion of land for the station.

"Mr. Seddon: Put that in writing, and a surveyor will be sent to lay off the site.

"Mr. Carroll: It has pleased me that the Premier has come personally to see you. It was my wish he should meet you face to face, and not hear your grievances second-hand. We have heard them, and they will receive our attention. If there are other matters you wish attended to, send your word to us. Do not delay, or be frightened to come forward.

## "Sly-grog Selling."

"Hiraka said he did not wish the Premier to depart with the idea that they wanted a hotel established in the district in order that they might get drink. It was for quite a different reason. They could not shut their eyes to the fact that grog was imported clandestinely into the district, and they wished to impress the Government with the fact. It was not desirable that evil should exist in any district, but perhaps the lesser evil in this particular case was that it should be under control.

"The Premier said he was very glad to hear this expression of opinion. Probably if the policeman were sent up he might be able to stop these evil doings. At any rate, one of these sly-grog sellers was now in gaol, where he could neither sell nor drink grog. (Laughter.) His ears were open, and he had heard that the Natives themselves were worse than the Europeans in this evil practice. He hoped that was untrue. He was a good judge of character, and from the levity displayed when he referred to the liquor question, he came to the conclusion that there were some of these practisers of evil deeds present. (More laughter.) As the Natives wanted a policeman, it would be rather peculiar if his first duty were to lock some of them up. He hoped they would cast their bottles and cases of whiskey into the river.

"The meeting then closed.

"We met at Moawhango the Judge of the Native Land Court sitting there (Mr. Butler), and Mr. A. L. D. Fraser, Native Agent. The Court has been sitting there since the middle of January, and has still some six weeks' work ahead of it. The Natives of the district appear to be well off in live-stock, and to be amply dowered with land. They own about a hundred thousand sheep and some four thousand horses. In fact, horses are so plentiful throughout this part that large numbers of them are running quite wild, and last year drafts of them were taken to some of the European settlements and sold at prices ranging from 5s. upwards. Two evils affect these Natives, and both of them were referred to by Hiraka te Rango in his reply to the Premier's address. One is the Native love for *waipiro*, and the other is the contaminating influence of the low-caste Europeans who infest all these Native districts right through to Pipiriki. As to the first evil, we were assured that nearly every second Native is concerned, either directly or indirectly, in dispensing *waipiro*. The liquor is brought up from European settlements, and, after being adulterated with methylated spirit, is retailed to customers of both races."

The special reporter observes: "We left Moawhango at 10.20 a.m. yesterday, and arrived at Karioi (29 miles) at 3 in the afternoon. Mr. McDonald (manager for Mr. Studholme) hospitably entertained the whole party. We set out this morning for Pipiriki (33 miles), and to-morrow go on to Taumarunui, through the Waimarino country, the river route having been abandoned. It was represented to the Premier that it would take five days to pole up the river to Taumarunui. So far, Captain Edwin has been singularly kind to us. We have

every promise of lovely weather to-day. Karioi is worth some notice, but I must leave it to my next."

## "Karioi.

"The first stage of our journey to Karioi was on the backward track—that is to say, we had to return along our route of the previous day as far as the point from which the road to Taupo diverges from that to Karioi.

"The next five miles of our road was over broken country (the block being the Motukawa) with a gradual ascent until, on rising from the basin of the Moawhango, we had attained an elevation of 2,600ft. above the sea-level. We were keeping close company with the Central Railway route, which lay at a distance of a couple of miles or so to our left. Once out of the Moawhango basin, with its clumps of bush and green little hummocks, the road gradually descended for three miles. Eight miles from the Moawhango basin we enter upon a tract of level country which lies at an altitude of 400ft. above Karioi. At Turangarere, where Mr. C. Mitchell (a squatter on Maori land) has his woolshed and residence, we part company with Mr. Batley, his sister, and two of their lady friends, who had so far accompanied us.

"Up to this point all the way from Ohingaiti the land had been of excellent quality, so much so that Mr. Carroll had been strongly impressed with it.

"At a distance of fourteen miles from the Moawhango basin we have risen to a height of 2,800ft. above the sea-level, and from this point we obtain our first glimpse of Ruapehu, mantled in snow. For the next forty-eight hours it remains within the line of vision.

"Ten miles from Karioi the road from that place to Taupo diverges to our right. We are traversing a silent uninteresting country, covered with a light growth of native grass, studded at intervals with boulders of limestone. Bush shuts in the distant horizon on either side. The road-cuttings display the all-pervading pumice at a depth of a few inches beneath the surface. The hilltops and ridges show soil of a better quality. Still, there is nothing arid or dreary in the aspect of the landscape. The land, poor as it is, all carries sheep. But throughout the first twenty miles of the Murimotu country there is not a single habitation. Mr. Studholme holds a lease from the Natives of two blocks of land, comprising between them 240,000 acres, upon which he has depastured eighty thousand sheep, whose wool was being carted to Hunterville when we passed through the Awarua Block. Mr. Studholme has an excellent manager in Mr. McDonald, whose headquarters are at Karioi, where he has lived for the past twenty years. We were very hospitably entertained by Mr. McDonald that night.

"We set out from Karioi at 9 a.m. on Saturday with a benediction from Ruapehu in the form of a shower. It did not last long, however, and we had glorious weather for the greater part of our day's journey. Two miles from Karioi we pass by the Native kainga of Waione, enter the bush, and note a marked improvement in the soil. From this point there is an unbroken forest all the way to Mount Egmont.

"Just beyond Waione we come across the last stretch of road which is in course of formation by the co-operative contractor. One man of a superior stamp we saw at work, and were told that he was a Dublin University man. He possessed Molesworth's Pocketbook and Chambers's Logarithms, and with their help he was accustomed to work out his quantities. Two miles further on we are pointed out a tract of land that is to become a small-farm settlement. Fifty sections had been taken up under the lease-in-perpetuity system about a year ago, but only two settlers have taken up residence on their land.

"Five miles still further on, nine miles from Karioi, we reach Ohakune, a Government reserve. This clearing was made three years ago. Several buildings have been erected upon it. Six more miles of travel, and we arrive at a small Maori kainga called Toanui, the entire population of which—three generations of one family—come out and offer a hearty welcome. The principal man is Winiata, and, finding he has two Ministers before him, he acts on the motto '*Carpe diem*' He is concerned for the preservation of the graves of the ancestors of his hapu, who lie buried on various hill-tops on the Waimarino Block, now belonging to the Government. Will the Premier reserve these sacred places?

"Mr. Seddon could not give any definite pledge on the subject. He would consult the Minister of Lands, and see what Mr. Baker, Commissioner of Crown Lands, had to say. He thought the simplest plan would be to exhume the bones interred in these various hill-tops, and bury them in the new cemeteries, where a stone might be raised to rescue from oblivion the names of those interred beneath. He felt pleased at finding amongst the Maoris such a reverential feeling for their dead.

"A short distance further on we chanced upon a free selector and his family, who had arrived from Sandon the previous day, and pitched their tent by the hillside. The wife and mother advanced to our trap and asked if she had the honour of addressing the Premier. Receiving an affirmative answer she wished to know if it were true that the first woman to settle upon any block received a bonus of seven acres of land, as she was the pioneer woman upon this block—the Waimarino. Mr. Seddon replied that there was no such regulation.

## **"Raetihi.**

"We were now in the midst of a splendid forest of mixed bush, about the best of the kind, we are told, that one can find in the North Island. Three miles further on, or fifteen miles from Karioi, we reach the site of the township of Raetihi, of which a good deal is likely to be heard in the future. It lies in the heart of the bush, in the centre of a fine level block of Crown land, 100,000 acres in area, and at the proposed junction of the Wanganui Road with the road to Auckland *via* Okura. Of the 100,000 acres, 70,000 have already been taken up in small-farm sections.

"Four miles beyond Raetihi we arrive at Mangaetoroa, a Government school reserve, and notable for being the first clearing made in this part of the country. The land which has been cleared is down in grass, and men are at work constructing a tunnel to carry off the waters of the Mangaetoroa. For loveliness of forest scenery and varied and picturesque beauty it would be difficult to match the last fourteen miles of the road towards Pipiriki. At no distant date this is bound to be a favourite route of travel for tourists; the wonder is more has not been heard of it before this. At the summit of the Waipuna Hill one instinctively reins in his steed to feast the eyes upon the charming panorama that here unfolds itself, one of its leading features being the distinct though distant outlines of Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe, and Tongariro, which close in the southeastern side of the horizon.

"Nine miles from Pipiriki we pass over the newly-completed Mangoihe Bridge, which has a span of 80ft. over a deep gorge. Late in the afternoon from the crest of a hill we come in sight of the Wanganui River, and down the pretty rapid descent of road we canter into Pipiriki amidst the welcomes of the Natives.

## **"Up the Wanganui River.**

"The Premier consented to the request of Topia to visit on Sunday the Native settlement of Tieke, thirteen miles up the river. The compact was made, and at 9 a.m. on Sunday we were all aboard a big canoe, 78ft. long, and pushing out into the stream. There were twenty-eight of us, ten Europeans and the rest Maoris. Under the stimulus of the steady beat of sixteen paddles the canoe swept rapidly up the stream. A fogleman in the bow encouraged the paddlers to their best exertions by stirring cries delivered in a sonorous voice, to which responses were made from time to time with a fierce and startling suddenness. Very soon we encountered the rapids, and we had reason to admire the dexterity with which our crew handled their iron-tipped manuka poles. With rhythmic regularity they lifted the poles, and with simultaneous movement they plunged them into the water, where they grated harshly upon the stony bottom of the river, while the canoe shot forward through the water that leaped, boiled, and surged on either side. The Europeans twice disembarked, while the canoe with great skill was propelled through the madly-leaping waves; but all the other rapids were passed without stoppage or difficulty.

"Entrancing was the kaleidoscopic picture that unfolded itself under our eyes at every turn in the serpentine course of the river. On either side rose a lofty and perpendicular bank of rock, clad from foot to summit with dense foliage resplendent with tree-ferns and other graceful specimens of native shrubbery. Sometimes a rocky grotto or cave arrested our gaze, sometimes a deep cleft or chasm streaked by a narrow ribbon of foaming water; anon a small creek, itself a dream of ideal virgin beauty; and occasionally a Native where, to which our attention was attracted by the chant of welcome delivered in shrill and long-sustained notes by some Native woman. The fogleman was relieved from time to time, Topia himself taking a turn at the vocal exercise, and also bearing a hand at intervals with the paddles. About noon one of the manuka poles was raised aloft in the prow, with two handkerchiefs fluttering from it, one of crimson and the other of orange. A little further on we caught sight of a light canoe, which was shooting along far ahead to apprise the villagers of our approach. With shouts of joy our paddlers bent all their energies to the task of overtaking the smaller craft; but after a spurt of a quarter of an hour, during which the smaller canoe more than held its own, our men recognised that the struggle was hopeless, and therefore slackened their stroke.

"A few minutes before 1 o'clock a turn of the river brought Tieke into view, perched upon a small grassy promontory. The Natives there had caught sight of us as soon as, if not sooner than, we perceived the settlement, for repeated discharges of firearms warned us that they were assembled, and had already begun to announce the welcome that awaited us. As we drew nearer we saw them rushing down helter-skelter—men, women, and children—to the waterside, where they began their song and dance of welcome, accompanied by much gesticulation, the women especially commanding notice by reason of their demonstrativeness and the garlands of willow which they had entwined in their hair or waved in their hands.

## "A Native Meeting.

"The party having landed, Topia led the Premier and his party to the handsome *whare puni* where, in accordance with formal Maori usage, the visitors were to await the ceremonious welcome that is given on all such occasions. The women were busy with the scraping of potatoes, the preparation of pork, and the 'copper Maoris' in readiness for the midday meal. Gradually the people sat down in groups in front of their whares, and eventually an aged chief, bearing a manuka pole in his hand, advanced to the centre of the *marae*, and, facing the *whare puni*, delivered in a clearly-pitched voice his speech of welcome. It abounded in '*Haere mais*,' and was after the usual Maori style of flowery oratory, with abundant repetition of phrase.

"Another aged chief, after a long pause, came forward and delivered himself after the like fashion. He was succeeded by a man in the prime of life, with a coloured handkerchief bound round his head and over one eye. In his hand he held an implement of peace—the familiar hair-broom—and as he run up and down the *marae* brandishing this domestic weapon and delivering his speech in short passages—every time he came to a full stop in front of us—he certainly cut a ludicrous figure. He was effusive in his speech of welcome. After this orator came the prophet of the village. Te Kerei, who was brief and oracular, as became his priestly *rôle*.

"Topia and Mr. Carroll spoke in reply, Mr. Carroll holding in his hands a lady's parasol, so that the badges displayed on both sides—broom and sunshade—were eminently peaceful in their significance.

## "Address by the Premier.

"Finally the Premier spoke (interpreted by the Hon. Mr. Carroll). He said he could scarcely find words in which to express his pleasure at being there that day. This reception more than repaid him for the distance he had come with their respected chief Topia to meet them. He was determined that justice should be done to both races. The course adopted in the past had not been productive of good to the Maori race. He saw there that day only the remnant of a great people now fast passing away. He was there in furtherance of a desire to avert that evil. Next session would be one of the most important, as affecting the Maori race, that had ever been held. It was the desire of the pakeha to preserve the great race that formerly held and owned this country. In the early days, when the Maoris were as numerous as the ferns on the hillside, and the pakehas few and powerless, the Maoris stretched out the hand of fellowship to them. Now that the pakehas were as plentiful as the fern, it was their turn to reciprocate that friendship. This they would do in a practical way. Hitherto the Natives had been parting with their lands in a manner which only tended to impoverish them. He was travelling through the country meeting the Natives face to face, so that they might open their minds to him, and so that they might freely state their wants and wishes. When he had ascertained their minds he would be able to decide what remedy to apply. The best way in which the Government could help them was in respect to their lands, so dealing with these that the Maori might be again placed in the proud position which he occupied when the pakeha first came to the colony. He saw a great many little children, and he wished to observe that this rising generation must be cared for by the Government, because the pledge was solemnly given when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed that the Government would attend to the education of the Native children. If their parents allowed them to go to school and mix with the European children, both races would grow up in peace and harmony, both having a fair share of the soil upon which to live. If they asked that day for a school to be established in their midst he would do his best to accomplish that object for them. Ample land must be reserved for the use of the Natives. A plan might be devised whereby the Europeans could use the surplus lands of the Maoris, and the Maoris themselves and their children be protected against want for all time. If he could take them up in a balloon and pass over the land between there and Hawera he could teach them by an object-lesson what good had been achieved already in this way. The returned confiscated lands had been leased for the Natives. Two years ago they received £7,000 in rentals from these lands, and last year these rentals had risen to £14,000. In conclusion, the Premier alluded to the presence in the Ministry of one of their own race (Mr. Carroll), and said that he himself accepted the position of Native Minister because he recognised the paramount importance of settling the Native question. At present in everything relating to Native matters the motto was '*Taihoa!*'—procrastination and delay prevailed everywhere. Both Natives and Europeans were like the lion enmeshed in the net, and he hoped to be the mouse that would liberate the lion from its toils.

"Shortly after 3 o'clock the oratory came to an end, and Natives and Europeans addressed themselves with sharpened appetites to the very substantial and well-cooked meal of roast pork, boiled potatoes and kumeras, bread, biscuit, and tea.

"When Pipiriki was regained, at 7 o'clock, every one admitted that this day was a day to be marked with a

white stone in the calendar of our memories."

That night at Pipiriki the Premier and the Hon. Mr. Carroll discussed the question of establishing a township at Pipiriki and opening a school there for the education of European and Native children. The Natives expressed a strong desire to have this course adopted.

Another important matter discussed the same evening was the obstruction on the Wanganui River by the Natives. Both the Premier and the Hon. Mr. Carroll pointed out to those interested that the proper line to adopt would be to consult the Government, so that a reasonable understanding might be arrived at. The Natives were informed in very plain language that they must not take the law into their own hands, as the country would not tolerate such a line of procedure.

"Next day we reached Ohakune from Pipiriki. Stayed there a night, picked up the Central-line route, and travelled through the Waimarino Block; and for the next three days were travelling from morn till eve on horseback, chiefly through forest. For that space of time we were practically dead to the outer world, and yet it was a pleasant time. For the first four miles our course lay through Rangitane Block, which has a total area of 2,000 acres. The lower end has been taken up in small grazing-runs by settlement associations. The grazing ground is all occupied, and a few of the association settlers are also on land. Then we enter the Waimarino Block proper, and never leave it again until we reach Taumarunui. The portions of this block assigned to the associations from Marton, Bulls, and Wanganui are already settled. The land selected by other associations is now being surveyed.

"About noon we descend by a narrow shelf of road to the depths of a steep ravine, at the foot of which stands Makatuke Bridge, comprising three 63ft. and five 20ft. spans. This bridge was erected at a cost of about £2,000 in a place where it was never required, and now is familiarly known as Rochfort's Polly. At Seaton's camp, in the heart of the bush, we stop for lunch, finding our dessert in konini berries, which we pluck from trees growing about the clearing. Our road abounds in bog-holes, and is thickly interlaced in places with the roots of trees, and occasionally the trunk of some large tree which had fallen right across the track obliged us to make a deviation by scrambling as best we could through dense bush. After traversing the forest for sixteen miles we enter with feelings of relief upon the Waimarino Plains, with Ruapehu glittering in its snowy mantle close to our left. A canter of six miles over the sandy undulating plains brings us at 4.30 p.m. to our resting-place for the night, an untenanted Government whare on the very margin of the forest. Our whare is a veritable lodge in the wilderness, and we feel more than ever out of the world, but wonderfully reconciled withal to our solitude. Every man has to prepare his own bed, and we are very soon busily at work cutting down wiwi rushes and fern scrub to pile up on our wooden bunks. We breakfast before 8 next morning, and ten minutes afterwards are in the saddle, briskly picking our way across the plain towards the forest. After we were well into the bush we passed through a forest of totara fully five miles in length. It is said to be about the finest totara bush in the Island. It certainly introduces us to the most charming bush scenery we have yet passed through. We had travelled twenty-five miles, and the sun was fast waning when we emerged into the open scrub-clad country, and by a sharp descent reached the banks of the Wanganui. We were in Taumarunui district at last, and were not impressed by it. At the Native kainga a short halt was made while Natives welcomed the Premier and Mr. Carroll. Early next morning the meeting with the Natives took place. Here we found Mr. Hursthouse and Mr. Tanner waiting to escort us onwards from that point.

"Next morning we parted company with many regrets from Mr. G. T. Murray, who had piloted the party all the way from Ohingaiti. Nothing was omitted by him that could insure the comfort of the party, and no detail overlooked that was necessary to complete the programme laid down. Before 9 o'clock we were on horseback again, and off to Te Kuiti, in the King-country, fifty-two miles distant. There is a good graded road all the way, and rapid progress therefore was made. We journeyed through the valley of Ongaruhe, along the valley of Ohinemoa to Te Poro-o-Toroa Tunnel, and reached Mokau Railway-station at 6 o'clock. After waiting an hour for the train, we proceed down the line on jiggers to Te Kuiti, nine miles distant. Here Mr. C. Hudson, the District Manager of the Auckland Section, is in waiting to supervise the train arrangements right through to Auckland. At Te Kuiti, Mr. Lang, M.H.R. for Waipa, joined the party, and accompanied us right through the Waikato. He had just returned from a visit to Stratford, and went to the Awakino Settlement, and thence up Ohura Valley to Taumarunui. He was highly impressed with the fine quality of the land about Awakino and Ohura Valley.

"Next day was a busy one. A Native meeting was held at Te Kuiti in the morning, and another at Otorohanga in the afternoon, both immensely satisfactory, and in the evening we went on to Te Awamutu Township.

## ***"A Visit to Rewi.***

"We drove out beyond Kihikihi on Saturday morning on a visit to Rewi, the celebrated Ngatimaniapoto chief. The old man was stretched out on a mattress in front of the fire, his wife seated by his side. One glance sufficed to apprise us that he is not far from his end. He could only hear imperfectly, and could not articulate above a whisper, but all his mental faculties are apparently unimpaired.

"The Premier spoke to him through Mr. Carroll, expressing his pleasure at meeting Rewi. He said he wanted to impress on his mind the fact that all the unpleasantness of the past was long forgotten. Mr. Seddon inquired if it was Rewi's wish that the house and land given him by the Government should pass after his death to his stepson, as, if so, it might be necessary to vary the trust.

"Rewi signified that this was his wish.

"Mr. Seddon promised that it should be done.

"The visit came to an end after Rewi requested that the Premier's remarks should be sent him in writing, so that he might read what he had not heard, and communicate it to his people.

"At Cambridge and Hamilton deputations were received.

"A special messenger was sent by Tawhiao to the Premier to explain that he would not be at Ruahanu meeting, as a relative was dying, but that he would see Mr. Seddon at Ngaruawahia.

À propos of the Premier's interview with Rewi, some reference to the celebrated affray at Orakau may not be without interest. The following poem is from the pen of Thomas Bracken, and the description given of the fight tends to illustrate that the Maoris are behind no other race in resolute valour and endurance:—

*Three hundred swarthy braves at Orakau—  
Savage warriors from Urewera,  
And from the hills and gorges of Taupo—  
Gathered together to defend the land  
From the encroachments of the pakeha.  
The Ngatimaniapoto were there.  
Led on by Rewi Manga the fearless.  
Te Paerata, famed in many fights.  
Commanded the Ngatiraukawa tribe.  
He was the warrior who cried aloud—  
"Me mate au ki konei!" which means,  
"Let us make the pa here; let us die here."  
The dauntless chief Te Whenuanui,  
And Hapurona of Urewera,  
Headed their wild and savage warriors.  
Te Waru was there with his East Coast braves,  
And other chiefs famed in song and story,  
Met on the spot to resist the spoilers  
Who had taken the land from the Maori  
In the name of the Queen of the far land.  
Only three hundred warriors were there  
Entrenched within the weak, unfinished pa,  
Only three hundred brave men and women  
To meet the pakeha who surrounded  
The sod-built fortress, with his well-drilled troops.  
Nearly two thousand hardy Britons—  
The Royal Irish and Forest Rangers,  
And Fortieth Fighters under Leslie.  
It was the second morning of April,  
When the colours in Nature's dress wore changing  
From brown and russet hues of autumn  
To the dark and sadder shades of winter.  
Three hundred lion-hearted warriors  
Assembled with Rewi to fan the flame  
Of deadly hatred to the pakeha  
Into a vengeful blaze at Orakau,  
Chanting the deeds of their ancestors,*

*They cried aloud, "Me mate te tangata,  
Me mate te whenua!" which means,  
"The warrior's death is to die for the land!"*

Roaring for blood, our early gun  
Rent the clouds like a thunder-clap;  
Carey cried, "There's work to be done."  
Close to the walls we pushed the sap.

"Ready, lads, with your hand-grenades,  
Ready, lads, with your rifles true;  
Ready, lads, with your trusty blades;  
Ready, lads, with your bayonets, too."

"Now for the Armstrongs, let them roar:  
Death unto those that laugh at peace"—  
Into their nest our volleys pour—  
"Steady, there! Let the firing cease."

'Tis Cameron's voice. "Tell the foe  
To leave the pa—their lives we'll spare.  
Tell them Britons can mercy show;  
Nothing but death awaits them there."

Then Major Mair, with flag of truce, before the Maoris stood.  
And said, "O friends, be warned in time; we do not seek your blood.  
Surrender, and your lives are safe." Then, through the whole redoubt,  
The swarthy rebels answered with a fierce, defiant shout,  
"*Ka whawhai tomi! Ake! ake! ake!*"  
"We will fight for ever, and ever, and ever."

Again spake gallant Mair: "O friends, you wish for blood and strife,  
With blind and stubborn bravery preferring death to life;  
But send your women and your children forth—they shall be free."  
They answered back, "Our women brave will fight as well as we:  
*Ka whawhai tome! Ake! ake! ake!*"

Up rose brave Ahumai then, a chieftainess, and said:  
"O! what have we to live for if our dearest ones be dead?  
If fathers, husbands, brothers, too, as mangled corpses lie,  
Why should we stay behind them here? Beside them let us die!"

*Ka whawhai tonu! Ake! ake! ake!"*

Again the fiery-throated cannon roared aloud for blood;  
Again the hungry eagle swooped and shrieked for human food;  
Again wild spirits soaring, saw their shattered shells beneath  
In pools of gore, and still was heard defiance to the death—  
*"Ka whawhai tonu! Ake! ake! ake!"*

Now, now the bold defenders in a solid body break  
Right through the sod-built barricade, o'er palisade and stake;  
And leaping o'er the trenches, 'mid a storm of shot and shell,  
They rushed to liberty or death, still shouting as they fell—  
*"Ka whawhai tonu! Ake! ake! ake!"*

With wild untutored chivalry the rebels scorn'd disgrace.  
O, never in the annals of the most heroic race  
Was bravery recorded more noble or more high  
Than that displayed at Orakau in Rewi's fierce reply—  
*"Ka whawhai tonu! Ake! ake! ake!"*

"Hamilton,

12th March.

"On Sunday the Premier, Mr. Carroll, and party, accompanied by the Mayor and Councillors of Hamilton and a number of residents of that place and To Awamutu, visited the celebrated Waitomo Caves.

"This morning the Premier and Mr. Carroll drove out from Hamilton to a Native meeting at Hukanui, twelve miles distant. They were accompanied by Mr. George Wilkinson, Government Native Agent; Mr. G. Mueller, Crown Lands Commissioner at Auckland; and Mr. W. A. Graham. The Native settlement was by the roadside, and on the approach of the visitors the Natives received the party with the usual demonstrations of welcome. The visitors were conducted to the centre of the *marae*.

## **"The Demands of the Natives.**

"Tana Tamehana, *alias* Taingakawa, chief of the Ngatihaua Tribe (Premier of Native Parliament, and second son of William Thompson, the celebrated king-maker), was the first speaker. He said that their first request was that the Premier should remove all taxes from Native land; and their next request was that he should no longer allow the Native Land Court to have jurisdiction over Native land. The Natives likewise wished to have returned to them certain lands which had been handed over to the Government for school purposes and had never been utilised. They now wanted their lands back, in order that they might apply them to other purposes. Moreover, it was their desire to be relieved entirely from the dox-tax, and that the chiefs and hapus should be allowed to decide whether surveys should be made or not over their lands, and that Acts for the settlement of the land by the Government should not affect Maori lands. They also wished that Native tribunals should be left to deal with cases arising between the Maoris themselves, and that the Maoris should have representation on the Bench in respect of cases between Natives and Europeans. It was also their wish that Europeans should be prohibited from lending money to Natives.

"The Premier, in reply, said he had come a long distance to meet them in response to their invitation. He had listened attentively and had noted down all they had said, but there were much larger questions quite

untouched that he knew they wanted to speak about. If what they had said so far was all they desired to speak about, it had not been worth while for him to come there, but he knew there was something more important behind. He recognised in them the mouthpieces of the Waikato Natives, and he expected and invited them to speak their minds freely. He wished to know how they desired the land to be dealt with—whether tribally through committees appointed for the purpose by themselves or individually. Only the other day a serious breach of the law had occurred in the Lower Waikato, by which they had defied the majesty of the law, and had injured themselves. He desired to know how far they were connected with this breach of the law. This was the first time the Maoris had a visit from a Native Minister who was also Premier of the colony. It was his desire to be Minister for the Maoris, and not Minister against the Maoris. He could only help them by their trusting himself and the Government, and being frank and open. He was, therefore, prepared to listen to all they had to say. After they had said all they wished, he would explain to them the mind and intentions of the Government.

"Tutua te Ngakau said that, although the matters so far spoken of had often been brought under the notice of the Government, no reply had ever been received from the Government. The Premier's question as to how they wished their lands to be dealt with was met by Tana's request that surveys should only be allowed by the chiefs and the hapus, and so also should the settlement of the people upon the land. It should rest with the chiefs and the Native people who owned the land. With regard to the recent trouble to which the Premier had alluded, they knew nothing about it, and Tawhiao was also ignorant of it. The reason he had for saying this was that he had received a letter from Tawhiao, who stated when in Auckland recently he saw the chief Hori Kukutai, who told him there was considerable trouble in connection with Opuatia Block, which was owned by his tribe, and that the person causing the trouble was Kerei Kaihau, *alias* Te Maihau. Tawhiao, in reply to Hori Kukutai, said, 'Send that man (Kerei Kaihau) back to his own people. You are the person to manage affairs in regard to Opuatia.' This was all that had taken place between Tawhiao and Kukutai.

"The Premier: Very good.

"Wiremu Paitaki (Ngatipaoa), Waata Tipa (Ngatipaoa and Thames), Pohutuhutu (Ngatipaoa and Piako) also spoke to similar effect.

"Te Puke (an important chief of the Waikato Tribe) supported Tana's views in respect of the matters he had brought forward. A matter that affected them all in the Hukanui district was the dog-tax. The collector came along, and as he was unable to speak Maori the Maori women could not understand him. All the collector could say was 'I'll shoot! I'll shoot!' which put the women and children in great fear.

"The Premier said that Tawhiao had departed from the understanding to be present at this Hukanui meeting, assigning as a reason that he had a dying relative at Ngaruawahia. Was the case of one sick man more important than the case of all the Natives, who complained of being very sick indeed on account of their land? He left that for Tawhiao to decide. He had arranged to receive a deputation of Europeans at Ngaruawahia, and if Tawhiao were present he would see him also.

"Mr. Carroll then addressed the Natives, introducing into the speech a Native *waiata* suitable to the occasion.

"At this stage an adjournment was made to lunch, which was served in approved pakeha fashion in a building specially erected for the occasion, and very neatly constructed.

"The meeting having been resumed, Tu Makere complained of the deduction of 3,000 acres from the grant of 7,000 acres returned confiscated land given to William Thompson.

"The Premier promised to inquire if the details were sent him.

"Several other personal matters were brought forward, and inquiry promised, the Premier saying that legislation would be introduced next session to authorise exchanges of Native land and the consolidation of Native interests.

## **"Mr. Seddon's Reply.**

"The Premier then replied generally, expressing great pleasure at the cordial welcome accorded him. The Government, he said, were determined to remove the Native difficulties, and the Natives could all assist if they would but help themselves. The Government requested from them their assistance. This was his object in travelling through the Island and meeting the Natives face to face. That day they had followed the example of the Europeans in banqueting him and his colleague. He accepted this as a compliment paid to them, to their representative capacity, and as evidence of their goodwill. He would speak plainly to them. They might not agree with all he said, but at any rate they were his sincere convictions.

## **"The Native-land Difficulty.**

"The Premier then referred to the increase of the European population, and the urgent necessity for land, the gradual impoverishment and decadence of the Natives through recklessly parting with their land to private persons, and the paramount importance of effecting such adjustment of matters as would insure the solution of the present difficulties, and the rapid and systematic settlement of the surplus Native lands. The European population was like a lake constantly increasing in volume with no outlet. The Natives were like the banks of the lake, and if no outlet was provided for the banked-up waters the time would come when they would break down their banks and sweep everything before them. The flow of water could not be arrested, but the banks could be preserved if the Natives would listen and act according to wise counsels. By the Treaty of Waitangi their forefathers had ceded sovereignty to the Queen, and secured the powerful protection of the British flag for themselves and their descendants. No other nation on the face of the globe had ever protected the aboriginals like the British nation. Those who remained loyal remained in peaceful possession of their lands; those who rebelled had become landless and poor. There could not be two powers in New Zealand. The authority of the Queen was supreme. There could not be two Parliaments, but only one, in which Natives and Europeans were both represented. There could be only one Premier, the head of the Government of the colony. Various districts possessed so-called or mock Parliaments, for the discussion of political questions, which mock Parliaments had mock Ministers. So, too, the Maoris had Parliaments. Te Whiti had one, there was another on the East Coast, and a third here in the Waikato. All these were merely advisory bodies having neither legislative nor administrative power. The Maoris were represented both in Parliament and in the Cabinet by persons of their own race. If more Governments were permitted in the colony than one their lives would be endangered, and everything end in confusion.

## ***" The Opuatia Disturbance.***

"The first news he got on arrival at Te Kuiti was the news of the arrest of Natives at Opuatia for defiance of the law. It deeply pained him. At great discomfort he and his colleague were engaged in a mission in the interest of the Natives—strengthening the banks of the lake, in fact, while other Natives were digging trenches in those banks, thus undoing the good work. If lives had been lost at Opuatia, all the Natives of the colony would have been punished—not physically, but by distrust taking the place of feelings of friendship and goodwill between the races. Mr. Carroll and himself were labouring earnestly to promote the best interests of the Maoris, but occurrences such as he alluded to would tend to neutralise all their work. Kerei Kaihau and his associates had done the Native people more harm than had happened for years. When he (Mr. Seddon) told the Parliament how good and sensible and peaceful and progressive the Maoris were, the acts of Kerei Kaihau and his people would be thrown in his teeth. If the Native Parliament or Tawhiao had any power, why did they not prevent Kerei Kaihau and his associates acting as they had done, seeing that their interests were at stake? At any rate, an all-powerful Government had stepped in and the wrong-doers were now in custody. It was very satisfactory to him to receive their assurance that day that Kaihau's proceedings had been discountenanced by them. Were the Maoris degenerating? If not, why put forward their women to do wrong, while the men hide behind bushes? Was it because they were ashamed, or because they thought the punishment would be less severe for women? In that they were mistaken. With Europeans a stigma would be attached to the families of those who were sent to gaol. The same taint would attach to the families of Maoris sent to gaol. Therefore, let them not disgrace themselves by the cowardly conduct of inciting their women to do that for which they would be sent to gaol. Kaihau's action was more reprehensible seeing that he knew the Premier was approaching, and would listen to all grievances.

## ***" The Cause of the Disturbance.***

"In respect to making roads through Opuatia, if the surveyors did wrong, there was the Supreme Court to appeal to. By the 245th section of the Counties Act of 1886, all Native roads and tracks, whether surveyed or unsurveyed, were roads within the meaning of the Act, and roads, too, could be taken by Proclamation through private lands. (By the aid of a plan the Premier showed the need of taking a road through the Opuatia Block, so as to bring Tuakau and Raglan into closer communication.) Kerei Kaihau and his people had no right in that block, and should not have dared to interfere between the owners and the Government. The Government must and would carry out the law. The road when made would be used by Natives and pakehas alike, and, like other roads, belonged as much to the Natives as to the pakehas. This road would be made, and he hoped to have the assistance of all right-thinking Natives in putting it through. The land that would be improved by it was all Native land. If there was any further wrongdoing the guilty parties would be severely punished.

## **"Taxation.**

"With reference to the requests put forward by Tamehana, the pakehas just as much as the Maoris wanted to escape taxation, but the Government could not do without money, and taxes therefore must be imposed for the benefit of both races. As to the objections to local rating, the Natives had only to pay half-rates, and where they were too poor the Governor had the power to exempt them altogether. Any cases of hardship could therefore be submitted to the Native Minister.

## **"School Reserves.**

"As to educational reserves, he was very sorry to hear them say they did not want schools, because such a thing would condemn their children to inferior positions. If faith had not been kept with them in putting up schools, he would see it was done.

## **"The Dog-tax.**

"As to the dog-tax, he would let the County Councils know that their collectors were regarded as *taniwhas* by the Maoris. Perhaps it would suffice to print notices of the tax in Maori and English, and send collectors who understood Maori. He would prefer to see less dogs and more pickaninnies about Maori pas.

## **"The Committee System.**

"The request as to surveys and dealing with the land he took to mean that they preferred combined dealing in these matters, through a committee elected by themselves, instead of individual dealing. In this they were consistent with the East Coast Natives. He could not give a definite answer until he had heard the opinions of Natives elsewhere. It might be that the intended legislation on this matter would have to be optional, so as to allow choice between the two systems.

## **"No Natives to be Landless.**

"The Government were determined that there should be no landless Natives in the colony, and those in the South Island who had no lands were now to have reserves granted them. If the Waikato Natives without land approached Parliament by petition, like relief might be afforded them. He could not agree to a proposal that there should be no surveys. The title to every acre of Native land in the colony must be ascertained. The Native committees could facilitate this work, and thus save expenses and litigation.

## **"Loans to Natives.**

"As to the last question, regarding the prevention of loans, it would be a good thing if no credit was given to either Maoris or Europeans. The Bill introduced last session to take away power to recover debts under £20 would probably be reintroduced next session. The Premier concluded a three hours' speech by expressing satisfaction at having met the Natives at Hukanui, and by saying that he felt confident of finding a way to assist them, but that depended on their remaining a law-abiding people.

"At Tamahana's request the Premier promised to have a report of his speech translated in Maori, printed and circulated amongst the Natives. Mr. Seddon also said that if the Natives would send delegates to Wellington before or during the session, in order to represent their views to the Government while Native legislation was being prepared, the Government would charge the expenses to the Civil List.

"The proceedings closed at 5 o'clock, having lasted upwards of five hours. The result is considered eminently satisfactory by both Maoris and pakehas.

"The Premier, Mr. Carroll, and party, accompanied by several Native chiefs, arrived at Nga-ruawahia at 9.30. A messenger was sent across the Waikato River at once to Tawhiao's settlement, a mile and a half distant, and returned at 11.30 p.m., reporting that Tawhiao was not there."

# Ngaruawahia.

While here a deputation consisting of Wi Patene and Hone Patene waited on the Premier, requesting that Sections 65 and 69 should be reserved, so as to secure the interests of those beneficially interested. It appears the original trustees are dead, and the trust originally intended cannot be continued.

Wi Patene said,—We wish to be relieved in regard to this trust. We have suffered in consequence. We do not receive any proceeds from the land. The original trustees are dead. We want a law passed by Parliament to get the title to this block investigated—some power whereby the Court can investigate these two sections, and ascertain who the owners are, that all may participate therein irrespective of any trust or restriction. The whole thing is explained in the letter to the Minister of Native Affairs. We wish the land brought under the operation of the law which affects the reserves in the Whakatane district. There certain lands were investigated by the Commissioner and awarded to certain persons in trust for the tribe. The trustees have since died. Power was given by special legislation for the Court to operate on those lands, so that the people may be found who are entitled thereto. We wish that law to be extended to these same blocks of which I am speaking. Aparima Patene, son of Wiremu Patene, who was one of the trustees, made representations and was appointed successor to his father. This is against the wish of the people, and what we want is that the trust, if any, affecting that block should be annulled and the beneficiaries determined. We have made representations to the Government, and in reply have been informed on more than one occasion that the Court had power, under certain sections which were quoted in such replies, to take the matter into its consideration and perform what we wanted; but up to the present time we have been unable to achieve our purpose.

The Minister: How long ago was that? Have you got any correspondence with you?

Wi Patene: I had the reply from the Government to which I have referred, but Judge Gudgeon asked me to deposit the letter with him, and he would see into the matter.

The Minister: How long ago is that?

Wi Patene: Last year when he was here in Ngaruawahia. The purport of the letter of the Government to us, in reply to our communication, was that the Government considered there were provisions in the new Act whereby the Court could deal with the case; but they found when looking at the law that such provisions referred only to reserves in the Whakatane district; there was nothing to indicate that the power of the Court could be extended so as to include these sections I am alluding to. The Government is not aware that these are reserves, because they were made reserves in accordance with an arrangement come to amongst the Natives themselves.

The Minister: Are they reserves at all?

Wi Patene: These lands were adjudicated upon by Mr. Mackay: he was Commissioner in 1867, and he declared by an arrangement with the people that a trust was created in the two persons I have mentioned in favour of the people.

The Minister: I will make inquiries when I get to Auckland who has the titles to the sections he has mentioned. If, however, no trust has been declared, I can do nothing with it.

On arrival at Auckland, inquiries were made, and it was found that there was no analogy between this case and the case at Whakatane, and nothing could be done in the matter.

Mr. William A. Graham, of Ngaruawahia, introduced Hone Wini Kerei to the Premier, and explained that this was a private matter, and that he understood from this Native that a promise of some land at Hungawhere had been made to him some years ago.

Hone Wini Kerei said,—I am glad to see you, Mr. Seddon. What I wish to say is concerning Hungawhere. Ngatihana sold this land to Sir Donald McLean—4,000 acres. The tribe to which I belong received no payment. My father was Wini Kerei te Whiti. My father asked the Government to separate 1,000 acres for him. The late Sir Donald McLean said, "Leave it to me; I will consider the question." He sent a statement to Parliament concerning this claim. The reply was that the Government had agreed to award him £20 in compensation. Wini Kerei would not receive the £20. What he wanted was 1,000 acres. That is the question I wish to inform you on. He would not receive the £20. Wini Kerei is dead, and I am his representative; therefore I bring this forward before you. As I have said, we did not receive the £20. Mr. Puckey would be able to explain these things. What we wanted was the land; we did not want the payment. That is all I wish to say and lay before you, sir.

The Minister: Have you got particulars of the sections of land, and any correspondence on the subject?

Hone Wini Kerei: The correspondence will be in the offices of the Government.

Mr. Graham here explained that Wini Kerei was a young man who had only now been elected by the tribe to represent Wini Kerei (deceased), and had not had time to go fully into the question, but merely wished to bring the matter before the Premier. He would ask the Premier to consider his position,—that he was only a

young man, and had only just got into this position. The older men of the tribe would know more about the facts of the case. They were fully conversant therewith.

The Minister (to Mr. Graham): A thousand acres to be given out of the Hungawhere Block?

Mr. Graham: Four thousand acres was the sale; 1,000 acres is what they claim.

The Minister: I will find out about it.

Wiremu Pataki: another Native, said,—I should like to say a few words in explanation. What Hone Wini Kerei has just said to you is correct. There is a certain Native, who is not here, who could also substantiate what he has said. I have seen copies of the documents referred to. That block was 4,000 acres. On the application of Wini Kerei and another, Hunui, it was asked that 1,000 acres should be set aside as their claim in the block. Their suggestion was that 1,000 acres should be awarded to Wini Kerei and 3,000 acres should be apportioned to the Crown. They were told that the claim of Wini Kerei (deceased) would be settled by Mr. Puckey. He was authorised to pay £20 compensation for this claim. Wini Kerei said this was a small sum considering his claim was for 1,000 acres. Ngatouri has still got a copy of the letter received from the Crown. It came direct from the Government. Wini Kerei did not consent to receive this money, and he did not receive it. That is all I wish to state.

The Minister: Can you get me a copy of that letter?

Wiremu Pataki: Yes, I shall be able to get a copy.

The Minister (to Mr. Graham); I wish to ask this: If the Government bought 4,000 acres, why should the Government be asked to give 1,000 back?

Mr. Graham: Well, I might explain that there were two claimants to this land. There was a sister and a brother. They were the owners of the land. From the sister came Wini Kerei, from the brother came Ngatihana. Ngatihana was the one who sold the land. The brother and sister (Ngatihana) were both joint owners. The brother sold the land to the Government; the sister did not. Wini Kerei said, "Give me 1,000 acres, and I will cry quits."

The Minister: Then, practically, the Government bought from the wrong owners, according to that.

Mr. Graham: Well, they would not like to say that. Sir Donald McLean purchased the land. The brother sold, the sister did not. These are the facts of the case.

The Minister: The question is this: The brother sold 4,000 acres, and he only owned half and his sister half.

Mr. Graham: As you put it, you understand the Government bought 4,000 acres from the brother when the sister was a claimant. They say they were both in it. The brother sold and sold all his right, but the sister did not sell any right at all.

The Minister: Very well, then, the Government bought from the wrong owner.

Mr. Graham: They would not say they (the Government) bought from the wrong person. They simply say they bought from the brother, not from the sister.

The Minister: Well, I shall have to inquire whether the Government purchased from the right owner, and why they offered the £20.

Wini Kerei next addressed the Premier with regard to the block called Te Punga Maukau, Upper Piako and Waitoa district. He said the land known as Te Punga was sold or given to the late Sir Frederick Whitaker. Maukau belonged to Sir Frederick Whitaker. An arrangement was made with Sir Frederick Whitaker by which the Maoris gave up the Te Punga Block, and he was to return a portion of the Maukau Block owned by him. The acreage he was to give out of the Maukau Block was to be equal to what they gave out of the Te Punga Block. Since then the area out of the Maukau Block had been surveyed, and it had been found that the area was not equal to that which they gave to Sir Frederick Whitaker out of the Te Punga Block. That was the grievance—the shortage of the area out of the Maukau Block.

The Minister: The Government cannot interfere in the matter. If faith has not been kept with you, what has the Government got to do with it?

Mr. Graham: I would explain that this is a matter which really concerned the late Sir Frederick Whitaker. The cause was an error in the survey of the Maukau Block, and was no fault of Sir Frederick Whitaker or anybody else. It was presumed by all parties to contain so many thousand acres, but when it was resurveyed it was found there had been an error in the original survey. The Crown grant to Sir Frederick Whitaker was for 12,000, but when it was resurveyed there was an error in which the area did not pan out.

The Minister: The position, I take it, is this: There had been short measurement through a wrong survey. There is a guarantee fund; he can make a claim upon it to be reimbursed, but he should apply to the trustees of Sir Frederick Whitaker.

Mr. Graham: I understand he can appeal to them to give him what they bargained to give him in exchange.

Wini Kerei: The only reason I brought the matter before you was because my piece was larger than what I got back.

## MERCER.

"On arriving at Mercer, at 10.55, Mr. Seddon received a telegram from Ngaruawahia informing him that half an hour after he left Tawhiao arrived by Te Awamutu train. The Premier telegraphed in reply that his engagements would not admit of his returning to Ngaruawahia, but that if Tawhiao desired to see him he could come on to Auckland. Our train waited at Mercer the arrival of Te Awamutu train, so that had Tawhiao continued his journey he must have overtaken us there.

"At Mercer we met Kerei Kaihau, who had been released on bail the previous day, and had come up to Mercer with the evident intention of intercepting the Premier on the way. He had been pointed out to Mr. Seddon, and therefore when Kaihau boldly advanced and extended his hand to greet the Premier, the latter, prepared for him, placed his own hand behind his back, and said, 'No, your hand is soiled; I decline to recognise wrongdoers.' Kaihau looked crestfallen at this rebuff, and turned rather sheepishly away.

"There was not much at Mercer to engage our attention. Amongst its half-dozen buildings was a dilapidated wooden structure fronting the railway-station, bearing in chalk the inscription, 'Mercer Skating-rink. Fun for thousands! No flies on this place!' Evidently there had been far more flies on hand than skaters, for the building was sinking into melancholy ruin."

## AUCKLAND.

### *The Opuatia Affair.*

As a matter of fact, the people who got up the agitation here and pulled up the survey-pegs were not the owners of the land at all, but were merely living there on sufferance, as the following interview between Hori Kukutai, the real owner, and the Premier will show. This chief came all the way to Auckland with the Premier for the purpose of thoroughly setting the matter at rest once and for all.

Hori Kukutai said,—Sir, I will not delay you by going right away back to the origin of this particular matter

The Premier: Before hearing you at all, I want to know from you whether what this man Kerei Kaihau has been doing was done with your sanction and consent.

Hori Kukutai: That doing was his own; I tried to stop him. I have nothing whatever to do with it.

The Premier: I am very much pleased to hear you say that.

Hori Kukutai: At the commencement of this Kerei Kaihau trouble at Opuatia, it arose through some Native cattle mixing with some European cattle. Then some of my people were allowed to act under the orders of Kerei Kaihau. This led to a large meeting. I then stood forth to prevent Kerei Kaihau from carrying the matter any further, as it began to become serious. I succeeded in restraining Kerei Kaihau and turning him away, and that trouble ended. The next trouble that occurred was in reference to the road through the land we handed over at Opuatia for Tawhiao and his people to live upon. That was when Tawhiao came over from the lands of Rewi and Wahanui. Rewi and Wahanui had their lands surveyed and leased, and there was no land upon which Tawhiao could remain. That was the reason why we gave that land to Tawhiao to live upon,—because he had no land at all, he and his people; and that is how it came about that Tawhiao's name became identified with Opuatia: but any authority that might be attached to the fact of Tawhiao locating there was since put aside by our putting that land through the Court and bringing it under survey. Tawhiao's decree that there should be no surveys or land-laws was not given effect to. Now, when the Government applied to me for permission to take the road through the ground, I consented. What is there wrong in a road? It is beneficial both to Natives and Europeans. Now, this is my application to you, the Premier, and it is for you to say whether you will give effect to my application or not: that is a matter for your heart. I want this road formed; let the Government take this road through. I do not want the Government to pay compensation for it; all I ask is that they fence it on both sides of Sections 10 and 11. Sections 10 and 11 belong to me. I want the Government to keep authority over that road, and not to hand it over to the Road Board. Let the Road Board be here or there on either side of Sections 10 and 11. There are seventeen owners in No. 11, and twenty in No. 10. Some of those who have been arrested are owners in No. 11. This is my big word to you. That is the main point of my application, that the Government will make the road as surveyed. It is eight miles altogether.

The Premier: It is the Government that makes the road, but it is the law made by the Parliament that vests the roads in the local bodies. Parliament will not sit for many months; and what this man Kerei Kaihau has done

now—whatever Parliament might have been prepared to do before—by his breaking the law and going on like this, will damage any good intentions they may have had. By the law of the Counties Act, and by the general law, power is given to the Government to go through any Native lands to make roads—in fact, your forefathers agreed to that when the Treaty of Waitangi was made. Now, if they wanted any special favours in respect to it, any chance of special favours has been destroyed by the way the Natives have been going on, obstructing the Government. For instance, these people who own this Section 11—if it is fenced they will say, "Oh! that is because we got up a row. If we had not got up this row the Government would never have fenced it." These people have destroyed your request. If there had been no trouble, and the Natives wanted any special favour from the Government, whatever the Government had been prepared to do before, these people have cut their own throats by breaking the law.

Hori Kukutai: That is true. Six times I attempted to keep them back.

The Premier: I feel for you very much, because I know you have behaved very well. These other people have done so much wrong that you suffer through their wrong-doing.

Hori Kukutai: Yes, I am the sufferer. This trouble has been heaped on to my head by these refractory people. Not only that, my possessions—my land is also troubled with their actions. My father is dead; he was a great upholder of the authority of the Crown in this country. I have succeeded him, and have done everything in my power to follow in his footprints, but I am considerably handicapped.

The Premier: I will not forget that. We will go on and finish the road straight off. Then, when they see the benefits to be derived from having a road to their kaingas, and recognise that the law is not to be violated, then I will take you into my thoughts.

Hori Kukutai: That road is absolutely necessary.

The Premier: I will not forget the services of your father, neither will I forget your services, but I will punish these others. When this road is finished I shall be best able to see how I can serve you, but the others I will not serve in any way. You can rely upon my word and the word of the Government, and we will support you even if you are in trouble with your own people. We will see you through it and uphold your mana. You are quite right to get your land through the Court. You are not getting any younger, you are getting up in years, and you are quite right to get your affairs settled and have the land that belongs to you. I see a way of helping you under the law of last session. You will see for yourself you have been for years kept back by other people, and deprived from having what belonged to you. You have been rich in the enjoyment of land that belonged to your forefathers, but poor because of other people. It is now about time you got the full benefit of what belongs to you, and the Government are going to help you to do that. Other people study their children, and you should study yourself and your children. Now, yesterday Tawhiao sent word that he wanted to see me, and meet me at Hukanui. At great inconvenience and loss to the colony I stopped to see him. The first day he excused himself by saying one of the Maori men was sick. I have now got a telegram saying his daughter is sick, and that was the cause of my not seeing him last night. The demands upon my time are such that I could not trouble any further about him. He wants me to go back and see him, but I am better engaged talking business with you. I am talking now with the owner of the land; Tawhiao was simply a lodger. It is you who should have the benefit of that land; it will be to the benefit of both yourself and the Government to have the thing settled once and for all.

Hori Kukutai: It will be a great benefit both to Maoris and Europeans if that road is made, and it will be the means of their being able to carry their produce to the railway, and so to a better market.

The Premier: When we have made the road we will keep it in repair. There is a prejudice in the Native mind against local Road Boards. It would be as well if they kept away from them until the feeling died out. The rate will be struck and levied all the same as if there was no road at all. The road does not make the rate. I think the limit is five miles. They are exempt from special rates, and their rating is only one-half. Any way we will get the thing settled and opened up, and all will go well. There will be an advantage in making the road, for there will be work for some of the Natives.

Hori Kukutai: All the Natives on my section want to be employed.

The Premier: Those who have broken the law will not get employment, but those who stand by and help the Government will get employment. Those that you recommend to the Assistant Surveyor for work—their claims will be considered. Any that follow Kerei Kaihau and have been breaking the law against your wishes need not send in their names, because they will not get employment. I intend to uphold your mana, and discountenance Kerei Kaihau. That is my last word. We part good friends.

Hori Kukutai: I am satisfied you have met my approach to you in this matter in a light very favourable indeed. It is far more than I expected.

The Premier: I will give instructions to Mr. Mueller to get the plans ready at once, so as to make the road in the good weather. You cannot make roads well in winter. The next thing you will find is the men working on the road; and that will end the trouble. Pulling out pegs will not help them much when the road is made. Kerei Kaihau saw me on the railway platform to-day and wanted to shake hands with me, but I would not do so. I said

his hands were soiled, and I did not wish to have anything to say to him, because he had broken the law. Kerei Kaihau and his friends will be making a road for nothing, but you and your friends will be making roads and will be paid for it.

Hori Kukutai: Yes; ours will be a special contract.

## Whangarei.

We left Auckland on the night of the 14th March in the steamer "Wellington" for Whangarei, and arrived there next morning.

*Descriptive.*—Whangarei Heads. Remarkables. Puriri-trees. Hedges of orange-trees. Mr. Dobie's orchard. Met by Mr. E. Thompson, M.H.E., and leading settlers. Left to hold Native meeting at Poroti. Accompanied by Mr. E. Thompson. Description of road and Whangarei Falls (see *Star's* report). Premier meets gumdigger; determines to see mode of working. Takes spade and spear from digger, and works hard for a quarter of an hour. Digger says, "Not first time you have handled spade, I can see."

## Meeting at Poroti. (Uriroi Tribe.)

After lunch the party adjourned to a large meeting-house.

The Premier opened the meeting in a short address. He said,—I received an intimation that the Natives desired to see me here at this place. I promised to come, and am now here prepared to listen to them, and to hear from them direct concerning any matter that affects their interests. Men of the Native race, I ask you to open your minds freely and speak to me as a friend. If you do not do so and there is any misunderstanding, the blame must attach to you and not to the Government. You have an opportunity to-day that you may not have again, and you had better make the best of it. I am a good listener, and will now sit down and listen.

Matiu Komene said,—The reason we wished you to come here and meet us is on account of the Government Bill which I hold in my hand, and which the people of this place will never agree to or indorse. That is the big subject with which your visit here is associated—that you yourself may hear direct from us and other Natives that we are not in agreement with this Government Bill. That is all, so far as I am concerned.

The Premier: What part of the Bill do you disagree with? What Bill is it, and what part do you disagree with?

Matiu Komene: The Land Acquisition Bill. I disagree with the whole of it; there is not a single part of it that finds favour with the people of this place.

Hira te Taka: I sent a letter to you inviting you to come here, that you might listen to the important matter which interests us and which has just been given expression to by the last speaker—the Bill of the Government.

The Premier: Have you any more subjects to bring forward, so that I can reply to each of them?

Hoera Rewi: I welcome you, the Minister, in accordance with custom; and I thank you for coming to see us in response to our invitation. It is true that one of the principal subjects about which we wish to confer with you is the one already mentioned. In taking the stand we do, we do not wish in any way to take up a domineering position. This Bill is a little of a surprise to us. It came upon us as such; and the Native people in this part of the Island were not aware that it would be passed into law. Perhaps, if intimation had been given to them beforehand that legislation of that character was to be passed into law, they would have had time to adapt themselves to its provisions. We are pleased, however, at this opportunity being given to us of having a *korero* with you and your colleague. It is only recently that we have seen a copy of the Act. That is all I have to say in reference to that. I wish now to speak to you about certain proposed roads in this district. I would inform you that the road that goes over this land was one which had been given to the Government by the old people, and at the present time we consider that that handing-over still holds good, and that the road is still under the Government authority. We did not sell the right to the road, neither did we receive compensation for it; it was given free to the Government. I mention this to you, the Premier and Minister, that the said agreement in reference to this road will not be departed from by us. I will now go on to another matter, and, as the member for the district, Mr. Thompson, is here, he can also listen to the request. It is, that the Native Land Court which is to investigate this block should be ordered to sit here at Poroti. That is our wish. The survey is near completion. There are several people in this district spread over the country, and this is the most convenient place for them to assemble. They could not very well go down to the towns, as they would have a difficulty in finding beds and food for themselves; and generally they would be at great discomfort. There is yet another matter. The people in this locality wish Pomare Kingi, one of our chiefs, who is confined in the lunatic asylum, to be set free. They think they have complied sufficiently with the law by handing him over, and putting him in

the charge under which he now is. He does not seem to get any better, and all his relatives are anxious that he should be brought back amongst them, and they would devise some means of taking care of him. All the people are in grief about him because he is so far removed. They wish to see him occasionally. It is a prayer from this people that Pomare Kingi be set free, and returned to them. That is all I have to say.

Herera Ponamo: I heartily support the last speaker. We do not understand the Bill referred to—we are ignorant of its provisions. I likewise support the application made by the last speaker in reference to the Court sitting at Poroti. We cannot go to the towns; we have no one to keep us while we are there. Long live the Minister!

Matene Ripa: I stand up to thank the Premier for coming here, and to thank his Ministry. We are in the dark about this Bill. The reason we wanted you here was that you might explain this Bill to us. Some of the people supposed that if they got the Minister here they would get him to reconsider the matter.

The Premier, in reply, said,—I feel greatly pleased at being present to-day to meet you all, and I feel sure that I shall be able to remove the doubts and misapprehensions regarding the Bill mentioned by the first speaker. In being here to-day we are dealing with you the same as we deal with Europeans. When Europeans desire to see the Minister, and to hear an explanation on matters affecting their interests, they request him to meet them. I am here, and feel sure that good will result from this interview. Now, there is just one thing that I should like to say to you. The first speaker to-day is not of your tribe and not of this district: he is a stranger. I do not think it was right that he should speak on behalf of the Natives of this place. I came at the invitation of the Poroti Tribe to see them, and not to meet agitators from the eastern coast. To show you how unreasonable he is, when I asked the question, "On what grounds do you object to the Bill?" he could give no reasons; he simply said, "We object to everything." Now, the speakers direct from the Poroti people are more reasonable, because they said, "We do not understand it; we are prepared to listen; it has given us some trouble because of our ignorance; will you explain?" Now, there were a people many years ago, when the greatest Being that ever came upon earth came amongst them and told them what was for their good, refused absolutely to listen, and in their blind ignorance they committed a great sin. But there were a few who listened and received relief, and through them the whole world. Now, there are a few Natives whom I have spoken to in reference to this Bill. I was down the Waikato amongst the Maniapotos. Now, the Maniapotos and their chiefs have gone carefully through this matter, and they say to the Government it is best for the Natives to have such a Bill passed, and thanked them for passing it. Now, I will shortly show you that it is to your own interest. Formerly, in selling land, you were bound by the Treaty of Waitangi to sell only to the Government. Your forefathers pledged the Native race only to sell their land to the Government. Now, you never had an opportunity before this Act was passed of having this land valued before it was sold, and of having independent persons as representatives of the Native race to fix the fair value before it was offered for sale. Now, the persons who have to fix the value of the land are the Surveyor-General, the Commissioner of Taxes, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, and the Native member for the district, and the Natives to be appointed by the Chief Judge of the Court. Now, that is the same sort of power, only more potent, as that which is given under the Land Act, which deals with settlement of Crown lands. You are not bound to sell unless a majority of the owners of the land signify their intention to that effect. Well, now, suppose a majority decide to sell: the land is then taken under section 7 of this Act. Under this Act you will enjoy a privilege you never possessed before; in fact, you can sell to any one you like, providing it is for the upset price fixed by the Board I have just mentioned, or for as much above that as you can get. The land is submitted to public auction, and any person has a right to buy. The Natives get the full market value for their land. Consider well this Act, and you will find that it is the most liberal Nativeland purchase law ever passed by Parliament. If you do not accept the offer given to you, and the freedom it gives, all I can say is you are doing yourselves a wrong. A question has been raised as to the mode of dealing with lands. Some people advocate the committee system, and others deprecate it. The latter contend that trustees in the past received moneys for the land, spent the same, and never accounted to the owners. Now, the Maniapotos do not want to have committees. They want every Native to have his land, and to deal with it as he likes. But some Natives in the Waikato who have no land say they want to be provided for through the medium of committees or trustees. In respect to these two questions the Government have no strong feeling. They are prepared by legislation to make it cut both ways, so that the Natives can tell the Court under what conditions they would like their title to issue. When telling you so much, that brings me to the question of putting the land through the Court. You have mentioned that to-day, because you wanted the Court to sit here. As we stand in the colony at the present time, you Natives know as well as I can tell you that the time has come when we should no longer permit whole tracts of country to remain in a state of nature—unoccupied by yourselves or by Europeans—simply lying in a state of waste. It is no good to the Natives. Although wealthy in land, they are practically poor, living in a state of destitution. The Natives do not know who are the owners, so far as the land-laws are concerned; and they do not know how much land belongs to each Native; and they are forced to live in such a state of uncertainty that all their aspirations to settlement and cultivation are dulled in

consequence, and eventually they become impoverished. The young men grow up, and there is no work for them to do; they are anxious to work, but they have no future—they do not know what belongs to them: the result is, they acquire bad habits. They wish to advance with the pakehas. Their fathers and mothers would like to see them do this, but the circumstances which exist do not favour them; you have not got your lands through the Court, and you do not know what you own, individually or collectively. If you knew what belonged to each, or to any corporate body of you, then you would know what to do. You are not doing justice to yourselves, your children, or the colony. This is what the Government want to bring under your notice. We do not desire to force you, but it is to your advantage to have use made of your lands, and we wish you to assist us in putting in the statute-book that which will give relief to you all. The time is opportune. You have a Government in power friendly-disposed towards you. We do not want you to take up a negative position, because if you do it will be detrimental to your own interests. I have now been through the country from Ohingaiti to here. I have met the Natives in all the parts I have travelled; I have spoken to them as I have spoken to you to-day, and the result has been very beneficial. I want my words to rest on you; I want you to ponder over them, and, after going through the matter, submit your views to your member of Parliament, that he may speak for you, and help to pass such laws as will be in your own interest and promote the welfare of the colony. I will come to another question upon which you touched, and that was the question of roads. In respect of roads, from the time of the treaty already mentioned to the present there has always been power to take land for road purposes. Of course, if the land were held in fee-simple, as land held by Europeans, the Government would deal with you as with the Europeans. The question is not raised by you to-day, because you have said that arrangements were made by which you ceded the land for road purposes, and this being so you are not going back on that now. The land is still available for roads. I like to hear from you expressions of that kind, because it takes me back many years to the time when first I knew the Natives, and learned of the straight-going principles of your forefathers; when once their word was given it was known to be sacred, and was kept. Keep to that principle, and you will find it will be well for you, and you will raise yourselves in the estimation of the pakehas. You will be setting a good example to your children. I will now deal with what to me is a painful subject—I am sure it is painful to you—and that is regarding Pomare Kingi. Now, no one feels more than I do when I hear that one of our fellow-beings, whether Native or European, is afflicted by the most terrible thing that can happen to mankind. When a man's reason collapses it is worse than death, because it is a living death. You have my deep sympathy. But it is less painful to him than it is to you, because in many cases the memory is destroyed, and he does not know those who mourn for him. In treating with your application we must be careful. There is always the danger of further development of the disease with which he is afflicted. Serious consequences may follow; he is not a responsible being, and suddenly, without the slightest warning, may take the lives of those near and dear to him. I know a case that came under my notice in which a father had been taken out of an asylum, and appeared to be getting on all right. His wife and relatives said that he was all right; but the result was, he killed his wife and child, and he had ultimately to be replaced in the asylum. Now, in that very case I have alluded to the Government were blamed for having listened to the demands of the wife, and for having allowed him to be set at liberty. Now, I know you have spoken to-day on behalf of the friends of this unfortunate man, and on behalf of his wife and children. I know his wife is quite willing he should come here, and is willing to do all she can; but the Government are responsible, and must make inquiries in case an accident should happen such as I have mentioned. Now, I will make inquiries. I have given you my mind and the mind of the Government. The responsibility rests with us. If we find he is still dangerous to himself or to others, then we cannot liberate him. If he can be set at liberty, then you must give security for his safe-keeping. I think £50 is the bond that must be entered into, and if any persons are willing to be responsible for him, then the Government will favourably consider the question of liberating him on such terms. Now, there is another view of this question: You told me to-day that you could not afford to go and see him, he having been removed to such a distance from you. You his friends are too poor to visit him, and that is why you would like him to be here. Now, I shall be prepared to meet you in that, if satisfied I could do so out of a fund set apart for the benefit of the Natives. I am prepared, sooner than run any risk, to allow relatives to occasionally visit him. Then there would be no danger. That is the alternative, if we find it is unsafe to set him at liberty. I assure you I feel deeply for him and his friends, and for any one who is afflicted in this way. I now come to the question of the sitting of the Court. You have told me you are not in a position to attend such sittings of the Court in the town—that you have not sufficient food to keep you there, while the Court is sitting and determining your title. You have assured me that nearly all the owners of the land are in this locality. You have also assured the Government that every convenience will be granted to the Court if it is held here. Now, I desire to encourage the Natives to keep the Court away from the towns. I do not believe in their coming into the larger towns, because I know it costs them a lot of money to live there. They have to take their food with them, engage houses for their accommodation, and generally incur huge expenses in getting the land through the Court, which oftentimes leads them into serious difficulties. They acquire bad habits; they take too much *waipiro*; whilst, if at home, they would be less likely to do so. Their

women are oftentimes molested when with them, and everything about town life tends to their demoralisation. I am therefore prepared to grant your request that the sitting of the Court be held here. The Government are always pleased to meet you when you are reasonable in your demands; and if you continue in that way it will be for the benefit of the two races. I will now conclude by thanking you for the way in which you have received me and the member of the Cabinet representing the Native race.

## **Waiomio. (Ngapuhi Tribe, subdivided into Ngatihine and Others.)**

The Premier said,—Salutations to the Native race here assembled. On behalf of the Government I express to you our very best wishes. I am sorry you were disappointed last night. I intended to have remained on my way to Kawakawa and to have met you; but, however, that is past. I am here now, and am very pleased to see you. In the past, Ministers have gone to see the pakehas at their different centres, while they have not done the same with the Maoris. Now we are both one people, we are all New-Zealanders, and the Native has as much right to be consulted and advised as the pakeha. There is the one Queen, the one sovereignty, the sovereignty which your forefathers agreed to accept when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. There is the one law, which is just as binding upon the Maori as upon the pakeha. We must all obey the law, or otherwise life and property would not be safe. So long as these laws are administered and obeyed by both races good will come. In regard to the making of laws, probably it will be to your advantage that I am here to-day. Now, I am here to-day more to listen than to speak: I will therefore listen to what you have to say. If you have any grievances, bring them before me, and any explanation you want I shall be only too happy to give. I want to ascertain the Native mind; I want to be frank; I want to let you know we are desirous of doing what is in your interest and in the interest of the colony. I have no doubt that you will, through one or two of your leaders, place several matters before me. I would therefore ask, so as to facilitate business, that there be no repetition, no two persons getting up and saying the same thing. I wish you to place your matters as shortly as you can before me. I am a good listener, and want to be your friend; therefore speak fairly, speak frankly.

Wiremu Pomare (nephew of the great Pomare) said,—Salutations to you. I am glad to see you here to-day, also Mr. Carroll. Come and see the Ngapuhis. If we had had sufficient notice that you intended coming here, perhaps you would have seen more of this great race, the Ngapuhi Tribe. On account of the short notice, these are all the people you see here assembled. We have nothing to say to you here, but we request your presence at Turanganui, where there is to be a large Native assembly. There you will hear all the complaints and all we have to say regarding the Native race. There everything will be explained to you fully.

Maihi Paraone said,—Salutations to you, the Hon. E. J. Seddon, and the Native Minister, the Hon. J. Carroll. We have nothing to say to you here, but we have had notice that a large meeting is to be held at Turanganui (Gisborne), and we ask you to be present at that meeting.

The Premier said,—I am delighted to find that you are all so well pleased and satisfied with the laws that exist; that you are a contented people, and have nothing to say except to accord me a hearty welcome. When pakehas do not complain, it is because they are satisfied: so, if you do not complain, you must be a contented, well-satisfied, and happy people. You understand your own affairs, and you are quite able to tell the Government your wishes, your requirements, and grievances, if you have any. I have been a long time on my journey, and have met some hundreds of the Native race, but this is the first place where I have met Natives who are without grievances and are satisfied with the laws as they stand. Do not say later on, in regard to the law's relating to land and other matters, that the Government did not see you and give you an opportunity of expressing your views. I may not reach Gisborne, I may not go there at all. If it so happened that I could not get to Gisborne, then I should not know anything about your requirements or wants. You have this opportunity, and if you miss it the responsibility is yours, and it does not rest with me. It is probable that I may visit Gisborne, but you can never tell—it is always best to make sure. You are sure of me now because I am speaking to you. It is not the ghost of the Prime Minister or Native Minister, it is the Prime Minister and Native Minister in person speaking to you. I am now going from you to meet the Natives at Waimate. I do not think they will tell me that I must go to Gisborne to hear their views. The representative of the Native race in the Government is also present, my friend Mr. Carroll. You have also another representative in Parliament—the member for your district. He is your true representative, the one who goes to Parliament to help to make the laws. The representatives you send to Gisborne cannot make laws; they are absolutely powerless. They may go and hold a meeting and make many speeches and put forth their grievances, but they cannot give you any redress or pass laws. There can only be one Parliament, and we can recognise only the representatives elected to that Parliament. I may read what takes place at this Native meeting at Gisborne, but what will weigh with me more

will be the utterances of your members in Parliament in respect to questions affecting the Native race. I always think it advisable to speak plainly, so that there shall be no misunderstanding. If you rely upon your representatives at the Gisborne meeting to grant you relief, you will be relying on a broken reed: not but they will do their best, but the responsibility of governing the country must rest with the Parliament. It is only right I should tell you this. You must not forget that there is a change coming over the face of the country. We have now nearly seven hundred thousand people in New Zealand, and only forty thousand of these are of the Native race, and it is owing to this change that I have desired to meet the Natives and consult with them in person, to warn them of the fact that exists, and to ask them to have confidence in the Government that desires to befriend them. The condition of the Native race in the colony is not satisfactory, They are rich in lands, they are large landed proprietors, and yet they are living in a state of poverty—almost of destitution. They are year by year growing less and less, smaller and smaller, and, if things go on as they are, the noble race in the course of a few years will be a thing of the past. We desire to improve the condition of the Natives; we desire to stop and prevent the race I have now described from being a thing of the past. We wish to find them increasing in numbers, living in prosperity, living in peace and happiness and contentment with the pakeha. I have told you very fairly the views of myself and the Government, and of the pakeha. You to-day, through two speakers, have spoken for a portion of the tribe; and, having very little to say more than to welcome me, I must naturally come to the conclusion that you are the only Natives in New Zealand who are satisfied with the existing state of affairs, and with the unfortunate position you seem to me to be in. With the pakehas we say, "Silence gives consent." That is an old saying, and every little child knows it, and in your case I must infer also that silence gives consent. I told you I was prepared to listen, and came here to listen. I will now conclude by thanking you for the personal and cordial welcome you have given to myself and to my colleague the Hon. Mr. Carroll, the representative of the Native race in the Cabinet. I am very pleased to have met you, and, considering the very short notice you have had, you have gathered together here a fairly representative meeting. I was sorry my movements were so uncertain that I was not able to give you as much notice as I could have desired. I feel sure, however, that had I passed by without coming to see you, you would have had a grievance. You have seen now myself and my colleague in person, and I think you will admit we are both "substantial" men. You have seen the Minister *for* the Natives, and not the Minister *against* the Natives. You have also seen the Minister representing the Native race in the Cabinet, the friend of the Native race—one of yourselves. He will now say a few words to you in your own tongue; perhaps you will understand him better than you have understood me. I thank you very kindly for the welcome you have accorded us.

Wiremu Pomare (to Mr. Carroll, after Mr. Carroll had delivered his address): What you said just now about our having no grievances is not correct. All are well aware that we have grievances. The Maoris are still crying out about the laws made in Parliament. We are glad to see you going from house to house and settlement to settlement, and seeing what grievances we have. Although we see you here to-day we are unable to express our opinions here, as we told you. We intend to discuss all these at a great meeting to be held in Gisborne, and to which we have arranged to send delegates. Conclusions might be arrived at there to insure that laws will be framed for the promotion of amicable relations between the two races. If the laws that you are going to make in future are to be like those you have made in the past, the Natives will not cease crying. You must not run away with the idea that we do not appreciate your coming here to-day. I say we value your appearance here to-day, and, as I said before, we will try and frame laws ourselves, and then ask Parliament to ratify them. Even though the Premier does not attend this meeting at Gisborne, we request that you, as the representative of the Natives, should attend there and hear all that is to be said, and try and help us to frame laws. Even though your chief, the Premier, should stay behind, we wish to see you there. You have stated that you have heard all the grievances in southern districts. Well, if those grievances are allayed we should certainly be relieved in parallel cases.

The Premier: There was rain on the hills, now when the sun shines it disappears. There was a mist when my friend last spoke. The mist that existed was, that I was of opinion you had no grievances. I was told you had nothing to say, and hence came to the conclusion you were a happy and contented people, and everything was going on well with you. Now the sun has just appeared and dispelled the mist, because he has told me you have grievances. He says I should know these grievances. I am not here amongst you every day, how is it possible I should know your grievances? I cannot know them until you tell them to me. He has only mentioned one, but I have no doubt that there are others, and if they have not been mentioned, the responsibility rests with you, and your not telling them to me when I am here. I can only come to the conclusion that they are not very serious. Now, you are entirely wrong when you say that we have listened to the other Natives, and when we relieve their grievances it will redress yours. I say you are entirely wrong in that. Now, they have differed in the different districts as we came along. For instance, the Maniapotos had a grievance, with which we have treated to their satisfaction. The Natives in the Waikato had a grievance of an entirely different character, and they wanted special relief. Now, the Ngapuhi and Ngatihine are degenerating if they desire their grievances to be made known through other tribes. The Ngapuhi are retrograding very much if they are to be spoken for by the other

tribes. I am sorry I shall have to say so when I go back to Wellington. I shall have to say that amongst the Ngapuhi they have no speakers to make their wishes known to the Government; that as regards their oratory they are failing. Why, the early speakers of renown came from Ngapuhi. The Maoris can always make their grievances known to the Government. I must still adhere to the opinion that your grievances are not very great. Perhaps after I have gone, you will discuss matters amongst yourselves, and if later on you submit to me what you think requires my attention, I shall be glad to deal with it, notwithstanding your present reticence. I am perhaps telling the truth, and you may think I am thought-reading—reading your minds—when I tell you that I think the short notice you had was the means of stopping you from meeting amongst yourselves and deciding what you should say, and you have therefore taken up a negative position. It is the same cry, "*Taihoa, taihoa*" (Wait, wait). The world goes on and the Natives are disappearing, and still the cry, "*Taihoa, taihoa*." The time will come when you will find this is a mistake, and the sooner you recognise this fact and the position you are in the better. We have met as friends, and I trust we part as friends: let it be always so. Thanking you for your welcome and wishing you all well, I will now take my departure.

## Waimate.

The Premier and party left Kawakawa for Waimate with the intention of holding a large meeting there. On arrival at Waimate, the Natives stated to the Premier that they had only a few local matters to bring before him there, and would reserve all their larger questions relating to their grievances to be discussed at Waima on the following Monday. As he was there, they would, however, bring a few local matters under his notice.

Hare Matenga said they were very pleased indeed to see the Premier and to welcome him. One of the greatest grievances they had was the dog-tax. It is not that they wished to evade the tax in any way. They had all agreed there to pay that tax; in fact, they did not wish to evade any laws at all. All their prayer was that the price should be reduced from 5s. to 2s. 6d. per year. They sent a petition to the County Council last month to this effect—that they agreed to pay the dog-tax. In 1892 there were advertisements out saying that the place to get the collars was at Kawakawa and Russell. They went like men and got the collars at those distant places. In 1893 the County Council said they could get the collars at the telegraph-office. They all went there and got the collars, and that is where they still get them. Some had paid and some had not paid. He had already said that the petition set forth that they did not wish to evade the law, but simply wished to have the tax reduced. The petition was worded in this way;—If the police took the collars to each individual house the price was to be 5s., and if they went to the office and got them themselves they should only pay half-price. The Council would not agree to this.

Pene Tau: Salutations to the Premier, Mr. Carroll, and all the gentlemen present! I stand here now and say that I am very pleased to see you, and that I second and indorse the sentiments of the last speaker. I have nothing to say to you on this day, as it has been already stated that Monday shall be the day for talking, at Waima. That day we and the others will address you on our several grievances, and I stand here now simply to indorse the remarks of Wiremu Katene and Hare Matenga in reference to the dog-tax. Our prayer to you is that the tax should be reduced from 5s. to 2s. 6d. Now, another question I give you notice of is with reference to the Native Land Acquisition Act. We do not know whether that is law at the present time. Some say it is and some say it is not.

The Premier said,—I have listened very patiently and with great pleasure to what has been brought under my notice to-day. What struck me was the courteous language and respectful demeanour in which you have introduced your subjects. Your manner has been respectful and sincere. In the first place, I am pleased you agree with me that the best thing to do would be to leave the larger questions to be dealt with at Waima. I will first deal with the personal grievances—those in regard to the land. You speak of the improper action of others and of the action taken by the Government. Now, this is the first time I have heard anything in reference to these lands. In dealing with land the Government must be very careful lest injury be done to others. I will cause inquiry to be made how the Government became possessed of the land to which you refer. It was not explained to me, or any reason given, why the Government have taken it. As a rule, the Government is very careful, and it does not without just cause take the land of the Natives. If a mistake has arisen the Government is only too glad to set it right. If the land was confiscated and taken as a matter of right by the Government, then the Government remains in possession. It is somewhat difficult, from the meagre explanation, to know the exact position of the case. It would be better for you to reduce the whole question to writing. Now, touching the dispute of Taurau, evidently the dispute is of many years' standing, and ought to have been dealt with by the Court. Now, there are many cases where the same parties own an interest in land, and when the land is going through the Court some of them hold aloof. Then when the land has gone to others they complain, because, they say, they have been unjustly dealt with. When land is going through the Court they ought to see to their

own interest. If not, the blame rests with themselves. It has been stated that one-half of this particular land has been sold. Taurau got one-half of the money, and the other half rests with the Government. I do not think it is at all possible now to go back upon the original transaction. It is only a question of whether the right person got the money—whether Taurau is entitled to £400 or £200, or how much he is entitled to. You say he did not get the whole of the money—that some of it is still in the hands of the Government. That we can find out hereafter. If you went to law, and the whole thing was to go through the Court again, perhaps the £400 would disappear. You would then be in a worse position than you are in now, because the land would be gone and the money too. I will at once make inquiries into the matter and see whether there are any good grounds for the complaint or otherwise. Now I come to the other question, and that is the question of the County Council and the dog-tax. In some places where I come from both the Europeans and Natives have to pay 10s. for every dog. Am I right when you tell me the dog-tax here is 5s.?—(Yes.)—Now, I can tell you how you can reduce the tax. It is in your own hands. If you only keep half the dogs that you have you would only have to pay one-half of what you do at present in the way of taxes. I would rather see more pickaninnies about the Maori pas than dogs. There is no tax to pay the County Council for pickaninnies. The taxing of dogs is a matter which rests with the County Council and not with the General Government. If I found the county was charging you more than they charge the European, I would at once step in and say it was unfair, and I would not permit it; but if they only charge you the same as they are charging the European, then the law and the Government cannot interfere. The only question now is for you to ask yourselves whether these dogs are useful and are required by you, or are simply kept as luxuries. In former days your forefathers required some dogs, because a dog was an essential necessity for procuring food; but when they are kept for pleasure and not for use, then it is a question how many you can afford to keep and pay for. As I told you at the start, in other places they are charged 10s. and in this district you are only charged 5s., consequently you only pay one-half of what is paid in other parts of the colony. That brings me now to the question as to the convenience of taking out the collars—whether the county consults your convenience as to where you can get these collars. Your representations on that head will be referred to the County Council. Another question raised was: as you contribute largely to the government of the county you think you should have some representation in the County Council. There is nothing to prevent a ratepayer, whether Native or European, from becoming a member of the County Council if he can get enough people to vote for him. I would very much like, myself, to see the Natives represented in the County Council; they might comprehend the position of things better than they do now. But it is not the fault of the law' that they are not there—it is because they do not try to get into the County Council. I feel sure that if they were to get into the County Council it would do good; and I know that amongst them they have men well capable of holding a seat in the County Council, and assisting in the local government of the country. Now, you have representatives in Parliament, and the matters you have brought under my notice are matters which are fair questions to be brought before Parliament. You may rest assured any representations made to Parliament on your behalf will be fairly considered by the representatives of both races. In the meantime there is only one law. Your forefathers, by the Treaty of Waitangi, agreed to cede the rights of government to the Crown. That sovereignty reigns supreme, and it is your protection just as much as it is the protection of the Europeans. If it were not for that protection, yourselves, your property, and your lives would not be safe. It is the only protection you have; and your forefathers saw it was in your interest that that should be done, or otherwise you would be the same as the aboriginal natives in other countries—you would disappear from the face of the earth. You should always obey the law and assist in maintaining the law, because by doing that you are assisting in maintaining yourselves and your interests. So long as you do that you will always have the good wishes of myself and those who govern the country; and I beg to assure you that if I found any one trying to impose upon you, treating you unjustly in violation of the law, I would protect you the same as the Europeans are protected; and in doing so I am only carrying out the solemn terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. You are here to-day as free men laying your grievances before me just as the Europeans do. Now, my advice to you is always to obey the law, and, if you have any grievances, submit them to the Government. If any injustice is done to you, just write to the Government, and I pledge you that you will receive just treatment. With regard to the Native Land Acquisition Act, I will discuss that with you at Waima. I wish to take every trouble to familiarise myself with the condition, thought, and circumstances of the Maori people, and that is the reason why, with the Hon. J. Carroll, my colleague, I am visiting the various Native districts and meeting the people face to face.

The Hon. J. Carroll addressed the Natives in their own language, laying stress on the inevitable changes that were coming about, and the absolute necessity there was for the Maoris to grow with the times like their European brethren. He said they would have to divorce themselves from the past, and enter into this matter-of-fact age unimpeded by the traditions and prejudices of old times. He could assure them, from what he knew, that his colleague, who was both Premier and Native Minister, was only too willing to render them every assistance in his power, in the endeavour to raise the whole Native question from out the unhappy state it had lain in so long, to a clearer and healthier atmosphere, conferring great and lasting benefits upon all.

The party took horses from Kawakawa next morning, and arrived about 5 p.m. at Taheke, six miles from the place of meeting. Stayed the night, and on the following morning proceeded to Waima. On arrival within two miles of the settlement the sound of the Native *powhiri* of welcome was heard, and about thirty women, attired in all the colours of the rainbow, met the Premier, and by a sort of Sir-Roger-de-Coverley movement ranged themselves fifteen on each side of him. The party was then reinforced by about thirty men, who in their turn divided and took up a position on either side of the *wahines*. Thus escorted the party was led to the place of meeting. Here about two hundred men had formed a square; the Premier, Hon. Mr. Carroll, and party had to shake hands with each individual. This in itself was tiring work, independent of the time taken up by some of the party rubbing noses. They have a large and substantial meeting-house here, and thither the party was conducted. It was a sight never to be forgotten to see the old greyheaded warriors who had fought at Ohaeawai, Ruapekapeka, and Korarareka. The Premier stated that he wished to see the men, women, and children, and all that were there. The platform was occupied by Hon. Mr. Seddon; Hon. Mr. Carroll; Mr. Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Clendon, R. M.; Mr. Hone Heke, M.H.R. for the district; Mr. Goffe, the Interpreter; Mr. Gray, representative of the Auckland *Star*; and the official shorthand-writer, Mr. Andrews.

Hone Mohi Tawhai said,—Salutations to you! Allow me to express the pleasure we feel in having a visit from the Prime Minister of the colony. I assure you your presence here to-day is welcome. I have nothing more to say, as I think you are bound to time. I will therefore make room for other speakers.

Re te Tai said,—Salutations to you, the Premier, Mr. Carroll, and all the guests here present! Welcome to this place! This is Waima. It is one of the renowned places on the Hokianga River. This is one of the places where the gospel was first preached to our old people. Come and see us, the remnant of a people. All the old chiefs have gone. The only ones to welcome you now are the hills. The large hill of Puketeri is all that is left. It listens to what you have to say. (Song of welcome.) All the seas welcome you; the mountains welcome you. Enough—that is all I have to say.

Kahawai: Welcome, welcome, welcome! (Here there was an incantation having reference to the hill, or mountain, of Puketeri.)

Hapakuku Moetara said,—Salutations to the Premier, Mr. Carroll, and all the guests here present! My heart is glad to see you here to-day. You are one of the first Premiers who has ever dared the dangers of Hokianga to come and speak here. We welcome you. Bring the ideas you have in your heart and explain them to us to-day. Come and listen to what we have to say. We wish you long life and happiness.

Hori Haehae: Salutations to you, the Premier, and your colleague Mr. Carroll! Come and see the chiefs of Hokianga and the chiefs of Taiamai. These are the representatives of the chiefs that are now dead. All the words of our ancestors which were left behind are now in our possession. We give you welcome. Salutations!

Hori Riwhi: Welcome here to Hokianga, so that you might see the remainder of the great tribe or nation that is still under the guidance and reign of the Queen. In days gone by always had a visit from the Governor; but this time he has not come. Welcome here, so that you can explain to us that which you have in your bosom. We bid you welcome.

Iraia te Toi (chief of Waimamaku): Salutations to the Premier! We have had notice of your coming here, and that is the reason we have met to welcome you. (Incantation.) "The moon and the stars both shoot and glimmer," &c. This incantation means that it is no matter with what idea the Government may come here, we are all determined to go together—that is, pull together. It is an incantation we used to sing when going forth on the warpath. (Wiremu indorsed the sentiments expressed in the incantation by repeating it.)

Raniera Wharerau: Salutations to you, the Premier, and your colleague the Hon. Mr. Carroll! These people that are met here welcome you from their hearts. But, of course, you have some reason for coming here, and we will, perhaps, be able to listen to and appreciate that reason. This welcome that we offer you is our hospitality to you as the chief representative of New Zealand, and is according to Maori custom, and has nothing to do with what we might say afterwards. Welcome to yourself, your colleague, and all the guests present.

Wiremu Teira: Welcome! You are the people, the representatives of New Zealand: therefore we give you the greatest welcome we can possibly afford. Welcome to all these parts! I am glad to see you travelling over the country to see the wants of your nation. This is simply a welcome; we have business to attend to and cannot lose time, as your time will probably be short. This is a welcome of love from our ancestors and a greeting to you.

Wiremu Katene said,—I think, now, there has been sufficient welcome.

Hone Heke, M.H.R., said, addressing the Premier,—You see before you all the old people and the young. These are all the representatives of the great tribes, so you will be perfectly justified in saying you have met the representatives of these two tribes—the tribes of Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa.

The Premier said,—To you of the Native race here assembled, men, women, and children, I give you friendly greeting, and that greeting comes from over six hundred thousand Europeans in this country. I speak for them. We do not forget the time when the Native race was as plentiful and as numerous as we now find the

trees that represent them, and that we the pakehas were few. You then behaved kindly to the Europeans, and you gave them a welcome to your land and treated them as brothers. Now we find the position reversed: we find the pakehas are growing more numerous every day, and we find the Native race is passing away from the face of the earth; therefore it behoves those who wish them well to go amongst them, speak to them, and endeavour if possible to preserve them. It is painful for me to have to admit the fact, which you have stated in your words of welcome, that the hills are all that are left to welcome me; that your fathers have passed away, and that you are a remnant only of a noble race. It is not yet too late, however; there is here before me now a representative gathering, and I think, if we go the right way about it, you may still increase in numbers, in greatness, and prosperity; for I wish you and the Europeans to live side by side, and all be happy and contented in this beautiful country of your ancestors which you inhabit. There is room for all. It is not the wish of the Government, it is not the wish of the pakeha, it is not the wish of our noble Queen under whom we serve, and whom we love, that you should degenerate or pass away. When the Treaty of Waitangi was signed the Government of the day promised you protection: your forefathers saw that protection was necessary, and in the interest of yourselves. It is the boast of all who live under the British flag that there is freedom, and each has his liberty. The Queen is the mother of us all, of both races, no matter what colour. We are her children. She is pleased when she finds we are prospering, contented, and increasing. It is not her wish, neither is it the wish of those who serve under her, that your race should pass away and be a thing of the past; and her representative, the Governor, when I arrived in Auckland a few days ago, expressed to me the very great pleasure he felt at my going through the country speaking to the Natives personally and inquiring as to their wants. I feel sure that your voices will be heard across the sea, and that your Queen, whom you acknowledge, love, and respect, will hear the words and feel the loyalty shown by her subjects now assembled in this room. She will be pleased to learn that you obey her laws, and that you are her liege subjects; that you desired to do that which is right and in conformity with the words of your forefathers. Words have been spoken to-day expressing regret at the absence of her representative, the Governor; but, on his behalf, I must state that he has not been long in the colony, although during the time he has been here he has endeavoured, so far as his time and the business he has had to transact has permitted, to visit the different parts of the colony; and I hope before the term of his office expires that he will stand as I do here and speak to you as Her Majesty's representative. As his chief adviser, as the Prime Minister, speaking as I speak and wish to speak to-day on behalf of both races, rest assured that whatever takes place shall be made known to Her Majesty's representative. I shall tell him of the welcome given me to-day by the two great tribes mentioned, the Ngapuhi and the Te Rarawa. Believe me that before I decided to visit the Natives in the different parts of the North Island—before I left Wellington—in fact, from the first time I entered Parliament—my heart has always warmed to the Native race. I have met many in the number of years that I have been in Parliament—from 1879 until the present time I have sat there continuously—and I have seen many representatives of the Native race in the New Zealand Parliament. I have listened to their pleadings on behalf of their fellow-countrymen, and I have been aware of the laws that have been passed to alleviate the condition of the Natives. To me it was a great pleasure that the son of an old friend, who was once a representative of the Native race in Parliament, should be the first to welcome me. I feel sure that had Mohi Tawhai senior been in good health, and could have been here, nothing would have given me greater joy than to have shaken hands with him. Now, I am here to-day, and shall speak plainly to you. I shall not hide my thoughts. I know a mist has overhung you and your destinies for many years, and I am here to-day to endeavour to remove that mist. When friends meet, and both are troubled in mind, an interchange of thoughts, open words, and speaking plainly to each other gives light in itself. To use words merely to dissemble, to disguise your inmost thoughts, will not tend to improve your condition; but if there is a free interchange, if you tell me your thoughts, tell me what you believe is against you and against your race, I am prepared to listen, and act towards you as a friend. Now, when there is trouble with the pakehas, when they have grievances, Ministers go to see them, and discuss matters with them; they ascertain their wishes, and legislation is introduced to give effect to what is considered for their good. So we are now treating the Native race the same as we treat the Europeans. You have here to-day the Prime Minister, who has come to give you friendly greeting, and to hear what you have to say. We want you to understand this: that the Parliament which rules supreme is open to the Native race as it is open to the pakeha. It is in that Parliament that they are on the one floor and the one plane. There is no distinction; and it is from that Parliament that I honestly believe the only redress of a permanent character can be given to the Native race. It has been said—I have heard it from the mountain-tops, from the lakes, I have heard it on the hills, and have heard the wail in the valley—that the Natives cannot obtain justice from the Parliament. So far as I am concerned I do not admit that; but in order to advance from our present position we must set aside the past and commence afresh. The Parliament is open to you. Any measures that you desire to be introduced must go before that Parliament. So long as they are couched in respectful language—so long as they deal with subjects that affect your interests—that Parliament is open to you as well as to the Europeans. The special representation which was given to you by those who framed our laws was not given to you simply

as a myth; it was not given to the Native race to be played with; it was given in the belief that those representing the Native race in the New Zealand Parliament would be able to introduce measures, and help to pass such laws, as would be beneficial both to the Native and European races. Now, the Native race has not done justice in the past to their own representatives. I have known the Natives in the House doing their very best—Mohi Tawhai, Karaitiana, and others—to further the claims of their people. You have now in my friend Hone Heke a very fair representative—one who, I am sure, will represent your interests; but in the past, while your representatives in Parliament have been doing their best for you, hostile meetings have been held outside, and confidence has been withdrawn from your representatives, preventing them from doing you any good. I heard to-day from the song, which was explained to me, that you are a united band, pulling along together in your own interests. Then, I say, I am pleased to find that it is so; but it has not been so in the past. You know the words, "A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." You have heard of the fable of the bundle of sticks, when the father said to the sons, "Draw' a stick from the bundle and try and break it and they broke it. "Now," he said, "put the sticks all together in the bundle, and try to break them." They tried, but they could not do it. I say, therefore, that if you are divided amongst yourselves you will be like the stick—become broken; but if you keep together you will not be so broken. Now, I am going to advise you to meet together, come to conclusions as to what you believe to be in your interest, then submit the same through your mouthpiece, your member. When the elections were proceeding there may have been those amongst you who considered that others would have made better representatives, and may have voted for those who are not now representatives—voted for the defeated candidates. But when once the election is over, whatever the majority have decided, that is the selection for the time being—for the three years. You must therefore look upon the sitting member for the time being as the mouthpiece of all; that when he speaks he speaks for the Native race and for the district which he has the honour to represent; and it is his duty, if he is conscientious and keeps the oath he takes when sworn in as the sitting member for the district, to set aside all feeling against those who have opposed him. He represents the interests of every man, woman, and child in the district. If he does that he will earn the confidence of all those who trusted him. Those Who voted for him will say, "We are pleased with our representative"; those who voted against him will say, "After all, he proves a good representative; he has done his duty towards us"; and hence confidence will be established. But if he is in Wellington endeavouring to do what is right towards you, and there are others at home who are calling meetings and thwarting him in all he is trying to do, then you will be like the boys who took the sticks from the bundle, you will be in a worse position than you were before. Have your meetings in every hamlet, have your meetings at every pa, and at your meetings let your educated young men, your sage old men, those who have in the past governed and assisted in your government—let them meet together, let them discuss that which you believe to be in the interest of your race and the colony in general, and, having come to conclusions, let your member be fortified with those conclusions, so that when he stands in his place in the House he can say, "After careful consideration these are the conclusions at which our people have arrived, this is what our people want at the hands of Parliament." This is what the pakehas do; they hold their meetings, they have their associations, they discuss each question affecting both races, they come to conclusions, and the members are the mouthpieces of the pakeha and those who have held those meetings. It is with that object in view that I am here in person. I want to remove the false impression that has gained ground here year by year that there was no redress for the Natives from the New Zealand Parliament. I want them to believe that the Parliament is their friend if they go the right way to work—that there are members there who are prepared and willing to assist in removing the grievances that exist with the Natives at the present time. How is it possible to remove these grievances when we do not know what they are? Or, if one set of Natives will say one thing and another will say differently,—we find them disorganized, we find them unsatisfied as to what they want, we find them quarrelling between themselves,—how can we do anything for a people who act that way? Therefore it behoves you, before it is too late, to consider your position. Your chiefs, your *rangatiras*, those who wish you well, must see that year after year you are growing smaller and smaller in numbers; you are gradually passing away, and not as your forefathers did, who lived to a good round old age, but you seem to pass away in the prime of life, and your little ones seldom reach maturity. It is painful to me to feel that that is so; but nevertheless the sore is there, and it must be healed. We desire you to live to the good old age your forefathers did. Then, I say, help me, help yourselves; let us help each other. I have thus spoken so far because you say you expected me to say a few words and open my mind to you. I have done so so far plainly to you; later on in the day I will indicate in what direction relief can be granted of a permanent character. I want first of all to have your confidence, and I want, by the few words I have said, to show you that I am desirous of doing that which is in your interest, and not only in your interest but in the interest of the pakehas and all of you as a whole. I am not amongst you to-day just for the purpose of listening, and, after listening, to forget what you have said. Were I to do that, I should disgrace the very high position that I occupy, and it would not meet with the approval of the pakehas. I should not meet you as I have met you to-day, shaken hands with you and wished you "*Tena koe!*" if desired to do you a wrong. I should not be here and partake of your food if I had in my heart

thoughts which might be to your injury. I should not listen to the words of welcome from the chiefs and old men here, representatives of the tribes and chiefs of the hapus; I should not be a man worthy of the name of man—and more especially the first man in the Colony of New Zealand—did I ever for a moment wish you ill. When I heard your incantations and songs of welcome they pleased me very much. I knew you were paying me very high compliments, and that you welcomed me as the Premier of the colony, and as a likely friend to the Maori people. I am prepared to listen to what you have to say, and when I have heard you I shall then be able to explain matters which probably you may not have a correct idea of. In some matters you may be perfectly correct as regards the bearing of the laws upon you and your interests; then, I say, let me know how these laws bear unjustly upon you, and I will tell you how far we can go, and I will tell you what may be in your interests in respect to the same. But above all things I want to remove the impression that has gone abroad, and that is, that the Natives cannot get justice from the Europeans and from Parliament. You have taken up a negative position hitherto, and in taking up that negative position pressure is becoming so strong behind the Government—the changes coming over the country are so great—that unless you consider your situation at once and act quickly in the right direction disaster will be bound to follow, and you will be responsible for it. To stand still any longer means to recede. You must progress; we do not want to see you recede; we do not want you to be wiped, as it were, from off the face of the earth—not by pestilence, by sickness, not by any action of the Europeans, but by yourselves. You yourselves are day by day the cause of the reduction in your numbers. We must go to the root of the disease. You want hope, you want something to look forward to—some ideal. To you at the present time all is dark, all is blank; there is no hope in the breasts of the rising generation of the Native race. Where are the cultivations to-day compared with what they were a few years ago? Ask your chiefs to compare the present condition with what it was when they were youths. The next session of the New Zealand Parliament will be one of the most important that has ever taken place in New Zealand as affecting the Native race. We say that faith must be kept, that the solemn pledge that was given on both sides when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed must be kept. We say the Treaty of Waitangi must be maintained, and that the present condition of affairs must not continue further. I thank you very heartily for the welcome you have given me, and I am sure that what takes place here to-day will have a favourable bearing on all concerned. In other places the Natives have told me their troubles; like one who is about to face the world and is anxious to travel on the right road, they have confided in me. Although grievances differ in one district and another, I do not find them irreconcilable altogether. If you tell me your troubles I shall then be able to compare your grievances with what I have heard elsewhere; I shall hear from you what you believe will redress those grievances; and when I go back to Wellington and prepare legislation for next session, which I hope will not run counter with your suggestions, something might be done under which the colony will prosper. I am not boasting when I tell you we have at the present time the strongest Government that was ever in New Zealand, and with that great strength we desire to be just and fair to the Native race. We are the first Government since 1877 that has had a Native representative in the Cabinet. There is my friend Mr. Carroll, one of yourselves; and, without at all flattering my colleague, he is one who from his first start in Parliament has ever tried to put the Natives on an equal footing with the Europeans, and endeavoured to pass laws which would have the same effect on both. We have his assistance therefore in Cabinet, and have him here to-day to assist us. You can speak to him like a brother, one who has the interest of the Native race at heart. In his face, in his thoughts, and in his form there are the two races united. You do not find the two bloods quarrelling. When you look at his person you see a wholesome blend; the two races are there working in harmony together. It shows that the European and the Native race can mix with satisfactory results, and the product of such union is apparently free from sickness of body or sickness of mind. We may differ when speaking to each other later on, but you know my wishes towards you are good, and your wishes towards me and my race are also good, and if we exchange thoughts as men desirous of doing good, benefit must result therefrom. We want everything scanned by the light of day, and by the intelligence of the country; nothing done in darkness, nothing done in secret. What we do here to-day the world will know of just as well as I shall, and these proceedings will be read by the people of both races. I shall probably determine that what takes place here shall be translated into the Native language, and circulated through the country. I shall conclude for the present by thanking you for the hearty welcome you have accorded me. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. Carroll then addressed the meeting at great length, and in a most earnest and eloquent speech urged the Natives to take the advice of his colleague the Premier, and endeavour to thresh out something of a practical nature which would be of advantage to all. He was well received, and loudly cheered at the conclusion. An adjournment was now made to a large house, where a capital lunch was provided. The Native women were untiring in their efforts to make everything pass off well. Over two hundred sat down, and, considering the short notice, it is marvellous how they could have produced such a repast, and it went to show that the Native lady can on such occasions rise equal to her European sister.

On resuming,

Wiremu Katene said,—This is the first time we have had the pleasure of hearing members of the Government address us at such length and so ably. The people all here present have some matters to place before you to-day; but since we have had dinner I hear some of them are low-spirited at the prospect of there not being sufficient time at your disposal to hear all they have to say. I am now speaking for them. I think we should be able to dispose of all the business this afternoon. If so, well and good; but if we are unable to get through the whole of our business this afternoon we request that you will stay here to-night. We have several questions to discuss here to-day, and unless there is time given we shall not be able to go into the details. I should like to hear the Premier state whether he can stay so as to get through these matters.

The Premier: It is no use my coming here and going away unless we have business done that is satisfactory to both. I am not like a shooting star—simply seen for a few moments and then disappear. (Cheers.) I am not afraid to travel even in the night. We will go on with the business, and you will be the best judges whether we have gone through it or not. If we go to work like business men and confine ourselves to business we shall do some good. To save time we will proceed, and if I can get through to-night, well and good. I am prepared to stay late and work late; and if I get at Rawene at daylight to-morrow that will suit me. I am prepared to work all night.

Pene Tauī said,—The first question is this; I would like you to answer the question that I asked you at Waimate—that is, in reference to the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act.

The Premier: Do I understand from you that you have not had the Act, and that you have not read it and do not understand it?

Pene Tauī: The only question to answer is. Why is it passed into law? Some have received it; some have not.

The Premier: The Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act was passed last year. It received the assent of the Governor on 6th October, 1893. When the Act was going through Parliament, a number of Natives, who held a meeting at Wellington, expressed a wish for a postponement of the Act, so that the Natives should have an opportunity of knowing its provisions. Therefore it only came into force absolutely on the 1st January last. It has, therefore, been law since the 1st January, and is in operation wherever the Government desire and can effect a Proclamation. So far the Government have not put any Proclamation over the land. We have had applications from Natives to have their land put under the Proclamation, but I thought that all the Natives in different parts of the colony should be fully acquainted with the law before we acted under it. It would not be fair for one district to have an advantage over another. There are some Natives who might object to having a law brought into force and a Proclamation issued affecting their land when they did not know its provisions or anything about it. The principles of the measure are briefly these: By the Treaty of Waitangi the Natives agreed that all lands were to be sold to the Government. When your forefathers agreed to that, they no doubt intended that the Government should pay them a fair value for the land. There has always been in my mind a doubt as to whether the Natives got a fair value for their land, because the Government generally waited until the necessities of the Natives forced them to sell, then, being the only purchasers, the land was bought at a less price than its fair value. Now, there were no means or ways of settling the disputes between the Government and the Natives as to what was the fair value. The Act we passed removed that difficulty; and it also facilitates the business of dealing with waste lands. The great trouble in the past has been that Natives would sell their land, but, as a rule, they never completed the transfer, and the expenses of partition came upon the Natives who had not sold. Where the interest was small, the expenses of survey and putting it through the Court ate up the land, and the Natives got little or nothing. Now, by the Act of last session this is obviated—a better system is introduced. A majority of the owners of a block, if they come to a decision to sell, say to the Government, "We will sell or allow you to lease this land for us"; and there is an independent Board, consisting of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Commissioner of Taxes, the Surveyor-General, the Native member representing the district, and a member appointed by the Judge of the Native Land Court. In this selection there is an independent Board of impartial persons, who decide whether or not a fair value is offered for the land. Of course, if the owners offer to sell they fix their own price; and, so long as the Government consider it a fair price, and the Board also consider it so, there should be no trouble. It is very much the same as the Land for Settlement Act which applies to Europeans who desire to sell their land to the Government. Under this law, if two-thirds of the Native owners do not desire to sell to the Government, or allow the Government to lease for them, they have power, under sections 26 and 27 of the Act, to submit the land to public auction. It is sold by public auction under the same law and provisions as though the Government were selling Crown lands. Generally speaking, these are the main provisions of the Act passed, and it is the most liberal law that has ever been passed in the colony affecting the Native race. If there are any other provisions of the Act that require explanations, I shall be only too glad to give them to you. I have a copy of the Act here. I have only now given you the general provisions of the Act. It would shorten business if I confine myself to answering any questions you desire to ask.

Pene Tauī (addressing the tribes): The meeting has heard that this Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act is now law. We have the Act and have gone carefully through it, and there are some here who can point out the faults we see in the Act.

The Premier: I shall be very pleased to hear them. We do the same with the Europeans: if a law is passed which is defective, our attention is drawn to it, and we make whatever amendments are required. I shall therefore be very pleased to hear any suggestions you have to make as regards amendments in the law that you think necessary.

Wiremu Komene: *Tena koe!* Greeting! You have already stated that the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act is passed into law. I will now go into the details; and in doing so we wish you to give a direct answer to any question we put to you. Has the Governor signed the Act?

The Premier: Yes.

Wiremu Komene: Will it not have to go to England?

The Premier: It has already received the sanction of the Queen.

Wiremu Komene; In the preamble to the Bill reference is made to the fact that there are seven million acres of Native land lying idle in the colony. There are, I believe, ten million acres of Crown lands in the colony remaining unused. Is it not possible to utilise these Crown lands?

The Premier: The question just submitted is the most simple that has ever been asked. It is quite true that we have nearly ten million acres of Crown lands still unsettled; but we do not settle people upon the bare mountain-top; we do not settle them in the river-beds or in the lakes, and it would be quite impossible to utilise the greater portion of these lands for very many years to come. A good deal of the Crown lands in the North Island is blocked for settlement by the Natives. In the South Island we have to devote a large area to the settlement of landless Natives. Then we have had to go and buy land from Europeans so as to put a large number of our population on the land. So short of land in the South Island are we that we have had to pass a law to buy back from the Europeans lands which had already been sold to them. In the North Island there is a large area of the very best land in the country that is unoccupied by Europeans or Natives. It is lying in a state of waste, doing no good to anybody. Now, it is unreasonable to expect for a moment that in the South Island we should be obliged to ask Parliament to pass a law to force the owners to sell back to the Government, and in the North Island the land should be allowed to remain unutilised. Most of the Crown land in the North, as you are aware, is of a very inferior quality. You have always taken care to sell us gum-land. We cannot put people on such land.

Pene Tauī: The Natives have no jurisdiction over the land now. The Government can buy where they see fit. Why is the law worded in that way?

The Premier: The ownership by the Natives has been ceded by the Crown. We have never raised the question, and we have no intention of raising it now; but we are following on the lines of the Treaty of Waitangi in a colonising spirit, when we say that the title to the land must be ascertained, and that the land must be utilised. We have said that a large proportion of the land is suitable for settling people upon, and there is a rapidly-increasing demand for land for settlement purposes. Progress is retarded.—(A voice: *Kahore.*)—I say that settlement is kept back, to the detriment of the Natives themselves. If the land were easily settled, the Natives would get fair value for it. I came through splendid land yesterday. There are very many owners to it: but one single owner will not go and improve that land and make it productive, because, if he makes improvements all the others share with him. The consequence is that the land remains untouched as it is. There are six hundred thousand acres north of Auckland not through the Court. So long as the land remains like that, with no owners ascertained, it means that no one will go near it; and the longer the titles are unascertained the greater the danger to the Natives, and the greater the difficulty in ascertaining the titles hereafter. Hence I say the Government have come to the conclusion that it is necessary this state of affairs must come to an end. If you say the law has been defective because of the large expense of the Court in ascertaining the titles, that is a good ground for complaint, and it is right you should ask the Government to remedy it. Last year ten thousand people came into the colony more than went out of it; therefore you will understand the great pressure which is being brought to bear on the Government, and you will understand the very great danger to the Native owners if they permit things to remain much longer as they are; in fact, I tell you plainly, speaking for the Government, and speaking for both races, that it is impossible to allow things, to remain much longer as they have been. There was nothing stated in the preamble of the Bill which you have read but what is absolutely true, and if I could take you down to the South Island, or over parts of the North Island, and show you the general condition of the country, you would come back convinced that what I have told you is absolutely true. Are you cultivating and improving the land? No; because you are uncertain—you do not know what to do; so that the sooner every one knows what is his own, and can do something with it, the better for him. I hope, therefore, you will consider my answer as regards the preamble satisfactory. I have told you the truth—there is the law.

Wiremu Komene: One section here, section 3, gives power to the Governor to remove any Maori

Commissioner. Why should he be singled out?

The Premier: There will only be a revocation where the Commissioner has misbehaved himself. The power is used as we have it; in many Acts of Parliament. It is never used when a Commissioner exercises independent judgment and does what is right; but if a Commissioner was to do something wrong—misbehave himself, break the law and misconduct himself—on account of such bad behaviour the Governor would remove him. That is my answer to that.

Wiremu Komene: When once a Proclamation is put over a block of land by the Government and the Natives do not wish to sell to the Government, that Proclamation shall remain in force three years. Why is that?

The Premier: The answer to this is a very simple one, the same as the other. There must be a time given when there is a difficulty in the minds of the owners as to whether or not they will sell. But you have never read section 26: If two-thirds of the owners desire to sell the land by public auction, all they have got to do is to signify the same to the Government, then it is sold or leased by public tender. Now, compare this with the previous law. You talk about three years: are you aware that under the old law the owners of that land could take £5 from the Government and the Proclamation could stop there for twenty years? Are you aware that by the Treaty of Waitangi, under what is known as the prescriptive right, you could do nothing with your lands except through the Government? As compared with the previous law, you will therefore see, at all events, that the fullest time that a Proclamation can be exercised is three years; that if at any time two-thirds of the owners desire to dispose of the land, they can do so under sections 26 and 27 of the Act. I say this Act is in your favour. If you want to go back to the provision contained in the Treaty of Waitangi, which says that the Natives shall not sell to anybody except the Government, and that shall apply to all lands; if you want to perpetuate the law that any one who takes £5 absolutely ties up the land until the Government have bought—if you want that law, say so. I myself do not wish to do that to you, hence we have made the law more liberal as affecting your lands. The majority can settle the question as to whether or not they will sell or let to the Government. After they have come to a conclusion the Government can withdraw the Proclamation at any time, but the maximum time is three years. I think this explanation should satisfy you that this clause is a very liberal clause as compared with the previous legislation.

Wiremu Komene: Why is it, in the case where the Maoris fail to make their appointment to the Board, a Judge of the Supreme Court can make the appointment instead?

The Premier: This matter was debated at great length, and the conclusion arrived at was that no person holding a position in the colony would give so much confidence to the Native race as a Judge of the Supreme Court, because he is beyond all politics and beyond all parties, and grave complaints have been made to the Government in the past that the trustees who have been appointed have not done their duty. This only applies to minors—where persons are not of age. It is only in those cases where they failed to appoint that the Judge is called in. If you think there is any other person that would act more impartially than a Judge of the Supreme Court you had better mention him to me to-day. That is of little or no moment to the Government. All we want to do is to get some person who would act fairly and use judgment in dealing with so important a question.

Wiremu Komene: If the owners of any land under Crown grant or memorial of ownership are inclined to sell to the Crown, what provision is there for the dissentients, or those who do not wish to sell to the Government?

The Premier: The provision is that they will get their share of the proceeds just the same. It is the same with all the laws we pass—the majority pass them. I might ask you the same sort of question—namely, what is to be done with those persons who voted against Hone Heke? They threw their votes away for the time being, although they will have an opportunity of voting again when the proper time comes. We are following out a well-established law, that the majorities must rule; but there is a remedy for you outside that, and that remedy is under section 26. If one-third of the objectors join with the majority and make two-thirds, they can withdraw it altogether from the Proclamation, and have it sold by auction, and by that means they will get the market value, which cannot be less than the Government offered.

Wiremu Komene: I am still not very clear. Supposing some agree to sell and some do not, how will those who did not agree to sell fare?

The Premier: They hold an election by the owners, and can get it removed from sale to the Government and have it sold by auction.

Wiremu Komene: This want of provision under the Act to provide for the minority who refuse to sell involves the question of individualisation. But is nothing to empower the minority who do not wish to sell?

The Premier: The first thing to be done by the Board is to ascertain whether the persons who are the owners of this land have ample land for themselves before any land can be put under offer. The principle is there laid down, if the majority of the owners want to dispose of the land, and the Board lays down that the land is wanted for settlement, a minority of two or three persons are not going to stop the settlement of the country—they are not going to stop the majority from disposing of that land. There may be a majority of persons who own, say,

two thousand acres, and there may be one person who will say, "I will not sell to the Government, I will keep my ten acres"; and he would then force the rest to go to the expense of survey, partition, ascertaining the acreage, and the cutting out of that piece of land. That has been the ruin of any number of Natives in the past, and we do not intend it to be the case in the future.

Wiremu Komene: Now I come to section 11; Where the owners are disposed to lease their land, for the purposes of this Act such land shall be deemed to be Crown land. That is a point I am asking about.

The Premier: It is only deemed to be Crown land for the purpose of giving a better title to the purchaser. It does not take it from the Natives, but gives a better title—as good as though it was Crown land; and the advantage, will be on the side of the Natives, because they will get more money for the land and get more rents. If there is liable to be a dispute amongst the Natives themselves they would get smaller rents. In fact, the one great advantage in this legislation is this: that as soon as it is sold or disposed of under this Act it is all treated as Crown land, so as to give a title to the owner or purchaser. We have done this to prevent litigation, and to prevent the Natives from being bled by lawsuits of a most expensive character. The absolute ownership still vests with the Natives, but the Crown has the management and disposal of it; and the title, when for the purpose of leasing, is the same as though it was Crown land; and the valuation is made by the Board just the same, so as the land cannot be let for anything below its fair value.

Wiremu Komene: Then, there is another provision in the Act, empowering the Governor by Proclamation or Order to bring the Native lands before the Native Land Court for adjudication. Is that power given to the Governor in cases where the Natives refuse to have their lands investigated?

The Premier: When this land has been proclaimed under the Act, there may be some of the Natives who will stand out. It would be impossible, of course, for the Governor to act unless the title was ascertained. How could the owners hold an election and decide to sell or lease to the Government unless the ownership itself was decided? The wrong people might be voted to dispose of land, and might dispose of land not belonging to them. The title must be ascertained, and that is what this clause is for.

Wiremu Komene: Then why should the Natives be saddled with the cost and expense of such proceedings.

The Premier: It is the law now. It is your land; it is in the interest of the owners that the title should be ascertained, and if the land is sold the owners get the benefit of it. We do the same with the Europeans. Mr. Mueller will tell you we always charge them. You have forgotten section 14: it should be explained to you, because under it no land which is wholly or part of the time a pa, Native village, or cultivation can be proclaimed; it does not apply to land so occupied.

Wiremu Komene: The next question is in reference to section 15. I want an explanation of that section. How is it that when Natives, who have sold to the Government under this, are found to have no other land, certain provisions are mentioned in regard to such Native or Natives?

The Premier: You have evidently misunderstood the section: it does not propose to take land from the others and give it to these landless Natives, but it is proposed that they shall not be able to sell, but that their land shall be reserved for them. And the Government may, if it is not desired to get that land out of the block sold, give an amount of land in lieu of any such interest or interests, and it must be 25 acres of first-class land, 50 acres of second-class land, and 100 acres of third-class land for each individual. It would have been a good job if a law like that had been in force before, and we would not have so many landless Natives in the colony.

Wiremu Komene: Reference is made to section 16. It is unfair that advances should be made to Natives where they have transferred their land for leasing purposes. There is some provision in that section whereby advances can be made from time to time to Natives while such land is undealt with. The land itself will have to pay these advances, and will be the means of the departure of that land from the Native ownership.

The Premier: The position is very plain here, and I will give you the reason why this was urged upon the Government and Parliament. It was said that the Natives want money, and to prevent their selling the land and getting the money and spending it foolishly, if they were to offer the land for lease, and, while waiting for the land to be taken up, the Government should advance to them some moneys to keep them pending tenants coming forward. You will see how fair this is to you. You have forgotten the most material part, that you can borrow money at 4 per cent. The Government advance you money at 4 per cent. If you had to borrow from the pakehas they would charge you 10 per cent. Now, the money is a first charge upon the rents. If you would say to me to-day, "We do not want to get money at 4 per cent, when we offer the land for leasing; we do not want the money at all," we will strike that out. The pakehas in the House fought against this, and the Government had to remain very firm to get this through for you. You see it is only a first charge upon the rents, it has nothing to do with the purchase of the land, unless under section 26 you desire to sell the land by auction, it would then be payable out of the purchase-money. I do not think, myself, that the owners would care to sell to the Government if they could borrow money at 4 per cent. When the local bodies want to borrow money from the Government they have to pay 5 per cent. If the Natives have to borrow money from the moneylender they have to pay 8 and 10 per cent. If you get credit from the storekeeper, he charges you 20 per cent. If you say you do

not want the Government to give you credit at 4 per cent., then they will strike it out. I look upon this as the most favourable clause in the Bill to the Natives.

Wiremu Komene: Why should that provision be made in the Act where it empowers the Government, in paying the proceeds of the land to the Natives, to pay half in debentures, which debentures, with the balance, are to be vested in the Public Trustee? I am questioning the principle of debentures embodied in the Act; it is under section 17. Why should the money be paid in debentures? I consider the Natives are quite able to look after their interests and any money in case they required the use of the money.

The Premier: The answer to the question is that the Government decided in section 17 that, notwithstanding any of the provisions of this Act, the Governor may, with respect to any capital moneys arising from any land acquired under this Act, direct any portion thereof not exceeding one-half to be paid to the Public Trustee, to be held and applied, both as to capital and income, upon such terms and subject to such conditions for the benefit of the persons entitled as the Governor may think proper, and the Governor may from time to time make or alter such terms and conditions. We have cases in point; we have the wretched past before us, and it is no use you standing up there and telling me that the Natives are able to look after their own moneys, because we have paid some thousands of pounds to the Natives. I have just now come through the Moawhanga district—a district just beyond Hunterville. We have paid there £90,000, and I have met some of the Natives with not an acre of land, not a pound in their pockets, their money all gone—worse than before they received it. And this section only applies to an amount not exceeding one-half; so that if a Native sold one hundred pounds' worth of land he would receive £50 cash, and, if the Governor thought fit, £50 in debentures. It would be the same as putting £50 in the bank, because you are to receive interest from the Public Trustee; you do not put your money there and get no interest upon it. It is an insurance, and you receive interest on it for all time, yourself and your children after you, and it is not attachable for debt. Do you want the money to go and squander in drink? Is it not better to prevent them squandering their means, and make provision so that they will have something to live upon in their old age? The land cannot be swallowed; but the money you might "swallow." Every year when the interest comes due you will find it very nice to receive your interest, which cannot be attached. You will say it is a good Government and a good people who made that provision for you.

Wiremu Komene: Now, with regard to those owners—minors and others—not capable of acting for themselves: It would be advisable that their share of the purchase-money or proceeds of the land should be handed over to trustees of the minors.

The Premier: I cannot agree with you, and I will tell you why. We know many cases where money has been handed over to the trustees and the trustees have spent it, and when the minors came of age they had no money. The trustees said, "You can take us, but the money is gone." The law of your ancestors who had an interest in the land said the land should belong to him and his heirs. If the land belonged to the parents altogether, then the children would not be in the certificate of title. The parents have no right to get that money and be able to spend it. What is the good of your children being in the certificate of title if you afterwards say the money must go to the parents? Better save trouble and say the certificate of title shall be given only to the parents. But if the land belongs to the children it should be preserved to them until they come of age; and if they then like to give it to the parents, well and good; but it has always been the duty of the State to preserve the interest of those who are not able to look after themselves—I mean the minors and infants. And I will not believe that the Natives have changed their minds, and want to give the proceeds to trustees or parents, so that they can spend the proceeds. The Ngatimaniapotos were very firm in this respect—they would not hear of trustees taking the interests of persons whose lands were purchased by the Government; they insisted on every one having his individual rights. I know cases where there are Natives who ought to be very well to do to-day, and through trustees squandering their moneys and getting their names put in the certificates of titles they lost their land and are now paupers. That must not occur again.

Wiremu Komene: I object to the principle of section 24.

The Premier: You would have to see the Public Trustee, and get the proceeds invested, and under that Act guarantee the interest and principal and insure safety. It would be dealing with this land as we find the Europeans do with their money. They give the Public Trustee money voluntarily—aye, thousands of pounds to invest.

Wiremu Komene: As regards section 26—although you have already dealt with it—it is unsatisfactory; particularly the last paragraph, where it gives the Government the right to refuse to remove such Proclamation or not. The Governor may, by Order in Council, give effect to the removal of such Proclamation.

The Premier: It is compulsory. It is this: "On a proclamation being revoked the Native owners of the land held under unrestricted title within the area formerly proclaimed may thereafter dispose of the land either by sale or lease, and not otherwise, to any person whomsoever, provided that such land is first submitted to public auction, and that no larger quantity of rural land than six hundred and forty acres of first-class land, or two thousand acres of second-class land, or ten thousand acres of pastoral land, shall be put up for sale by auction in

any one lot, and for this purpose the land shall be first classified by the Waste Lands Board of the district in which it is situate, and thereafter be offered for sale under the provisions of section sixty-seven of "The Land Act, 1892." It is imperative.

Wiremu Komene: Section 31 is unsatisfactory.

The Premier: Will you point out how it is unsatisfactory?

Wiremu Komene: The sales of land for cash—how are transfers effected? The machinery clause: and look at section 22—we object to the principle involved therein. With reference to those who do not elect to sell, that they have to give notice of their objection, and failing to give such notice their silence is taken as their consent thereto. If the notice is given they have their remedy by applying for partition in the Native Land Court. That would entail great expense. Both ways are unsatisfactory.

The Premier: You blow hot and you blow cold. You ask a question in regard to section 4 as to what was to become of the Natives who do not want to sell; Were they bound by the majority? and that if they were bound by the majority they were unfairly treated. Section 22 gives them an alternative to keep their land and have it partitioned. Why should the minority say, we will neither sell nor lease, nor will we have our own land defined. I say to take up such a position as that is unfair, and will not be tolerated for one moment. They will not go on the land themselves and cultivate it because they do not know which is their land. They will not lease, they will not sell, they will not let any one else go on the land. Practically, they want to keep the land in a state of nature. It is that which has killed more people than have been lost in battle, or who have suffered from disease. It is that which is wiping the Native race from off the face of the earth. If each had their own land and their rights defined they would know what they were doing. But they are now living in an absolute state of poverty, degradation, and hunger. If you take up this negative position you are strangling the Natives by degrees. You will not trust the rangatiras—you will not even trust yourselves; but you take up a negative position. I say you are destroying the tribes, you are destroying the race. If we had this great question settled and the titles to the land ascertained, so that the Natives would know what they were doing, I believe it would be the regeneration of the Native race. They would have comfortable homes and food and good clothes for their children. They would have an assured income, and want would never come to their door. It therefore comes back to this—that the few must not injure the many.

Hone Heke (to the Premier). They say that you have given answers to all their questions about the Act, and that there is no need to go into anything else. It would be better now to refer to the different local grievances.

The Premier: Perhaps they will discuss amongst themselves the other matters of detail in connection with the Act and send a letter down to me with the details, and I will get them gone into carefully in Wellington and give them just as much attention as I would give them to-day.

## ***Local Grievances.***

Wiremu Katene: You say that if there is nothing more to be said in reference to the Land Act you would like to hear any personal grievances. I quite approve of the suggestion you have made, that we should consider the Act and forward you suggestions whereby our objections could be made clear on the different matters contained therein, and we think we can suggest improvements and alterations. We are quite prepared now to reply to some of your remarks, but perhaps we had better take time to consider the matter and forward you the result of our deliberations.

The Premier: You have heard my explanation. You can discuss matters, and send me the result.

Wiremu Katene: We will consider in the direction you suggest, and the result of our deliberations we will give to our representative, who will take them down to Wellington.

Wiremu Komene: This is in reference to the dog-tax. We want to know whether you sent instructions to the Magistrates to inflict punishment upon those who refused to pay the dog-tax.

The Premier: The Government never gave instructions either to the Magistrates or the Judges of the Supreme Court or of the District Court. These Magistrates and these Judges are simply machines. They carry out the law as passed by Parliament. It is Parliament that gives the instructions.

Wiremu Komene: The reason we are not paying the dog-tax is on account of sections 3 and 5 of "The Dog-tax Registration Act, 1880," and the amendment Act of 1882. The people that refused to pay the dog-tax include all the kaingas about Otawa. I will quote some portion of sections 13 and 5 of "The Dog-tax Registration Act, 1880," and the amending Act of 1882. Mr. Clendon will know these sections. Section 13 gives us power, in the event of our objecting to pay the tax, to hand the dogs over to the police to be destroyed.

The Premier; I can put you right, and I shall not expound the law wrongly. Having been one who was in Parliament when this clause was passed, I can tell you the mind of Parliament at the time. It is quite true that a policeman or a dog-tax collector can kill an unregistered dog on the road, and he may also kill an unregistered

dog on other property, not being the property of the owner. But it would be a most dangerous thing if the law was to be interpreted in the way you indicate, because a dog-tax collector might come to a pa, ask for the tax, and see a dog there and shoot it. It might be a favourite dog; the owner might lose his temper, and there might be worse trouble arise. It is not the duty of the police or the dog-tax collector to go round the country, and, if he cannot get the money, to go shooting the dogs; if he did so, he would be breaking the law.

Wiremu Komene: The law has been interpreted to us by the authorities inside out, to suit themselves. If we wished to give up the dogs when the collector comes round, the collector would have to take the dog, and shoot it if we refused to pay.

The Premier: If that was the law, I would tell you so.

Wiremu Komene: It has been interpreted to me so, and the interpretation is certainly that, and it is in the *Gazette*.

The Premier: The *Gazette* is only a copy of the law. The *Gazette* does not give the power, nor can it make the law.

Wiremu Komene: We have been under this impression, and people have gone to gaol on account of this misinterpretation.

The Premier: The only one who can interpret the law is the Magistrate.

Wiremu Komene: Now, my prayer to you is this; My brothers and uncles are now in prison through being misled, and I now pray that you will let them out. They have served a certain time. I hope you will now let them out.

The Premier: The question now raised is asking for the clemency of the Crown. The clemency of the Crown can only be exercised on a petition being sent through the Minister of Justice to the Governor. When that petition is received, and when we find that the Natives, now they know the law, are prepared to obey it literally, that would weigh with the Governor as to whether he would grant the clemency asked for. I have heard your explanation, and we will look into the matter if you petition for the release of your friends. You cannot escape paying the dog-tax any more than the Europeans. If you have more dogs than are useful to you, destroy those which are of no use. They can only make you pay on dogs that are alive. They cannot make you pay on dead dogs. In former days your forefathers required a lot of dogs, because the dogs helped them in getting food. I do not like seeing so many dogs about the Native pas. I would rather see children. If the Europeans kept proportionately as many dogs as the Natives, I do not know what would become of the country. You are now getting sheep, and you will want good dogs to look after them. I am glad to see you are going in now for sheep. In some places in the South Island they make them pay 10s. for a dog. Here, I believe, it is only 5s.—just half. But this is a matter more for the local bodies. The dog-tax goes to help to keep our roads in repair; so if a man pays 5s. for the dog-tax he pays it for keeping the roads in repair. If he does not like to pay this tax he can get his dog destroyed, or destroy it himself, and need not pay the tax. That is a matter for the owners to settle among themselves. But we do not wish—the Government does not wish—neither do the local bodies wish—we none of us wish, in carrying out the law, to act harshly towards you. But when the law is defied, and you take up a defiant attitude, there is nothing else for it but for the Magistrate to do his duty. If you have made a mistake, and did not take the warning that was given you at first, and you now see that you made a mistake, the only chance of having the punishment mitigated is by petition to the Governor. Now, you might say, supposing the Governor was to give you a reprieve, or to mitigate the punishment, "We do not care for the Magistrate; the Governor will see us free; we will go and break the law again." If you approach the Governor in that spirit I may tell you at once your friends will not be set free; but if you approach the Governor and say, "We were misled; we now see the law is against us; we wish to obey the law," there will be no further trouble: then the Governor may see his way to mitigate the punishment. I shall therefore await the petition; but you must clearly understand the spirit in which it must come. If you take up a defiant attitude, and defy the law, I would be sorry for you to do so. The law must be supreme. It is the law of the Queen and the law of the country, and is as much for your protection as the protection of the pakeha. Without the law we should none of us be safe—neither our wives, children, or our properties. I hope you will therefore see the position, and recognise this after you have reasoned the matter over with yourselves. You will find it is really in your interest that the majesty of the law is maintained.

Wiremu Komene: I will send the petition to the Governor; but it certainly will not go upon the lines that we wish to defy the law or the Magistrate: nothing of the kind.

The Premier: I am very pleased to hear that.

Wiremu Komene; When I pointed out this section to the Magistrate it was exactly as you interpreted it—it was only for the dogs straying about. The petition will go from Kaikohe, Te Kinga, and Otawa.

Te Waru: I was going to have a long talk over the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act. Now, seeing that the whole thing is made plain to us, there is nothing for me to do but submit amendments to you when writing. All these people assembled here to-day wish it to be left under section 14, and not to go any further. I

wish this law not to allude to any pas or cultivations. I do not wish the latter part of the section to come in—where the Governor is allowed to adjudicate. Section 11—In case the land is leased, all the expenses shall be defrayed by the owners: This presses very heavily on the Natives. One of the Native grievances is that they are not able to settle their own people on their own land. The rates and taxes are so heavy on the lands. This is one of the oppressions—the surveys, and of the expenses put upon the land when it is transferred. The stamp duties and succession duties really go to prevent Europeans taking up land from the Natives. This should all be revised, and the people placed on their own lands. Supposing they were to sell all their lands, where is the portion left for them? We wish that all those duties should be taken off, that we may be able to sell our land to the pakeha. Now I come to the Eating Act. I do not think the Government have any great love or affection for the Natives, because they are putting rates on them. They will never be able to pay the rates—the land must go to pay the rates. I quite agree with you when you remark that the land is the mother of the people. Why should not a piece of land be taken for another? The Act says the land must be within five miles of a road. Why should they be rated when they have no communication with the roads? I am just pointing these facts out to you. These are the oppressions, and we feel them very much. I will give you an instance. Some people have no roads to their places at all—they simply have a canoe; and why should these people be taxed when they do not use the roads?

The Premier: Perhaps I might save all further speakers talking on the question raised by my friend here to-day. It was just now mentioned by him in his speech that he did not think the Government had any love for the Natives, because they passed a law making them pay rates. Then we have no love for the Europeans, because they have had to pay rates for many years, whether they used a road or not. But I think we show half as much love again for the Natives as for the pakeha, because we only make the Natives pay one-half; so our hearts are one-half warmer to the Natives than to the Europeans. We make the Europeans pay for all their land—it does not matter whether there is a road or not; but we only ask the Natives to pay for such land as is within five miles of a main road. The roads are there just as much for the Natives as for the Europeans. I never found the Natives going in the bush when there was a road to travel on. I never saw the Natives swimming a river so long as there was a bridge for them to go across; and the roads and the bridges are a public convenience. If they were to put a toll-gate on these roads, and make every one pay to go through, the Natives would have to pay much more in rates. I have said—and that is the whole trouble—I am sorry the Natives have not more money to enable them to pay their rates; but they keep the land locked up. They will not make any money out of it themselves, and will not let any one else. They are therefore rich and yet poor. The amount they are called upon to pay is not much if they had the means to pay. The Parliament very graciously refused to put rates on the Natives the same as on the Europeans, because we recognise that certain changes must take place before we put the whole amount of the rates upon them; and if they will take advantage of the law passed last session, and help the Government so that they can utilise the lands the same as the Europeans, they will find the rates will not oppress them. If you have any suggestions to make in reference to this question of the rates, the same as you are going to do in connection with the Land Act, reduce them to writing. It is no use three or four getting up and speaking. Reduce what you have got to say to writing, and send it to Wellington. Your late member will tell you that on the Native Committee the Government agreed to let you off with only paying half-rates; and we hope to see you improve your lands. Keep as much as you think will be wanted for yourselves and children, but do not think of keeping the country in an unproductive condition; that is what everybody complains of. The Government is the strong buffer between you and the power behind. Knowing this to be the case, that is why I want to speak to you face to face, so as to remove these defects, and get you in a better position to do good for yourselves and children. As regards the question you mention, as to the pakehas buying direct from the Maoris themselves, I might just as well let you jump into the ocean and let the sharks devour you, because the pakeha land-shark has been a curse, and would be a curse again. We will not let you in amongst the sharks, you are too good for that; but we do say you shall get a fair value for your land, and in leasing it you shall be protected. The greatest trouble the Parliament has had has been to protect you against these land-sharks. The Native who lately spoke might be able to make a good bargain, and be able to protect himself; but he would not be able to say the same of every Native in this room. What about these children, who have as much right to the land as he has? What about those men who cannot speak English, and do not know anything about the laws, and have never been brought into contact with Europeans? They would not be able to do business the same as he. The first thing that would happen when you let a piece of land by lease would be a dispute about your boundaries, because you cannot let a piece of land unless you know what the boundary is. The next thing would be a squabble about fencing the boundary. Then the lessee would not pay the rent. Then, the next thing, all the improvements belong to him, and by-and-by he takes the land from you, and you get very little money—probably he gets you into his debt; he is the landlord, and he turns you out. Then, when the quarrel becomes so serious, you come to Parliament for a Validation Act. One half of this book is Acts of Parliament—validating Acts between the Natives and the Europeans; and nearly always we find the Natives

have been wronged. The Europeans and the pakeha-Maori land-sharks are all round you, and if we were to do what you ask—to give you free trade with your land with the pakeha-Maori and land-shark—they would sweep down upon you as the hawk does upon the little bird. We are not going to let you drop into the talons of the hawk—we are not going to let you go into the maws of the sharks; but it is in the interests of yourselves that any dealings in your lands should be under the same law as that under which we deal with Crown lands, so that they shall be submitted to public auction; that the light of day shall be on the transaction, so that there will be none of these illegitimate transactions. I have known Natives like you who have known our laws. They have received a large sum of money, and have got other Natives to agree to a lease who did not know what they were doing. That has been a Native who knows business and knows our language. I have known these people pay men to do wrong to their friends. I hope I have now convinced you that it is not right to the Native race to allow them to be the victims of designing persons. Of course, I am quite willing to receive from you any communications suggesting an improvement upon the Act as it now stands, but it is no use sending suggestions down asking the Government to agree to free trade in Native lands and to hand you over to the land-sharks. We intend to remain true to your forefathers. They saw the ills that would happen to you if you were left in the hands of designing persons, and hence by the Treaty of Waitangi you must deal with your lands only through the Government. If we were to agree to what you propose it would be almost sufficient to make the voice of your forefathers issue from the grave and cry, "Shame! shame! shame! We signed the solemn Treaty of Waitangi with you that our people should be protected for all time against themselves. Why have you broken the treaty, and handed over our people to the pakeha-Maori and the wrongdoer?"

Te Waru: The point rests more in respect to us leasing under the law. Before a European tenant can take possession of a lease from the Natives of any piece of land he has to pay stamp duty on the capitalised value for the term of that lease. This would press very heavily upon them, and depreciate the value of the land. I ask that we should be allowed solely to lease—that is to say, no one else should have the leasing but ourselves. It is not a question of who should lease, but the question is, when we do lease let the law be light.

The Premier; There is no such expense if the lease is done under this Act.

Te Waru: As I read it, all expenses incurred on this land will be paid when the lease is taken.

The Premier; There is no such thing as stamp duty under the present Act. Under the original Act the expenses were, I grant, heavy. If a road is constructed through the land it improves its letting-value. You will find under this Board, when it fixes the value of the land, additional value is given by having the road, and hence you will have the same benefit as the Europeans. I am glad I came to-day, because you do not understand the law.

Te Waru: The Europeans have the roads right up to their doors. The Natives have no roads at all, and why should they pay half-rates?

The Premier: It is no use speaking against the fact. The Natives have just as much use of the roads as the Europeans. Their land is only taxed if within five miles of the road.

Te Waru: There is no land further away than five miles—only land that has not gone through the Court.

The Premier: I may tell the people here that your knowledge is very limited. You cannot speak for all parts of the North Island, because we have a map showing what land is rateable, and if you say the land is not within five miles of a road, and has not gone through the Court, you do not know anything about it.

Re te Tai: We have heard all you have had to say to-day, and you have said we should give our grievances to you. I rest on that one saying of yours to-day—telling us that we should meet and confer together, and that we should have one petition and send it to the Government. On that head I now make a prayer to the Premier and the Hon. Mr. Carroll. It is that they will agree to sanction a Bill that will be framed by the Natives of this Island. Any Bill or Bills that the Maoris may get up will be placed before you in the next Parliament. I ask you now whether you will sanction any Bill got up by us and the big meeting when they are all unanimous?

The Premier; When you close the proceedings I am quite prepared to give you a very complete reply, and my reply is, as I told you, the Parliament of New Zealand is as open to you as it is to me. If you have a Bill drafted, and you have one of yourselves, or any European member, to introduce that Bill, or is desirous to do so, the power of the Parliament is there, and it can be introduced. The Parliament receives all Bills. They are moved for the first time to be introduced, so long as they are respectfully worded; then they are read, or refused to be read, a second time; but I have never yet known or heard of a Bill being refused to be introduced that was at all reasonable. I have no doubt the Bill would be discussed. If it was not considered to the advantage of the colony to pass it it would be rejected. If it was against the Constitution, or if it was unconstitutional in its provisions, it would be thrown out. If it was against the interest of the two races, then it would be thrown out. If it was an improvement upon the existing laws, and the majority in Parliament considered it was a wise thing to pass it, why, then it would pass. You must be prepared to abide by the decision of the majority. In that spirit I understand from the speaker a move will be made in this direction, if in your Bill you ask to have a Parliament of your own—to ignore the present Parliament and to set aside the authority of the Queen—I tell you now at

once it would not be allowed to be introduced. There can only be one Parliament and one authority in this country, and that is the authority of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Your forefathers ceded this, it was in your interests, and it is in the interest of us all to maintain that position. I shall be very pleased myself to see in what way you will shape the proposed legislation. It will be a very concise way of ascertaining your views upon the questions that affect you; but, as I have told you, Parliament is open to you, and it is to Parliament you must look for redress. If Parliament does not see its way to agree to what you propose, as loyal subjects of the Queen and as colonists you must submit with good taste, and believe it is all done for the best. My last words to you now are, and my first words to-day were, Look to Parliament, and I feel sure Parliament will do what is right.

Here the Natives proposed to adjourn for tea, but the Premier said the matters they were engaged upon were more important than tea. When a jury is doing the business of a country the authorities lock them up until they have finished their business. They had just arrived at a very important stage in the proceedings; their thoughts were working well—it would be a pity to disturb their thoughts by loading their stomachs.

Hone Heke: In trying to cut everything as short as possible, after they have said everything in respect to the Act passed last session, there is a suggestion for the Natives to put down any such suggestion they see fit on paper and send it to Wellington. I think before concluding with the different Acts referred to to-day, and proceeding to grievances with reference to the surplus-land question, is not the mind of the Natives at the present time, and it would be better for them to quote the cases in view and then follow with other matters. That would be the shortest way to dispose of everything for the present.

The Premier: They have all made reference to their grievances in respect to some surplus land. It would be best for them to name all the different blocks in which they have been wronged, and it would only be a duty for the Government, or myself as representing the Government, to take up the information given here to-day to Wellington and place it before the Government there for their consideration, and we may find out there whether it is worth while setting up a Court of inquiry into these different blocks. The proper course to pursue is to take a typical case and send it on to Wellington. I might forget what has been said to me to-day, but if they reduce their grievances respecting the particular blocks to writing it then becomes a matter of record, and the Government could look into it and decide accordingly.

Hone Peti: I have a request to make to the Premier in reference to the subject I am about to submit to him. I do not wish it to be treated in the same manner as one would treat any ordinary subject, as when meeting one along the road—a mere exchange of words; but I would like the history of this case inquired into at the present time. The case I am about to refer to is that of the Puketotara Block, about which I visited Wellington and presented a petition, and I discussed the matter with members outside the House. While there I also asked that any decision on my petition might be withheld until a member of the Ministry should have an opportunity of visiting the locality and gaining information in connection with the land. The Hon. the Minister of Lands appeared at Waimate, and we assembled in his presence and discussed this subject. After he had heard what we had to say, he stated that on his return to Wellington he would meet his colleagues in Cabinet and give the matter his attention. He was to inform me of the decision arrived at by his Government, but from that time to this no word has reached me. I explained all the particulars and matters in detail which constituted this subject. If the Premier would like me to give him a sketch of the history of this case now I will do so.

The Premier: Has it already been recorded? If it is already in the petition it is no use my worrying you by letting you give me the details. I shall see whether it is in the petition, and, if so, I will inquire why the matter has not been attended to.

Hone Peti: I do not know whether all the particulars were taken down at that interview, but I know that the Commissioner of Crown Lands was present. Whether it was Mr. Mueller I cannot say at present, and I cannot say whether every particular was noted at that time. The petition was presented to Parliament. The land is known by the name of Puketotara. It was formerly sold to the early settlers who visited this colony. It was sold by people other than the owners. We—that is to say, our old people and our forefathers, who were the residential people located on the land—did not sell it. When they heard of the sale perpetrated by another hapu they took steps to resent it, but they found that those who had sold the land had decamped with the purchase-money of the European, and the European would not give up the land, although it had been sold by persons that had no right to sell. They pacified some of our people by bribing them and by giving them presents, but that did not satisfy the whole of the people, and that land remained a subject of dispute up to the year 1850. The people who owned the land had been living all this time on it and cultivating it. In that year we, who had gone up with our own people, went and gave notice to the European of our objecting to the European title to the land vesting in him, and requested him to give up the land, which had been wrongly sold. We went every year for six years to protest. At last he agreed to give a portion of the land sold by our people to him in lieu of that which had been wrongly sold by the people I have mentioned. This was agreed upon, and, together with ourselves, he went on to the land and marked off the portion to be given back to us. After that certain

surveys were prosecuted in this part of the Island. I believe they were the first surveys ever done in the colony. William Clarke was the name of the surveyor. When the land-surveying, as I have mentioned, started in this district he was the surveyor; and these surveys were instigated by the missionaries, and as the survey was made identical with the lines agreed upon, it marked off the piece to be returned to us. A year after this we undertook the survey of this portion which we were to have, and completed it, and submitted the land to the Native Land Court, the presiding Judge of which was Mr. Maning. The investigation proceeded before Judge Maning, and the whole case was heard throughout. Judgment was suspended, and during this suspension Mr. Kemp came forward and objected. He objected to the survey-line encroaching upon his piece, and asked that it should be adjusted. Mr. Kemp said his son would go and set the boundary-line right, and afterwards would proceed with the case. Mr. Maning agreed to that; and, in consequence of a dispute amongst ourselves that arose about that time, we failed to go and set the survey-line right, and we allowed the matter to stand over in that position; but we leased the land, and it was under lease by us up to the years 1889 and 1890; and when Mr. Smith, Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, came to Rawene I asked him to explain the position of that land, but he said to me, "Wait until I return to Auckland, and I will look up the particulars in the department, and let you know the position of it." The Government had made a claim to the land about this time. When the Chief Judge returned to Auckland he wrote to us, and informed us that he had looked the matter up, and attached to his letter a memorandum written by Judge Heale. He said the land did not belong to the Government. Now, at that time Mr. Heale was Surveyor-General of the colony. He was afterwards appointed Judge of the Native Land Court; and it was when he was head of the Survey Department, I presume, that he wrote that minute in respect to the land not belonging to the Government. After this we applied for the Court to sit, and decide. Judge Puckey proceeded to inquire into the title of the land. On the second day of the investigation by the Court a reply was sent by the Government to say it was Crown land, and could not be dealt with. The Court had gone so far as to accept the lease of the owners, and had made a special division of the land between the owners, when this wire came from the Government asking what jurisdiction the Court had to deal with it. That wire was replied to by Judge Puckey, and subsequently a wire came from the Government saying the proceedings should be delayed while inquiries were made by the Government. In consequence of this wire from the Government judgment was suspended, and we have waited for some information from the Government as to the result of their inquiries. Nothing followed; nothing was done. I then sent a letter to the Government asking them to inquire into the matter; the usual reply was given—that they did not see fit to consider the matter, and there was nothing done. Then I drew up a petition, as already referred to, and submitted it to Parliament. This is a very strong case, and the grounds which support it are stronger than the generality of such cases under the circumstances. Much land has gone from us. We have lived on that land, we have always lived on it and cultivated it down to the time we sent in our petition. This, Premier, is the position of this case. I have waited for some word from the Hon. the Minister of Lands; I have received none. All through the time of last Parliament no word has come to me. If he is still in power I have received nothing by way of information. That was during the time of the last Government. Now that the Premier is here I respectfully pray that he will take this matter into his consideration—now a new Government is formed, and the Premier is here in person, and he has already intimated that he will study it carefully and give attention to our grievances. I may add also that when the Government were cutting up land in this district for settlement purposes I wrote to the Government asking them to forbear selling any land identical with this block, until this question has been settled. I have received no word, and they have not stopped their proceedings. When the Native Land Laws Commission sat here, and Mr. Rees was Chairman, a selector was looking for a portion of land whereon to settle. I saw that Commissioner and sent word to the Government to stop the European selector, but this matter was not gone into. The Commissioner took no steps in the matter. All this time there have been European selectors selecting portions for themselves. On each occasion we have asked that they should hold aloof until these grievances of ours had been adjusted. I want you, the Premier, to give attention to this. I wish to describe to you how the old sales were carried on in the old days. The European purchasers came round and found the people of the settlement away on their business, and they bought from those who were at the settlement, while part of the owners were away. Thus were these lands acquired. I think it is only right in the case of this surplus land that the Natives and their descendants should be allowed to participate in them. I want you, as head of this Government, to give full consideration to the claims of the Natives. The Government are losing nothing by it—they never paid for it; it is a limitation of area and surplus, and all such surplus, I think, should go back to the Natives. This is the full burden of my prayer. This portion of land should be given back to the Natives, they having previously sold it to him in lieu of land which had been wrongfully sold to him.

The Premier: I have listened patiently to all you have had to say. What is the name of the block? What is the area of the land involved?

Hone Peti: The Puketotara. The area is 4,000 acres.

The Premier; This is the first I have heard of it, and I can say no more than this: that I will look into the

papers and see how the matter stands. At any rate, you shall receive a reply. I do not think it is right to keep matters in suspense and doubt. The sooner it is settled one way or the other the better. In regard to the question of surplus land, I know it is a very large question and requires very careful handling. I will also go into that matter, and discuss it with the Minister of Lands. The circumstances are so altered now, owing to the time that has elapsed, that it is difficult to deal with, and almost impossible to go back to it. What applies more particularly to the first case gives great force to what I said to-day—this constant holding over of titles. If the titles had been ascertained years ago this trouble could never have taken place, and the longer this question is left over the more difficult it is to deal with—I mean the question of ascertaining the titles to land. Hence what I urge upon the Natives and Europeans, and all concerned, is that the sooner we ascertain the titles to all the land, the sooner we shall be able to do justice to all parties. You may rest assured I will go into the matter most carefully, because I desire to do what is just. You have not told me what the result of your petition to Parliament was.

Hone Peti: I could not tell you what the result of that petition was, but when I left Wellington the intention was to refer the matter in the usual way for inquiry.

The Premier: Who was the member representing the district when you presented it?

Hone Peti: The first year Te Kapa represented us in Parliament. I forwarded that petition to Parliament through Hone Taipua, and when I was in Wellington they both told me they had presented the petition, but the Committee had not gone into it. While I was there, I may mention that I told them not to hurry on the investigation of the petition, so as to allow me time to interview the Minister of Lands. I returned at this stage to my own home and waited the arrival of the Minister of Lands.

The Premier: I will ascertain whether the Committee inquired into the matter, and whether the petition still remains to be dealt with. It might require renewing. If presented the session before last it would not require renewing. I will inquire into the matter, and you shall hear from me some little time after I return to Wellington.

Hone Peti: I am satisfied. I make this last suggestion. It is for you to consider whether any importance can be attached to it. It is an important question—whether the Government see their way clear to appoint some tribunal to investigate the matter, and set it at rest. I do not mean that the Government should appoint any commission to investigate these matters and let the cost fall upon us. Possibly the Government may be able to appoint some one with authority to go into the question on both sides. It is futile to approach Parliament by way of petition. Nothing comes of it. I simply throw this out as a suggestion.

The Premier: All will depend upon the investigation. There are other interests in other blocks similarly situated; you have simply indicated this as a typical case. You had better send down a list of subjects to me at Wellington.

Raniera: I understand now that we have arrived at the end of our business, and that you are going to have something to eat, and proceed on your journey. I am very pleased that the result of our talk has been the opening up of a path by which we can send our communications in connection with this matter to you. I must express my pleasure at the invitation given us to forward our complaints and grievances to the place where, you say, they should be sent, and that such will receive your careful consideration. You also mentioned that former Governments have not acted in the manner you have done—by coming to visit us, enduring hardships, and taking the trouble to listen to our complaints. I am further pleased at the good advice you have tendered to us to-day, in which you instanced the bundle of sticks, which, when bound together, could not be broken, but, when taken individually, stick by stick, were easily broken. Your remarks in that direction have given me the fullest satisfaction, and your assent also to the lines suggested by We Papa with reference to a general meeting of the Natives, at which they might formulate a Bill to submit to the Government. That general meeting for that purpose will be akin to the advice you gave us about the bundle of sticks. Such a Bill will proceed from an organized body. My approval of your utterances to-day is further strengthened by your reminding us that the Parliament of this colony is approachable by the two races of this colony; and I hail with satisfaction your announcement that any step we may take in the direction of formulating a measure comprising our ideas on the subject of legislation—that is, if we send such a measure down to the Parliament of the colony—will be carefully scanned and scrutinised by all sides of the House; and, if any good can result therefrom, you will assist in framing and making an accomplished fact an Act that will be beneficial to the Native races. You will have earned the goodwill, good feeling, and entire approval of the Native people. There is a meeting already fixed to which all the representatives of the Maori people of both Islands are invited to attend. That meeting will be held at Gisborne on the 12th April, and at that meeting will take place what has been mentioned already—namely, a Bill will be drawn up by the Native people. With reference to what you have discussed with us to-day, referring to the Acts, it is settled that the people here, after your departure, will consider all the various points brought out during the *korero*, and they will communicate with you further on. At the same time these matters that have been brought forward by Peti, and all such matters, will be forwarded on to you. The Bill that the Native people intend to frame will be submitted to Parliament through the hand of their Native

representative. I have come to the end of my speech; and I will conclude by wishing long life to yourself and your colleague for having met us here to-day.

The Premier: Men, women, and children of the Native race, my last words to you to-night are these: As I started to-day with a friendly greeting, I now wish you a hearty good-bye. I have counselled you as a friend. I have indicated to you on What lines legislation would be in your interest, and if you keep to these lines and are reasonable in your proposals there is all the better chance of making such amendments in the law as may be considered necessary in the interests of both races. Because I am in this position: I know the minds of the Europeans just as you know the minds of the Native race. Just as, if you attempt when the river is in flood to put a barrier across it, the waters will wash the barrier away, so if you make unreasonable proposals they will be washed away. I therefore counsel you to think well of the words I have spoken to you to-day. I have indicated to you, first, that we desire to preserve the race. Secondly, I have told you the present condition of affairs can no longer continue. Thirdly, it is necessary for the protection of the race that you should be defended against the pakeha-Maori land-sharks, and that evils are bound to arise if there is free trade in Native lands. And, lastly, I tell you that if (as we have in the North of Auckland) large tracts of country remaining with the titles unascertained, complications become so great that we do not know who owns the land, and every day this is continued is so much to your injury. But there is something in what you have said to-day in regard to the expense incurred. And when I come to this subject, and meet my colleague and discuss the question with him, and we both agree that these expenses should be lessened (and the cheaper we can make them the better), I would, with a view to lessening the costs, bring the Court and the Judges to a place like this, where there are no publichouses and no evils you might fall into. I would bring the Courts to the doors of the owners, and would, as far as possible, keep the pakeha-Maoris from being with you when you are discussing the question of your land. It would be just as well that you should keep clear of the lawyers. I would again remind you of the bundle of sticks. What has caused you some expense and lost you more land than enough is due to your quarrelling amongst yourselves. Not only that, but when the question of titles comes up your neighbour may want a rehearing of the Court, and all the time your land is going from you. My heart has bled when seeing the Natives dragged into the towns to rehear complaints. They have been there week after week and month after month, while all their substance has been vanishing. I have known them in the Courts kissing that good book the Bible, and at the same time while kissing with their lips they have told lies and perjured themselves. I would sooner see a slow disease over the land than see what I have seen in respect of their land when going through the Courts—the men there drinking, quarrelling, fighting among themselves, and all of the one race. Their wives and daughters keep in the towns, acquire bad habits, and in some cases are defiled. After meeting each other, and keeping as I told you to-day, adjusting matters as between friends, if there is a little dispute, it is better to come and talk it over, and come to a mutual agreement, than to be impoverished, and to find your lands going away to those who prey upon you. I have to-day kept my word. I am a man that does not promise much, but any promise made I always perform. I told you to-day that I would open my mind to you, and speak plainly to you, and I think you will agree with me I have kept my word. On the other hand, I am very pleased you have opened your minds to me, and that we have discussed matters reasonably, and I think mutual good will result from my having paid you a visit. I have many more places to go to and many more Natives to see, hence the necessity for my leaving you much earlier than I wished. I would have liked to have stopped with you longer and enjoyed your hospitality, but, though distance may separate our bodies, our minds, I hope, will be working in the same direction—namely, the improvement of the condition of the Native race in this country—that they may live in peace, contentment, and prosperity side by side with their friends the pakeha; that in so living they may improve their position; that they may advance with the times, and by that advancement be taught that it is in their interest to set a good example. I Would like to see the sons of the Native race hold their position in the Civil Service of the colony. I would like to see them holding their position in connection with the commerce of the colony. I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that mentally, physically, and with cultivation they are capable of holding the highest positions in the land. But you cannot do that—you cannot hope for your sons doing this if things continue the way they are, and the way they have been drifting the last few years. You must see first of all that they have the creature comforts of life. It is no use living in a half European and half Native state, as you now live. It is impossible for you to expect the physical development that it is necessary for you to have. There must be something also for you to look forward to. When you have no hope, and nothing definite to do, that is bound to bring you to evil ways. I have heard it said that all the young men care about is riding horses, drinking *waipiro*, and playing billiards. There may only be a few, and it is not their wish to do what is wrong. But, I ask, what causes them to do this? It is because they have no occupation—nothing to do. They do not go on the land. Even their fathers do not know whether the land belongs to them or not. They do not go chopping down the bush and putting up fences, because they do not know who they would be doing it for; hence, I am sure that if this state of things was removed there would be more cultivation, and you would find greater prosperity among the Natives. Then, as regards the walks amongst the better paths of life, they must

have the necessary education; without it they would simply hold inferior positions. I would like to see schools—the very best possible—maintained in the Native districts. I would like to see those sons of the Natives who have a natural gift above their fellows securing scholarships, and going to our colleges and getting a superior education. Then there is no doubt we should find them filling the most advanced positions in the colonies. All this is possible if you follow the advice I have given you. Follow the advice of a friend who has come among you to-day to try and do you good. I shall redeem my promise. And here I tell you, I shall take your representative, Hone Heke—a young man of superior education, desirous of doing you good—I shall take him by the hand; I shall render him all the assistance I possibly can; and when he is away from you in Parliament and helping to pass laws in the interest of Europeans and Natives, do not have people behind his back doing him an injury, but be satisfied with what he is doing. Do not when he is in Parliament ask him to do what is unreasonable, and, if he attempts to do well, hold him up to ridicule, because if you do it will be a reflection upon him just as much as upon you. Remember that he is one of the sticks, and it is just as well to keep all the sticks together. With the Europeans, when their member goes to Parliament they only ask him to do what is reasonable; they keep strengthening his hands and helping him, and that strengthens his position when in Parliament at Wellington. Then when the European comes back from Parliament he calls meetings of those he represents, gives explanations, and then they decide whether he has been acting as a faithful servant or not, I say to you, follow the same plan; when Hone comes back from the House of Korero, get his explanation, and if he serves you faithfully, say "Go forward, we have every confidence in you." It is only after explanation that you are in a fair position to judge. Now, we may differ, as we have differed to-day, in opinion, but we are both striving to do what is right in the long run. Generally speaking the majority is right; I have always found that the case since I have had anything to do with public life. I wish you good-bye, and leave you with a friendly greeting.

An excellent tea was provided, and while this was being partaken of a party of young men sang a number of part songs, already made familiar to us by the Fisk Jubilee Singers. The way the different parts were taken would have been a credit to many Europeans. The last feature, but not the least, was the capital way in which some of the children sang. At 9 p.m. the Natives took leave of their guests, and the party started for Rawene amidst much shaking of hands and cheering. The Natives seemed quite delighted at the result of the meeting. Rawene was reached at midnight, and on the following morning a steamer took the party to the Heads, where the Premier spent a couple of pleasant hours with Mr. Webster. This gentleman's hospitality is proverbial, and his fund of information in connection with the early history of Hokianga is practically inexhaustible—he is a walking encyclopedia. At 3 p.m. horses were provided and the journey resumed. On arrival at Waimamaku, the Native School Committee, with the schoolmaster, met the Premier, and invited him to visit the school. This school was in excellent order, and reflects great credit on the local dominie, who seems to be untiring in his efforts to make the Natives understand the incalculable benefit to be derived from having a good education.

In opening the proceedings, Mr. Iraia Toi (Chairman of the School Committee) said,—Our children are the cause of great consideration to us. We are sad in regard to the future. We heard the Premier express himself yesterday to the effect that his love for the Native people was strong, and that he would rather see a number of children about the Native settlement than dogs. We have for the last three years aspired to have a college. We have built up within our minds the hope that one would be erected. We have indicated this desire of ours to the Inspectors. What fathered this desire within us was the fact that great grief happened to us on account of our sending our children a long distance—to Te Aute College—and they there met with many ailments resulting in death. The result has been that it has prevented us sending our children to that College, and this feeling has permeated through the whole community and the various School Committees, and that has strengthened us in our earnest desire that a college should be established here, and our feeling on the matter has been made known in strong and vigorous terms to the different School Committees throughout this district. That is all I have to say or place before you.

The Rev. Wiki te Paa: The Premier will reply in due course to what we lay before him. I wish on this occasion to indorse what has fallen from the Chairman of the School Committee. It is true that it is the feeling of the Committee, under the circumstances, that the school should be converted into a college for the children of the districts north of Auckland. The last speaker has given you reasons which provide a fair justification for our request. I need not follow on the same ground. You were kind enough to say that you would deplore the decrease of the Native race. It is on that particular ground that the Natives will not send their children to the higher schools—to the colleges which are a distance away from them—because it has resulted in the death of so many of them, and it is apt to give rise to a feeling of prejudice entertained by the Native parents in regard to sending their children to any school; but they have the hope that, in taking advantage of the education which is afforded to them, their children should reach the higher stages in education. They are naturally not satisfied with the ordinary education which is meted out, and, as a part of their hopes and aspirations, as has been told you, their children have been sent to a distant college, and many of them have never returned. It tends to

destroy the enthusiasm which should and has existed in the Native mind—namely, to have their children cultured. I think it is pure waste of money if the children are limited to education in the primary schools—when they are afraid to allow their children to go a step beyond. This is a subject we have deliberated over, and our deliberations have been submitted to all the other tribes of the Ngapuhi. The other people have indorsed our conclusions on this matter. At the present time there are four such children who have passed the Fourth Standard. There will be others of other schools in different parts who have done likewise. Is it not hard not to be able to go a step beyond this for their advancement? That is all I have to say, except to express the hope that the Premier will be blessed with a long life for his visit to us on this occasion.

Hapakuku Moetara (chief of the district): I am very pleased indeed at the Premier and his colleague having visited this school, and I trust the Premier will see fit to support our desire and establish a higher school for the northern part of this Island. I have two children in this school who have passed the fourth standard, but for the reasons already stated I cannot send them to the other schools south. If you can see your way to devise some method by which our hopes and desires in regard to our children can be realised in the direction we want, we trust you will give countenance to it, or offer us some suggestion by which we can achieve our object. I am imbued with a very strong desire indeed that our children should benefit by education; that they shall be in a position to secure all the advantages derived by the Europeans through education; that they will master the higher walks in life, and secure a position of a superior standard which is enjoyed by the children of the European race. It is a matter of great concern to me to feel that my children have successfully advanced in this school to be in the Fourth Standard, and yet on account of my natural instincts in regard to their welfare I cannot send them to Te Aute College or St. Stephen's. That is the position, that is the feeling of us all—that our children wish to advance, and wish to progress; wish to learn all that is to be learned by the European children. We have already procured band instruments for them. That is all I have to say. The master of this school will entertain you after we have dealt with this matter. I must express pleasure at having seen you to-day, and I only hope that what we have laid before you to-day will bear fruit.

The Premier: I desire to express to you my very great pleasure at meeting you. The pleasure is all the greater because you have broached a subject which I have given a great deal of consideration to, and you are going in the right direction in the interest of your race. I did say, and I again repeat, that it would be much better for the Native race if they would have less dogs and pay greater attention to their offspring, their children. The settlement here reflects great credit upon you, for I see, compared with the number of parents, a very great proportion of children; and I feel sure—and I am only stating what, if returns were carefully compiled, would be proved—that by sending children to school you prolong their lives. You promote cleanliness, improve their moral and social well-being, and give them an opportunity of holding positions which, if uneducated, it would be impossible for them to hold. There is no doubt whatever that, as the world progresses, and as we in this colony are likewise progressing, the uneducated will be the hewers of wood and drawers of water. This applies to the Europeans just as much as it does to the Natives; and if the parents do not give their children education, then these children, when they arrive at maturity, will say that those parents did not do their duty to them as parents. Now, proportionately, we do not find the Native race represented either in the professions, the Civil Service, or the better class of trades in the colony. The cause of this is not far to seek. They are as you are here in this locality. Parents in other parts I have travelled in are absolutely indifferent as regards the education of their children; and the most painful thing that has happened to me during my trip was at Hikonui, up the Waikato, where they told me they did not want schools, and the land that they had given for school purposes they wanted the Government to give back to them. I drew from it a comparison. I compared even your forefathers, when the Europeans first came amongst them—I drew a comparison between the Europeans and the Natives—and they, your forefathers, knew very little about the outer world; but one of the things they stipulated for was that the Government would see to the education of their children. Now, it was said of them that they were barbarians; but when we hear that remark it shows they took an interest in their race; and I say they were much more enlightened than those Natives up the Waikato who did not want schools for their children; and if there is anything above all others that I think should be fully recognised and full effect given thereto, it is the bond that was made as regards the education of the children of the Native race; and, so long as I have anything to do with guiding the destinies of this country, I shall prove my love for the Native race by giving every encouragement to them, and foster schools as much as we can compatibly with the revenue at our disposal. It cannot be said that the Native race is incapable of cultivation, because I have seen Native youths and men holding the very best positions. Now, as regards primary and secondary education, I do not think that it is wise that we should, have too many seeking to have the secondary education and filling the highest professions, for, as a rule, you will find the professions are now more than filled sufficiently for the interest of the professions and those engaged therein; in fact, there are too many lawyers, too many doctors, and too many engaged in clerical work—or men who have had superior education fitting them for these positions. I find now that they are absolutely in a deplorable condition in the colony. If I wanted to-morrow a clerk at £2 per week in

the City of Wellington, and called for applications, I would have from two to three hundred applicants, and any amount of these same men would be men who had received a collegiate education. If I wanted a man for the position of tradesman, or an artisan for the better class of trade, I should find that I could get very few, and those I did get I should have to pay £3 per week to. Now, if I wanted some young man to take charge of a farm, and that man was required to understand chemistry as applied to agriculture, and to have a knowledge of geology, I should find very few in the colony; in other words, if I asked for young men to fill the better positions, much more permanent and better paid than clerical work, or even the professions, I could not get them. This is a mistake that has been made; there are too many of the one class, and not enough of the other. The parents should always consider this—namely, the great drag these youths are upon their parents, not while they are at college, but when they leave it. They want to get something, and the parents take perhaps four or five years before they can do so. In the meantime they have to clothe them well, keep them in a first-class position, compatible with the professions they are eager to enter, and in many cases the parents are not in a position to do it. The same would apply to most of the girls. The mothers seek a great position for their daughters—go to great expense teaching them the piano and other accomplishments; but they do not teach them what all women should know—the position and duties of a wife and mother, and to do what would be required of them in after-life. Now, there are any amount of girls who can sing and play the piano, do a little drawing, and dance to perfection; but if you asked them to cook some food, asked them to make their own underclothing, to knit you a pair of stockings, to mend your clothes, or even their own clothes, you would find they would not be able to do it. The neglect lies, of course, with the mother and parents, because they have been—what we call in English—creeping up on a bad foundation; because these accomplishments should be given with the former I have mentioned, but the latter are absolutely essential and necessary. I am now bringing you to a point where I want to use what I have just now said simply as an illustration. I say if you will see that your children go through the Sixth Standard in the primary schools, and are well up in the subjects, and pass well in such standard, they are then sufficiently well educated, and able to hold the best positions in the colony. You take the number that pass satisfactorily the Sixth or Seventh Standard—which is, of course, attached to most of the schools—and you will find there is a very small percentage. Now, it is simply madness to attempt to send any boy to college who has not passed the Sixth or Seventh Standard in the public schools. If a child in the primary schools shows superior natural ability, and proves his or her superiority over the others, then there is the system, by means of scholarship, which enables the parent to send the child to any district High School in the colony. Whether some special facilities should be given in regard to this phase of the question in reference to our Native schools is a matter for inquiry, and I will look into it. I will see, to show I am sincere in dealing with this question, what the position is. I will get a return of the number of youths of both standards who are in the Native schools north of Auckland. If you ask for the Sixth Standard in your schools, you are only asking for what you should have; and I say at once, you are entitled to it, and should have it. If the children are only being taught up to the fourth Standard, what is the use of talking about secondary schools? They must first advance to the Sixth and Seventh Standards: then you could talk about a higher. The children should be taught up to the Sixth and Seventh Standards in their schools at home—that is the remedy. If the matter is brought before the Government, I shall certainly say you should have this done. If you were to ask that there should be some school centrally situated, which required an increased building, an increased staff, a staff competent to teach up to the Sixth and Seventh Standards, and that such school should subsequently be made a district High School, then, I think, that is a step in the right direction. In reference thereto I will have inquiries made, and see whether something can be done, for I do see the danger of children going to a place where they contract disease. I can understand that; and I do not think it is right that children who only get past the Fourth Standard should be sent from school. You want a school where they teach up to the Sixth or Seventh Standard, and you should ask that it be made a district High School. When you have asked that, you can ask for a teacher to come and teach the higher subjects afterwards. I will discuss the matter with the Minister of Education on my return to Wellington. Of course I am Premier, but I have not the management of the Education Department. However, I know this: that the Minister of Education is most anxious to assist, and so are all my colleagues. Yesterday I was very hospitably entertained, and was very much pleased at meeting the Natives, but to-day is to me a great pleasure, and my visit here—a much greater pleasure than any I enjoyed yesterday. I am pleased to find the parents of the children here taking such an interest in their education. This proves they are good parents, and the children will in after-life bless them for it. I should now like to hear the children, if the teacher will take them in hand.

The Premier, after hearing the children read and sing, expressed himself as much satisfied. He told them they had now an opportunity of obtaining education, and without that education their position in life would be a worse one than if they were educated. He hoped they were good children, and regular attendants at school.

The party then proceeded on their journey to Kawerua, and thence *via* Helensville, Kaukapa-kapa, and Warkworth to Auckland, where they remained two days before proceeding by steamer to Whakatane *via* Tauranga. The Premier received several deputations of Europeans at each of the above places, but the meetings

with Natives were only resumed at

## WHAKATANE

where a large meeting was held on the arrival of the Premier from Tauranga.

The first speaker was Tamati Waaka. He said,—Welcome the Premier to Whakatane, that you may see the people of this part of the country and hear matters which may be laid before you. These are the congratulations I have to offer you. I will now address my remarks to the Hon. Mr. Carroll. Welcome, Mr. Carroll, you who have come here with the Premier, and brought him to Whakatane to see the Ngatiawa and Ngatipukeko. I will now sing a song of welcome. (Song.) Welcome to Whakatane, that you may hear what these two tribes, Ngatiawa and Ngatipukeko, have to say.

Mokai said,—We welcome you to Whakatane, that you may come to see these of your children. We are here dwelling as orphans seeking for parents—some one to be a father unto us. We have now found a father in you. We rejoice at your coming, and hence it is we accord to you the welcome we now give. I will now address myself to Mr. Carroll. Welcome, O friend! We welcome you whom we twice returned as our representative in Parliament. Now you have come to us we welcome you. Let us know the laws that are good, and the laws that are evil, so that we may hear. These are all the congratulations we propose to offer you.

Tiaki Rewiri said,—I belong to Whakatane, and my hapu is Patuwai. Salutations to you, the Minister of Native Affairs, and your colleague! My congratulations will be brief. Salutations to you the people who have done good for the tribes, and given relief in these burdensome tunes to both the hapus of Ngatiawa and Ngatipukeko. This ends my congratulations. I wish to speak to you now about the Native Equitable Owners Act, which was passed in 1886, the operation of which was extended over the land in this district last year. The Native reserves in the Whakatane district were Crown-granted under special grants in 1876, which Act brought trouble on the people, and that trouble was only cleared away by the legislation of last year or the year preceding. There is one clause in that Act, clause 5, which we ask the Premier to have amended. The clause provides that the money should pass into the hands of the Public Trustee—that is, the rent-money. My objection is that the Public Trustee should dispose of these moneys. I now apply to the Government for the lessee to pay these moneys to the Maoris or known owners—that the rents should be paid direct to the owners by the lessee. I do not object to the whole of clause 5, but I object to the Public Trustee disposing of these moneys. That is our only objection—that we do not wish this matter to be dealt with by the Public Trustee. That is the only explanation I have to give with reference to that clause. Now, this is the second matter I wish to touch upon: Trouble has come upon us through the action of the Government and the Road Boards. In 1876 we leased a certain piece of land as a site for a flour-mill; £400 was the price paid to the Government. At that time there were no written agreements. We applied for the land to be returned to us, and we only got two acres. It was arranged we should get four acres, but we only got two, and now we find the two acres we have do not include the dam where the water was. The land was afterwards leased to a European named William Kelly, but it did not include the dam. The land now, including the dam, has gone to Europeans, and we want the dam given back to us, and the four acres—that is, two acres in addition to what we have already got. This is a very great grievance of which we have to complain, and we earnestly hope the Government will give it full consideration. Now, this is the third point upon which I wish to speak, and that is with respect to the landing-site on the river. Mr. Richardson was Minister of Lands at the time. When the Minister arrived here in 1889 or 1890—I am not certain which—in consequence of an application I made to him on behalf of my people, he agreed to that site being a landing-place for, our canoes. The area of that land was fifteen acres, and it was all sand. I explained the whole situation clearly to him, and that Minister agreed we should have it for a landing-place, but we have received no document showing we have a right to that place. The promise of the Minister was not reduced to writing. Therefore it is that I now apply to the Native Minister that we may now have this matter finally and satisfactorily settled. Considerable difficulty has also arisen between us and the Europeans because of our going through their land. Therefore I ask you to see to this matter at once, for it is the cause of a great deal of trouble—having to pass through. European lands. I wish you all prosperity.

Mauparaoa: I belong to the Ngatirangititihi and Ngatipukeko. Salutations to you, Mr. Carroll—you who have been absent from this district, but have again appeared amongst us. I am the only one of my hapu here, still I welcome you. Salutations to you, accompanied as you are by the Premier. I heartily welcome both you and the Premier to this part of the country, that you both may hear what the tribes of Whakatane have to say. Salutations to you both, O my friends! I have no further welcome to give you hero, but ask you to go to Galatea, because there is an important matter to be dealt with there. Although it may be supposed you have only come to see the Tuhoe—the Urewera—there is also good reason why you should go and see the people at Galatea, because we want to sell you our land. Should you arrive at Galatea, we can then talk of disposing of

our land to the Government. These are the only subjects I have to speak about.

Hurinui Apanui: I will first welcome Mr. Carroll, in accordance with Native custom. Welcome to you, my cousin! I regret so many of our old people have passed away. You bring with you the king of the island, come and receive the good wishes of the people; you bring with you the treasures of the colony. This is the ancient landing-place of our ancestors, who brought their canoes from Hawaiki. It was here the ancient canoes of Te Arawa and Matatua arrived. Of these two canoes, Arawa landed at Maketu, and Matatua at Whakatane. These two canoes contained all the chiefs of these tribes, therefore it is right the chiefs should reassemble on this spot. Your canoe, Takitimu, passed down the East Coast. You had controlling power on your canoe, as we had on ours, Arawa and Matatua. Welcome again to you both, who have been all over the island. Salutations to you, the Premier, who is at the head of the affairs of this colony; you who have penetrated through all parts of the colony; you who have seen the good and bad parts of the colony. Welcome, that you may see the descendants of those who came by the canoe Matatua—these, the remnants, who are now before you. This is the prow of the canoe here in Whakatane. Maungapohatau and Ruatahuna are the stern of the canoe. Welcome, the Premier, this day! Bring over the light, and let its rays be shed on us to-day. Many Ministers have stood with this canoe in days gone by, from the time of Sir Donald McLean to the present time, but now we have the Premier standing on the bulwarks of Matatua. Let him be clear in what is to be done with regard to these tribes, who trace their origin from those who came in the Matatua canoe, because there is no one beyond you, O Premier, to think and decide. There is no one but yourself, for you are the *alpha* and *omega*. Here I am standing up as one of the Ngatiawa Tribe. To-morrow I will meet you as a member of the Urewera Tribe, as I am connected with both parties. I will, therefore, close what I have to say. There are many at Ruatoki who will welcome you as I have to-day. I will now speak to you with reference to a matter which was touched upon by Tiaki Rewiri—it was in reference to the mill. I corroborate what he said. All that property—four acres—that was given to us by the Government was improperly diverted. The trouble that exists in reference to that matter is with the dam. We now ask the Government to comply with Tiaki Rewiri's request—that the dam may be assured to us. Although this may be a matter which the Premier, who is also Native Minister, may not have to deal with, nevertheless we lay it fully before him. Now, with regard to the school house at Otamauru. The children have been attending school there for years; it is merely a raupo whare, and the children have been getting instruction in the raupo whare. It is very incommodious. What we would wish you to do would be to grant us a weather board house. Even though you may not grant us this request, we, at any rate, ask for a weather-board building of some sort.

The Premier: How many children are attending the school?

Hurinui Apanui: About forty-six, with an average of thirty-four. Another matter is with regard to surveying a site for a school. No survey has yet been made of a site upon which a school should be erected.

The Premier: You are in error; the site has been surveyed.

Hurinui Apanui: I will now conclude my remarks by wishing the Premier and the Hon. Mr. Carroll long life and happiness.

Meihana Kohata: I belong to Ngatipukeko. Salutations to you, the members of Parliament, who have been chosen by the House to visit us at Whakatane. We greatly rejoice at your coming amongst us. May you live for ever—all of you. We would like you to visit Te Poro Poro to-morrow. I represent Ngatipukeko, and I request you to visit Te Poro Poro to-morrow. We have very many subjects to discuss and bring under your notice. We therefore hope you will visit us and come to our place to-morrow, for this reason: that we are a tribe living upon lands reserved for us out of territory confiscated by the Government. Therefore I ask you to visit us at our principal settlement, and to hear what we have to say, and hear what all the Ngatipukeko have to say and put before you, and that we may hear what you have to say. I hope you will consent to go there tomorrow, and let us know now. If you will consent to visit us as I have requested, I will leave all subjects for discussion until then, so that the whole tribe may know what has been said.

The Premier: It is rather difficult for me to visit each of these places with the time at my disposal, and if there are sufficient representatives here to do justice to the tribes and the subjects they have to bring forward I would prefer to hear them now, and I can then be the best judge.

Tamati Waaka: When I first stood up to speak, it was simply to offer my congratulations to the Premier and to the Hon. Mr. Carroll. I now rise to say that Meihana Kohata's application to you to visit us at our settlement is correct, and I think you both ought to go there. I shall be very glad if the Premier and Mr. Carroll can see their way to fall in with the views expressed by the last speaker, Meihana Kohata, and visit Poro Poro, because the Ngatipukeko have many very important matters to bring before the Government; hence it is that I support the request that Meihana Kohata has made. There is another matter I wish to speak to the Premier about: it is with reference to a bridge. I presume the Europeans have already spoken to you about it. That bridge should be erected in the vicinity of Poro Poro. We with the Europeans are equally anxious that this bridge should be erected, and that the discussion should take place at Poro Poro, and that the Europeans and Maoris should both take part in that discussion—for this reason; that this bridge goes through our common land. It is important to

us that this matter should be discussed there, as it affects our land. Therefore I say we should all meet together at Poro Poro. We hope our request will be granted, as the Premier is now here to listen to what is to be said by all parties, and we do not know when he will be able to visit us again.

Tiwai: I come from Opotiki; my tribal name from my forefathers in old times was Awa. That is from here right up to Tauranga. You, the Premier, now sitting before me, are a perfect stranger. I see you now for the first time. Before you was the Hon. Mr. Ballance, who visited this place. I hear, Mr. Premier, you came here with the Hon. Mr. Carroll, that you want roads throughout the North Island from Whakatane to Gisborne. One of my principal reasons for coming here was to speak to the Premier. I do not wish to go back to the works of our grandfathers, or even our fathers. I have known many Governments—Sir George Grey, together with his friends. Tiaki Rewiri, Ngatiawa, Ngatipukeko, and Tuhoe have claimed the Ruatoki Block, and Tuhoe created trouble in connection with the survey of it. If you visit Ruatoki possibly something will be said about this survey and these lands, therefore I think it should be spoken about here, that the Premier may know what they have to say here in Whakatane. There are three applications before the Native Land Court in reference to that block. There is a second application by Numia, also another application from the Ngatipukeko. I am most anxious that the Native Land Court should speedily adjudicate upon this block, Ruatoki, so that there may be no further adjournments, so that it may be known definitely who are the persons who own that land. I urge strongly on behalf of the Ngatiawa that the Native Land Court proceed with the investigation of the titles to this block Ruatoki—for this simple reason, that our applications were the first lodged. It was only on the application of Tuhoe that the survey was authorised and made. We, therefore, now ask the Government that there should be no further delay in bringing the matter before the Court.

Mr. Biddle, a European, whose wife was interested in the block, supported the last speaker.

Hon. Mr. Carroll: Salutations to you, the people who dwell in this part of the country—the tribes of Ngatiawa and Ngatipukeko! Salutations to you who recall to my mind the memory of our old people and the past times. Salutations to you who are here to represent your fathers who have passed away—following in the footsteps of those who are no longer amongst us. Governments have come and Governments have passed away, and in this way have our parents and our parents' parents passed away from off the face of the earth, and so it will go on. We are now searching out in these days, endeavouring to ascertain the proper path whereby we may proceed. Hence it is that the power of the land is exerted now in the earnest endeavour that good may be achieved, and therefore it is that the Premier, who is also Native Minister, accompanies me that he may visit the children of the soil. It would not be so satisfactory if you were merely communicating with the Premier by telegraph or letter. It is infinitely better that you should see him and he see you face to face, that he may see the land itself, and the survivors of the race who are occupying it. The Native race is not able to suppress the growing desire of the more powerful race, the Europeans. The European race is the dominant race in this island at the present time; they are passing some very great laws in the great Assembly House of the colony, and whatever the Native race may do, even though they appoint their own Parliament, and go away into corners and endeavour to pass legislation for themselves, they cannot detach themselves from the ruling forces at work in the colony. The salvation of the Native race will be to become united and work as one with the Europeans, and give their attention to dealing with the lands in the best and most profitable way, and for the benefit of all parties concerned. In my opinion the Native race should give in their strict adherence to the Government, and the Government would be to them as a father unto his children; and by that means the Native race will gain advantages. If the Maori race remain as an orphan, as one who has lost its parent, there will be no guiding influence; one tribe will go in one direction and one in another, and no good will come of it; but, I say, let the Natives work in a consolidated manner. You are possessed of vast areas of land, and what are you doing with it? There is a great deal of talk about it, but what good is being produced from it? The land is lying idle, nothing is being done. The land is as a mother to us all. Just compare what you do with your lands and what the Europeans do with theirs. If the European possesses a single acre he renders it productive, but you who have thousands of acres allow your land to remain unproductive and useless; your land passes away from you and then you raise your voice and clamour loudly. I think you should deal with your lands in conformity with the Act passed last session. Keep as much as you can utilise for yourselves, and the surplus lands which you cannot utilise, pass them over to the Government, and they will deal with them so that they will become profitable to you. The Act I refer to lays down distinctly how your best interests can be conserved. That is a matter which my friend the Premier will refer to presently. An innovation introduced by the present Government in the transfer of land will prove to your benefit. It is that, by selling the land to the Government, the owners can draw interest on the purchase-money, and by this means every year the accruing interest of this money would be drawn, while the principal would remain intact. By this means the Natives are assured of a regular income in case of misfortune befalling them, for they still have the annual interest on the purchase-money coming to them. This is a new feature in the policy of the present Government, and it is for the tribes now to benefit from the advantages that system offers. You all complained that the laws passed acted injuriously towards you.

Supposing I were to say to you, "What law should we have?" could you answer it? We know the evils of the past; it is for us now to determine what remedies should be adopted to correct those errors. Sir Donald McLean has passed away, he who was as a parent to you. Since his time many troubles have arisen. We wish now to bring back to life the good understanding that formerly existed. Let the Government be again your parent, so that you may work together. My friend the Premier is not a Minister against the Native race; he is a Minister who is desirous of looking after the very best interests of the Natives. He is head of Native affairs in this colony; he is at the summit. I have spoken to you only in a general way. The Premier himself will presently address you. I will speak of the Premier as I have seen him; and this I assert, that whatever he says he will do he will stick to. In addressing him there is no occasion to beat about the bush or go in a roundabout way to give effect to your utterances. Speak straight-out, and he will speak straight-out to you. I will say another word to you—the land owned by the Natives not yet adjudicated upon cannot be allowed to remain in that state; the titles must be ascertained; the law must be brought into operation, so that the owners may be determined, and individual interests known and ascertained; once that is done, you are then free to utilise the land. I do not wish to take up any more of your time. I have only just touched upon the headings of things. There is one who will speak after me who will probably deal more fully with these matters. In conclusion, I wish to thank you for the kind reception you have given us to-day. I am glad to have the pleasure of meeting those who supported me in my former contest, when representing the Eastern Maori District on two distinct occasions, at the general elections, and returned me as their representative in Parliament. In this more recent contest I decided to represent a European constituency, and it was with this object: that we the Natives should pull together with the European races, not to retrace our steps and go back to the old Maori ways, which do not now fit in; and, furthermore, I felt that in representing a European constituency I would be able to do justice to my fellow-countrymen the Natives, as well as the Europeans. With regard to the request made about going to Poro Poro, my friend the Premier will speak in reference to that. The distance from here to Poro Poro is short, and there should be no difficulty in the people of Poro Poro coming here to Whakatane. However, the question of moving about is of small importance. The Premier will think over it by-and-by.

The Premier: I was so very pleased with the song of welcome with which you greeted me that I would like to have it in my ears before I commence to speak.

Tamati Waaka here repeated the song of welcome.

At the conclusion the Premier said,—I thank you very kindly indeed. I desire to express to all here of the Native race the very great pleasure indeed that I feel in being with them to-day. It is to me all the more pleasant because the way in which they have spoken to me shows that they have confidence that I am in a position and am willing to help them. It is true that this very spot upon which we all are at the present moment is historical, from the fact that the two canoes came here—one the Arawa, and the other Matatua. You have reminded me of the fact that those who came in the canoes were all *rangatiras*—all chiefs. Now, when these canoes landed here, the people who were in them had left their own lands, and had only one idea, and that was to improve their condition and to make a home for those who were left behind. There was only one good feeling in the breasts of all—only one good desire; no ill-feeling existed. They were all as one man, and so that continued for many years. The first trouble that came over them was in connection with the land. Then the Europeans came, many years afterwards, and further trouble arose, and that was caused through the men. Instead, then, of agreeing as brothers—instead of living in peace together—because there was quite enough land for all—they commenced to destroy each other. This evil state of things continued for some time; there was great loss of life, and many evils overtook both races. Then the forefathers of those present, the chiefs of the Native race, held a conference. They saw that the European race was increasing in large numbers, and the Natives were decreasing, that unless some position was established on a more satisfactory footing it probably meant the extermination of their children. The result of this was the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Now, the principles contained in that treaty were—first, that the Native race was to admit the sovereignty of the British Government—the sovereignty of the Queen—and from that day forward the Native race were to be her children just the same as the pakehas; that their welfare was to be attended to; that they were to have protection; that no one else should interfere with them; and that she—the Queen—would give them the same protection she gave her liege subjects at Home. And she conceded that they were to be the owners of the land. There were also certain privileges conceded as regards the fishing rights which had been established, and which it was considered good for the Native race should be reserved to them; your forefathers at the same time agreeing, on your behalf, that in dealing with their lands they were only to deal through the Government—that is, the Queen. The wisdom of that course has been apparent, because wherever there has been a departure therefrom trouble has overtaken both races. We must all, therefore, admit that the principles of that treaty originated with men who knew what they were doing—men who could see a long distance ahead; and I am sure that if some of your forefathers had only had an opportunity they would have left some mark behind to prevent a departure from this treaty, and would have taken steps on behalf of the Native race—would have left some command—so that a departure

could not have taken place. This day the Government—Her Majesty the Queen, and those under her who are governing this country—are quite prepared—and I speak on their behalf—I say it is our desire to maintain the position that was then agreed upon by both races. I also desire to inform you of this: that I am sure Her Majesty's representative in this colony, the Governor, is very pleased indeed that I, as head of the Government, with my colleague here, have gone to considerable trouble and endured fatigue to visit Her Majesty's subjects, the Native race, in all parts of this Island; and the reason we consider this journey necessary arises from the fact that there is nothing like meeting people face to face; by opening our minds to each other, by speaking to each other as men desirous of doing good to both races—it is only by this that good can obtain. It may have been instilled into your minds—some one may have told you—that the Prime Minister Was an enemy to the Native race, or that I was a person who had no kindness in my disposition, that I would not listen to the Natives, or treat them as I would the pakeha. Now, it is to me just as much pleasure to meet you, to hear you speak your minds to me, and to know your minds—I say it is just as much pleasure to me as though I were meeting a number of Europeans, and they were speaking their minds to me. Even before your Words of welcome were interpreted to me I could see by your manner, and the way in which I was received here to-day, that you were all glad to meet me. I knew that I was amongst friends; and I want you to understand clearly that in me you have a sincere friend—not one who will use smooth words to you, use words which have no meaning—one who will make promises to you and not perform them—but one who wishes to treat you as a father would treat his children—telling them what is in their best interest; determined to do nothing but what is in their interest. You told me to-day you were like orphans waiting for their father to arrive; that you recognised in me, as head of the Government and head of the colony, one who would see to the orphans of this district. Of course, we are only speaking figuratively; still, at the same time, now that I have seen the district and the condition in which you are in, I should say you are orphans—in fact, I should say you are as stepchildren whose father has not been kind to them. Now, the fault does not lie with those who have been in the same position I occupy—there have been many Governments and many Native Ministers—but the fault does not lie with the Government—the fault lies with the Natives themselves. They have not agreed amongst themselves; they have remained, as it were, antagonistic to the Government, antagonistic to the pakeha. Not by openly resisting the laws—though there has been resistance to what the Europeans intended for your welfare—your minds have been poisoned by designing persons, and you have refused to listen to your best friends. You are wealthy beyond your own knowledge; rich beyond conception, if you only knew it. If any of the Europeans in this country owned as much land as you Natives here, they would be considered—and actually would be—very wealthy persons indeed. And yet, what do I find? I find, on looking all round, that there is no prosperity—in fact, the Natives scarcely know where their food for the season is to come from. You go on like that year after year; your numbers are dwindling down gradually, and you are surely passing from off the face of the earth. Now, I am grieved, as head of the Government,—and I speak for Her Majesty the Queen and for her representative here in the colony,—when I say that all her subjects are sorry to see a noble race passing away, and those who remain in the state of almost abject poverty in which we find them; and I am sure your wise men, your chiefs, see that they are passing away—see that the young children are dying off, that men do not live to mature age as they used to, but see sickness and ill-health overtaking them. Your wise men, I say, see this just as well as I do. Your pakeha neighbours who are living near you, and with whom you are on very good terms, also see that you are passing away, and say, "Cannot this be stopped?" Then this causes the thinking men of the Native race, and also of the European race, to reflect, and we say, then, surely something can be done to prevent this. Now, the result of these reflections has been given effect to by the Parliament, because the Parliament speaks both for the Europeans and the Native race; and laws have been passed in the interest of the Native race, and which, if given effect to, and taken in the spirit intended, will go a long distance to prevent the races from disappearing from the face of the earth, and will certainly improve the condition of the Native race. You said here to-day that you were pleased to meet me and my colleague, because you said we had brought laws, and would explain these laws to you. You spoke truthfully; we do bring with us the law. My colleague very shortly touched upon the laws passed. I will go further into that law. In your interest we must commence with this assumption first: that as the Natives stand to-day with large tracts of land which they cannot use themselves, and are not using, but which require to be used for their benefit as well as the Europeans, that condition of affairs cannot exist any longer. As pointed out by the Hon. Mr. Carroll, my colleague, the Europeans use the land, and cause it to produce so that they can live. The Natives are not utilising much of the land they own. The great trouble with them is that one does not like to improve the land because he is improving for another—some one else gets the benefit. This uncertain state of affairs keeps the country unimproved. Therefore, we must, in the interest of the Natives, ascertain who it is that owns the land; and I am sure in this very district the feeling exists amongst the different tribes and hapus that they are not able amongst themselves to decide who the land belongs to. One disagrees—one claims it, others dispute it; and I find within a certain radius here that this feeling exists, and it is not in your interest or the interest of the Europeans. Now,

if the title to the land was ascertained, and every one knew who it belonged to, these disputes would be settled once and for all, and adjusted fairly; you would be all on the very best of terms, and there would be a kindly feeling existing amongst you. Now, some have petitioned to have the land put through the Court, and get it surveyed. Others object to its being surveyed, and even break the law, and will not permit the titles to be ascertained. The position is this: Speaking for the people here, one of the speakers said, "We desire that the Government should ascertain the titles and put the land through the Court." Well, that is his wish; he speaks, of course, for those interested. Where I go to-morrow they may oppose this being done. They may say to me, as head of the Government, "We do not wish this to be done." Now, I always have this feeling: that those who do not want the land to go through the Court appear as if they were afraid, and this weakens their case; but I will not come to a conclusion until I have heard the other side. I will hear them and see if they have any objection. I will treat the Natives as I would treat the Europeans. I will hear all they have to say, and then decide. But I will tell you this: the Parliament has given me power to say that, whether the owners want it or not, whether they object or not, the power rests with the Government of saying that the titles to the land must be ascertained. So that, even though all opposed it, the power is with the Government to say the titles to the land shall be ascertained. I wish you to distinctly understand this, for it is to your interests. And this great power that is given to me and given to the Government, we intend to use; but at the same time we intend to use it mercifully, the same as a father would use it in the interest of his children whom he loves so dearly. Now, when we have done this, the owners of the land will be in a position to do two things: First, they will be able to know where their own particular land lies, and if they want to go upon it and cultivate it they can do so, fence it in, and live upon it. You will then be in the same position as the pakehas. If there is more land awarded to you than you can utilise, or than you want for your families, then the law provides that you can either sell it or lease it under the same laws the Government lease Crown lands to the Europeans; and, so that you shall not be unfairly dealt with, there is a Board appointed to value the land and fix a fair value for the Natives, and on that Board there is a Native Commissioner and the member for the Native race for the district. The others are Government officials, who have no interest except in seeing there is a fair value given to the Natives for the land. If they are satisfied with the decision of the Board as to the value of the land, and two-thirds of the owners of the land object, then the land is put up to public auction and disposed of; so that you will therefore see that, whilst we have taken those great powers I have alluded to as regards ascertaining the titles, still the principle is laid down that you must only dispose of the surplus lands, and at such a price as is fair to you. I desire, in conclusion, while speaking on this subject, to impress upon you this fact: that the Government is standing between you and six hundred thousand Europeans. The pressure is becoming greater and greater every year. The Europeans are very much irritated because there is no land upon which they can go. The Natives, they say, are not cultivating the land, and there it remains in a state of nature. Every week that this position is maintained is against the Natives. The laws now passed are very fair, and if advantage is not taken of them—if the Natives do not accept what we have been able to get for them now, I fear they will have cause to regret it. As one taking a father's interest in you, I am here to-day asking you to assist me in solving this difficult problem. Now, I desire also to tell you that, in ascertaining the titles, the Government are determined to avoid the great expense you were formerly put to; and I believe it has been the great expense of the past that has prevented the Natives from getting the land put through the Court. One way of lessening the expense of putting the land through the Court is for the Government to put their officers where the large majority of the Natives are located. All the Government has to do is to take two or three officers and locate them where the majority of the Natives are. There are scores of your wives and children who have to go where the Court is; they are put to great expense for food, and evils overtake them, which, I think, would be avoided if we establish the Courts where the majority of the Natives are located. Now, you may ask me what proof the Government has given that they are your friends. My answer is. We are, because to-day you have informed me that you are very pleased we have passed the Equitable Owners Act. The injustice of the Act of 1876 was remedied by the Act passed last session. This Act gives you fair-play. You have asked for amendments; you desire that moneys received here as rental should be paid to you direct, instead of being sent to Wellington and paid to the Public Trustee. I will see what can be done in that respect, and if it cannot be done at less expense. The matter shall receive my serious consideration. There have been very great evils existing in the past, and I will tell you why. Moneys have been received by trustees for minors, and the trustees have never given the money to those whom it belonged to; and it is to prevent anything of that kind arising that the Public Trustee has been appointed to receive these moneys. If, therefore, we can arrange that the same security be given, so that the right persons shall get the money, and be put to less expense, the Government will try to bring that about. Now, as regards this site for a dam. The land has, I believe, passed away from the Government, and where the dam is now located is land belonging to the School Commissioners, and it has been given to them as an endowment; and I fear they will not be prepared to give it up unless they are compensated. When asking for the land, it is a great pity you did not ask to have the land put in the right position; when giving the boundaries you excluded the right to the dam. If, on inquiry, I

find the position is different to what I have been informed, then I may be able to rectify matters; but at present I have been informed that where the dam now is is an endowment given to the School Commissioners, and the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Auckland District is the authority for my making this statement. If it were still Crown land, there would not be much difficulty in dealing with it; but not being Crown land, the Government have no more control over it than the Natives. The question raised was that four acres were asked for originally, and only two acres were received. You now ask for the four acres, because it would give you this site for a dam. This is like locking the stable-door when the horse has gone: the land has gone from the Government. However, I will make inquiries into the matter, and ascertain how the mistake came to be made. The next question I come to is the landing-place. I was told that the Minister who was here some time ago promised that what you ask should be conceded. When Ministers make promises they should always keep them. I was asked to-day to give a written document, because it was inferred, I suppose, that, having got the promise of a previous Minister, and not knowing me, you wished to have a written document to insure the promise being carried out. I can give you better than a written document, because I can give you the information that what you wish has already been conceded; the place has been gazetted as a landing reserve. My colleague, Mr. Cadman, who was the Native Minister before me, sent a direct communication here that this landing-place is absolutely gazetted. I will not give anything in writing, because if I were to do so it would be casting a doubt upon myself. It was a young man who asked me to give this in writing. If he had lived a few years ago, and had asked the *rangatira* of his tribe to give him anything in writing after his word had been passed, the *rangatira* would have considered himself insulted. I want the young representatives of the Native race to be in the same position as their forefathers. I want them to hold to the principle that when once their word is spoken it can be relied on, and I am sure that, if that is the case, they will beget the confidence of the pakehas; and, on the other hand, I wish the pakehas, when dealing with the Natives, to behave as gentlemen and honourable men, and keep their words. As regards not keeping to their word, I think the Natives have learnt that bad habit from the Europeans. I will look up the *Gazette*, and send you a copy of it; and if there is anything further required to complete the promise that was made you may rest assured it will be done. It is just as well that the landing reserve was marked, so that the Natives should know what land they owned, and avoid unpleasantness with the Europeans, thus placing them in an independent position. I am grieved to hear that your rights to the land have been disputed. I do not like to hear of your being treated with contempt by the Europeans. I do not think that is right. I know it is things of that kind which create bad feeling. Now, I will conclude by referring to the position as regards my work to-morrow. I was told that the key was here that would fit the lock of any door in New Zealand. What is the use of the key being here and in the lock when the Natives themselves will not turn it? I have told you to-day that the door is here; I told you the key is in the door, and it rests with yourselves whether you turn it and open the door to prosperity for yourselves and your children after you. All that is required of you in your own interests is to see that the land wanted for yourselves is reserved; that the balance of the land—the surplus land—is dealt with so that there may be an annual sum of money given to every one of the individual owners year by year. When the pakeha wants to make provision for himself in his old age, he purchases what is known as an annuity. You are now in a position, if you like, to insure that yourselves and your children after you receive a sum of money every year. When the pakeha wants to provide for his children after he is dead, he insures his life. Now, you are in a position, every one of you, to insure your lives both for yourselves and your wives and children after you—a sum of money every year so long as the grass grows and the water runs. What you are doing with the land to-day is of no value to you whatever—you get nothing from it; and yet that very thing can be converted into an annuity for yourselves and your children for all time. What I allude to is the disposal of surplus lands. When you sell, you can take one-half cash and one-half in debentures; or if you like you can, at your own option, put it all in debentures. Now, a debenture is a piece of paper with the stamp of the Government upon it—with the Queen's crown upon it—and the Queen undertakes every year, if the surplus land sold is worth, say, a hundred pounds, to pay five pounds. She would say to whoever got that piece of paper, "Here is five pounds for you." Now, that paper could not go to any one else but the one who got that piece of paper, and whose name was upon it. If trouble overtook you—even though you were compelled to go through the Bankruptcy Court—still that debenture and the interest payable thereon is not transferable, and cannot be attached for debt. It is only the property of the one who gives the land and has got the debenture. Now, if you do not want to sell the land, but prefer to lease it, the Government has taken power by the Act of last session to advance you 4 per cent, of the value of the land you offer to lease, so that you can have something to live upon. I have just put these things to you so that you will understand that I have not come here to-day promising, but to show what we have actually done for you. The law is upon the statute-book, and if you like to take advantage of it you can do so to-morrow. Well, now, I will tell you what pained me very much yesterday. I was told that Hori Ngati, of Tauranga, had sent messengers ahead of me endeavouring to injure the Native race by saying you were to take up a negative position—that you were not to listen to the Prime Minister. I only mention this because, if it is true, he is no friend of the Native race. I would

like to know from any one here whether they have heard anything of this. I do not want to do him an injustice, I simply want to find out whether there is any foundation for this rumour. If you have heard anything of that, you had better speak to me through your chief, and let me know. Let Mr. Carroll know later on, because I am determined to get to the bottom of this. If I find people poisoning the minds of the Native race against what is in their best interest, and endeavouring to frustrate what we are striving to do on their behalf, I intend to take very strong measures indeed in reference to those people; and it is all the more grievous where the person pretends to be friendly to the Government, and is receiving favours from the Government, and at the same time behind the back of the Government is doing them an injury, and an injury to his own people. If you have heard anything of this you can tell my colleague, and I shall be very pleased indeed, because it is in your own interest to help me to prevent any misconduct of that kind. I now come to the most pleasant thing that has happened this afternoon. Nothing gave me so much pleasure as the request made for school-accommodation. Now, to see to the education of your children was one of the promises made on behalf of the Queen when your forefathers agreed to acknowledge her sovereignty, and become her people; and I shall do all that I can to give effect to that condition. I look upon the education of the Native race, and the establishment of these schools, as being of paramount importance. Under the altered circumstances in which we live, if you do not receive an education, then you will be compelled for all time to hold inferior positions. We have proved by those who have gone to our schools and colleges that you have intellect, and your children only require an opportunity to go to the schools to hold the same positions as the pakehas. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to find representatives of the Native race in the Government service. I have seen them in different departments, I have seen them in commercial positions, and I would like to see them much more numerous than they are throughout the colony. Those parents who neglect to give their children an opportunity of receiving an education are not good parents; they are doing their children a very grievous wrong. But you bring it home to the Government when you say you send your children (and there is an average attendance of over thirty-four) to this raupo building. The school site has been surveyed, and on my return to Wellington I will see the Minister of Education, and will tell him that, as Minister for Public Works, I shall be only too glad to put up a building for you, so that your children can go to a decent school; and if we prove our sincerity by putting up a building, we hope you will prove that you are sincere by sending your children to that school. Now, as regards to-morrow, to-day was rather wet, as you know, and the distance from Poro Poro to here not being more than two miles, the Natives there ought to have come and seen me. It was not for me to go and see them, when it was only two miles to come. People who have serious business to bring before the Prime Minister, business that affects them more than the Prime Minister, and where the business is almost of life and death, it seems strange to me that they would not go two miles to meet the Minister and tell him their business. They want a bridge, I believe, as well as the Europeans. The latter came ten and twelve miles to-day to let me know this bridge was wanted. Well, if the pakehas can come twelve miles to let me know their wants, surely the Natives could have come two miles to let me know theirs; but I was told what they had to say to me, and they desired the whole tribe should hear it. I suppose they meant the women and children; there was, however, nothing to stop the men coming here. Probably the women and children could not come, therefore they want me to come and talk to them. I am not afraid to meet women, and I love children; but it is an unusual request, if that is what they wanted me to do, to go and meet their women and children. If to-morrow—as I go past—time will permit me to spend a few minutes at Poro Poro, I shall have very great pleasure in seeing them. But the time will be very short, and it would have been much better to have let me know to-day what they wanted than to-morrow. But probably I am doing them an injustice; perhaps it is only Maori custom—that they would like me to go and visit their village, so that they could give me a welcome there; and I will accept it in that spirit. Now, I am asked to go to Galatea. I am a stranger in this part of the colony, and do not know how far it is, and what road I should have to go. I have been asked to go to some strange places during this trip; at one place I was asked to cross the Jordan, at another I was asked to go to Jerusalem. Where Galatea is I do not know, and I do not know whether you have got a Galilee or not; but the business I was asked to go there upon was the purchase of Native lands, and the representatives of the owners of this land stated to me that they (the owners) desired to see me, and desired to sell this land to the Government. As I am assured that this place is on my road, the representatives of the Natives from Galatea may inform the latter that I will call there, and be prepared to go into business with them as regards acquiring the lands they have mentioned. I have, therefore, only one more subject, and that is the survey of the block of land which was mentioned here—the Ruatoki. I will see the Natives to-morrow on my journey, and, after I have seen them, I will send word back as to the decision of the Government; but I desire to confer with the whole of the claimants before I finally decide. If I were to say to-day. Yes, without consulting them, they would have a grievance, and would say, "You knew you were coming through our district; if you were our friend, you would have spoken to us before coming to a decision." I desire to treat the Natives the same as the Europeans, and, in doing this, I am following the same course as I would with regard to Europeans. I think it is always best to reason with the people of both races; to explain matters to them; to appeal to their

good sense: not to try to coerce them. If you convince a person—no matter what country he belongs to—that what you are doing is in his interest, he submits with a good grace. I have told you what the law is, and told you of the great power that is vested in the Government of the day. I have told you that Parliament has said that all lands must have an owner, and that the titles thereto must be ascertained, and the Parliament of New Zealand—there is only one Parliament—is supreme over everything else. If you want any grievances redressed, if you are suffering from any wrongs, you should appeal to me; let me, if I can, help you. I will go further than that, I will ask you to appeal to Parliament for relief. You have in that Parliament four of the Native race who are representatives of the Native race. In that Parliament, according to your numbers, according to the number of Natives in the colony, you have more members in the House than the pakehas have got. You also have a representative of the Native race in the Cabinet; and if any ill befalls you it is your own fault, and you will be to blame. I have told you the Government desires to do what is right; Parliament is there for you to appeal to. If you take up a negative position, all I can say is this: take the consequences, you yourselves are to blame. There is Her Majesty the Queen, who I have told you has much interest in your welfare, whose wish is to see you prosper the same as her European subjects. You are all one to her. You must therefore obey her laws. There are not two sets of laws in this colony; there is the same law for the Europeans as for the Natives, and if you do not observe these laws then trouble will come upon you. You have one Government and one Parliament. The head of the Government is now speaking to you, and to do that he is travelling very many miles. You said to-day you looked upon me as your father. I have spoken to you to-day as a father would speak to his children; and I am prepared, if you are good children, to do that which will prosper you in this world; and when the Parliament meets I shall be very pleased to be able to tell the Parliament that I have met the representatives of the Native race in different parts of the colony, and that I have had from them good wishes and a hearty welcome, and the assurance that they would do that which was in their own interest and the interest of the colony, and that they would live in friendship, peace, and harmony with their pakeha brothers; and I assure you that it is the wish of the pakehas that you should live in contentment and prosperity. They are grieved to see you passing away. You are the only remnant of a noble race, but that race, when the pakehas were few, when they first came here to your country, were their friends, and now we—the Europeans—desire to be your friends. My last words to you are words of thanks for the kind welcome you have accorded to us; and if good results from my visit to you I shall be amply repaid for the trouble I have taken in coming to see you. I will now say good-bye.

On Sunday the Premier and party proceeded, in a heavy downpour of rain, to Ruatoki, the Hon. Mr. Seddon and Hon. Mr. Carroll visiting Poro Poro for a short time *en route*. On arrival at Ruatoki arrangements were made for a meeting on the following morning, the Premier and Hon. Mr. Carroll returning to Mr. Gould's station, about three miles back on the road, to spend the night, where they were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Grant, the manager. Early the next morning the Premier and party arrived at Ruatoki, and were accorded a most enthusiastic welcome. The meeting was held in the open air, on the large terrace upon which the settlement is built.

The Premier opened the proceedings by saying,—Salutations and friendly greetings to all of you! I have come a long distance to see you, and I am pleased to meet you. It is the first time the head of the Government has come to see you; and, when I speak here to-day, I speak on behalf of six hundred thousand people, and their greeting to you through me is friendly. When there are any grievances amongst the pakehas, when they have something that troubles their minds, then the head of the Government speaks to them and asks them to tell him what their grievances are, so that he may be able to remove them. For the first time, therefore, you are now treated the same as the pakehas are treated by the *rangatiras* of the Government. I would therefore, to-day, ask you to speak your mind freely; my ears are open, and you are speaking to one who wishes to be a father to you. The welfare of yourselves—the men, women, and children of these tribes—is in your hands to-day. If you fail to open your minds to me and speak freely to me as a friend, willing and anxious to better your position and do what is in the best interest of you all, I say, if you fail to do this, and disaster should follow, then you have only yourselves to blame; the trouble will have been caused by your own action. I am here to-day to remove troubles, not to make them. Only yesterday we had rain coming down; a mist was over the land. Now, we see the mist has risen, the ram has stopped, and all is bright. It struck me as being typical of the state of your minds. Let me venture to hope that, as the mist has cleared from the earth so it will clear from your minds; and when I leave here, in a very short time, all the troubles that you labour under may be removed, leaving everything bright and cheerful for you. Believe me, this is my earnest hope. These are my words to you now. I will say nothing further at present, but explain our relative positions; and I rely upon you to be true to yourselves—to think of those who have gone before you—your forefathers; to think of those who come after you, and to assist me to help you to remove your troubles. I am deeply grieved and pained to find you as I find you at the present time. You are really well to do. You ought to be in a much better position—much more comfortable—than I find you; and it was with a view to promote that comfort and prosperity that I have gone through this fatigue and come amongst you to-day. I was told by your enemies,—because they are your enemies,—that I would not

be welcome here amongst you; but, from what I have heard from your lips this morning, I shall be able to tell the world I was welcomed; that you were pleased to meet and hear me, and have your grievances adjusted. You have enemies, who desire on the sly and under cover to do you an injury. It is these enemies who made these assertions which are untrue. But when people meet as we meet to-day, face to face, and are reasonable with each other, and when I have heard you and heard your greivances, I hope, when I return, to tell the pakehas that they have been untruthful about you; that you are a good people, desirous of promoting both the interests of yourselves and the Europeans. This is a grand country; surely good people of both races should live in peace and contentment side by side; live in this colony so that when the time comes, and we are gathered to our forefathers, we can say we have been good people. I have not come to-day to use empty words. I bring with me in my hand a law which was passed in your favour last session; and I am here to-day to explain to you the provisions of this law, which has been assented to by Her Majesty, and I will prove by this that the Government, of which I am the head, are your friends. When the pakeha boy or Maori boy goes to school you give him a slate; he makes figures and writes upon the slate. When he does not do it right, he wipes it off, and makes a fresh start. I want the tribes and your representatives to do the same here to-day. Now, we will say, we will bury the past, wipe it out, as the boy would wipe it off his slate. Let both parties determine that what they do shall be in the interest of both races, and of every man, woman, and child here. I have gone through the centre of the island; I have met thousands of the Native race, and, wherever I have met them, we have had our explanations, and we have parted on the very best of terms; we have parted as good and true friends. Just the same as I have met face to face the Native race belonging to the different tribes, North, South, East, and West, I say I am here to meet you as representative of the Government. I know that there are enemies, and that there are those who are not true friends of the Native race. They send their emissaries, who are trying to poison your minds. They are enemies, coming with evil tongues before me; but when I meet the people and explain matters to them all these lies will be set aside, and they will believe the man who is the chief *rangatira* in this country, and who, when he gives his word, always keeps it—whether to Europeans or Natives. Having thus put the case, I challenge them. I say, Why slink behind bushess? Come out in the open, and meet me face to face. I am here to meet them alone; and if they come before me I will, single-handed, subdue them, and prove their words are untrue and evil,—that they are not your friends, and are doing you an injury. They come to me as head of the Government; they tell me, "We are your friends," and actually draw money from the Government, and then go behind the Government and create evil amongst the Native race so as to elevate themselves and get money from the Government. I say, "I do not want you; stand aside, your hands are soiled; your hands are not free; I do not want you, stand aside." I will go through the Native districts and meet the Maoris as man to man. They are wise men, and I will speak to them so that they may be able to understand that what we desire to do is in the interest of themselves and the country. My heart is not made of stone. I see a noble race, and see that they are disappearing from the face of the earth. I say, it is my desire to preserve that race. I see them living in absolute poverty, not having sufficient food, not having the comforts they ought to have. We wish to alter this state of things, and let them live happy and contented by our side. I have thus given you briefly the object of my visit; and now I wish you to open your minds to me—to speak freely as man to man. You have now got a chance to speak; to meet face to face the head of the Government of the country. Speak to me as a friend; do not let your words disguise your thoughts; let your mind and words be open, so that we may thoroughly understand each other, even though you speak unpleasant words to me. Do not be afraid to be truthful. I know that there is trouble amongst you, and that there is trouble in your minds; these troubles are easily removed, if you will only be open and truthful to me, and let me know really what the trouble is. If you do not do so, and disaster follows, the responsibility is with you. If you do yourselves, your *wahines*, and your children an injury, the responsibility is with you, not with me; therefore, I say, speak out plainly.

Kereru said,—Salutations to you, the Premier, and your younger brother, Mr. Carroll! Salutations to you Mr. Carroll, who have come to see your people; formerly you were their representative. This is your second coming here. Welcome to both the Premier and yourself, who come to benefit me or injure me—even though it may be to strike the land or the people! My ears have listened to rumour, which I have been inclined to believe, that you are evilly disposed towards us. I have heard that you were here to destroy me. I will now sing a song of welcome. [Song.] Again I offer you salutations and greetings for coming here, lest you should think I am standing without the pale of the law. In former times I was not an upholder of the law; I was in rebellion. Now, in these days, I am endeavouring to carry on the affairs of the Natives in accordance with the law of justice. That is why I offer you the sincere welcome I have. I give you the welcome of the Tuhoe people, and offer my congratulations to the both of you who have met upon this open space to see us here to-day. I have no such word as this to say to you, "Go back to Whakatane on the contrary, I invite you here that I may lay my words before you in your presence. Some of the remarks that have fallen from you I will eagerly devour, those that are palatable; those that are bitter I will reject.

Tutakanahao said,—Welcome! Welcome! I wish to express my great satisfaction at your coming here to

look into the matters we wish to place before you. Welcome to you, O my parent! Your coming here is what my heart has so earnestly desired, as also that of what I might call the orphans and the poor. It is only by the law that difficulties can be removed and remedies can be obtained—that is, through you, who have brought words of love to me, and who represent the law. When the law became established the evil passed away. Welcome to you who have come here, bringing with you words that the heart may seize hold of. The desires of the heart shall be fulfilled; those things that the heart does not desire shall be rejected. Welcome again. It is well. I again pay my respects to you who have so exerted yourselves in coming this distance to see us. This is the second time the Government have come here. I regard with great importance your visit here; it will, I hope, be of great good to the Maori race, and may God protect and guide you and us in our works.

Makarini said,—Welcome, Mr. Carroll, to this part of the country—come to the place where you spoke your words on a former visit; come to have those words carried out. In those words which you spoke, and your presence at that time amongst us, was our salvation. You pointed out and assisted in the laws that were laid down to benefit us. I voted for you to be returned as a member of Parliament to represent and conduct the affairs of this Island, and now I desire to express my approval and satisfaction at your again coming amongst us. We see one another again, and can exchange our thoughts. If any difference of opinion had taken place between us I should have let it be known. I should now like to address myself to the head of the Government of this colony. I have seen many chiefs of the Government of New Zealand. I have seen Sir Donald McLean—he was the first—and I expressed to him my respect and praise, because he had done a great deal for this country. On the occasion of Sir Donald addressing us, he desired that the Maori and European races should become united as one people, and I cheered his sentiment on that occasion. Afterwards people came stealthily amongst us saying I was betraying the Government; then trouble arose. After this the representative of the Government again came amongst us, and the trouble was dispersed. Now you have come amongst us. I have trouble on hand, recent trouble. I interfered with the survey. Some of my people are not present; they are not able to go about, because the word of the law is still upon them; they are not free. I am greatly pleased to hear you say that all troubles can be removed, because they are upon those here who are liable to be arrested at any moment. The warrants are still out on account of the trouble for which they became liable to the law. Therefore it is that I appeal to you. Sir, as head of the Government, to wipe away the difficulty that overshadows them, and see the trouble removed. I am delighted we have met you, and that you have found pleasure in meeting us. I am one who is an adherent of the law. Welcome, oh, welcome!

Te Hiko said,—I am come in the path laid down by our parents, the Government. Welcome here on the occasion of your visit to the Tuhoe Tribe. My excellent elder cousin (Mr. Carroll), who is now performing this journey, it is well for you to see the people and enlighten them; bring salvation with you. I am standing here in darkness, but still with a fervent hope of seeing the light. That is all I have to say to you. To you, O Premier, I address my words and welcome you here. Welcome, you who bring those advantages which will be of benefit to us. I listened attentively to your words, and I am pleased at your bringing the good tidings to the Tuhoe people. Your visit is indeed an excellent one. I will now sing a song of welcome. [Song.]

Paora Kingi said,—In accordance with Native custom, I welcome you, Mr. Carroll, to this place, which you visited on a former occasion. It is well. I will now address myself to the Premier. Welcome, O Minister! who is administering the affairs of both the European and the Maori races. I offer you my greetings on account of the expression of opinion you have given to this meeting. It has been said by Europeans and Natives that the object of your visit here was to do injury unto us. I have held steadfastly to peace since the days of Sir Donald McLean, and up to the present day I continue to be a loyal subject to the Queen. After having heard what you have said to us who are assembled here, our hearts greatly rejoice. What I am about to do now is in accordance with Maori custom. I am about to address you in song. [Song.] To you, the Premier, I appeal to-day to unloosen the bond on those who are to be arrested; to free them. The law overshadows them, and they want it removed. This place belongs to those against whom warrants have been issued. It was in connection with this block the arrests were made. That is my request to you—that you will give this matter your consideration.

Tipihau said,—I offer you my congratulations, Mr. Carroll. I am new to you, having only just seen you. I express my respect and regard to you. It is an important thing that we should see one another. Welcome, whether it be for evil or good, or whether it be to destroy. Lay down what you have to say with regard to Ruatoki. Welcome, O my loving friend, the Premier! Great is my pleasure and joy at your coming here. Your people are dwelling on my land. This is the permanent canoe of Tuhoe. The faith and love of Tuhoe will not cease; and should trouble and misfortune arise among any of the tribes in any part of New Zealand, they will be no party to those troubles or difficulties. I again welcome you, and shall be pleased to hear you speak of the troubles that are besetting these people.

Hetaraka Whakanua said,—I stand up here to welcome Mr. Carroll, and the Premier, and the friends who have come here to visit us. I wish to express my pleasure to both of you, and your friends, for coming here to see Tuhoe this day. I am very pleased to hear what the Premier has said in addressing the people here, and trust

that the good advice he has given will be followed, and that prosperity may accrue to the men, women, and children. I am intensely gratified to hear the remarks that have fallen from the Premier. I was delighted to hear those words when he urged the people here to lay bare before him the thoughts that are within them. That is, indeed, an excellent proposition—namely, advising the Natives here to lay clearly before him what their grievances are, and what their thoughts are. Well, one matter that is troubling the hearts of the people here has already been explained to the Premier, and it relates to those people who are liable to be arrested. That is one point. There is another matter, and it is with reference to what Tipihau, the last speaker, said. I quite agree with him that should any trouble or difficulty arise among the Natives in any part of the colony we (Tuhoe) will in no way participate in those troubles. If any tribe should arise hostile to the European race I will side with the European, and wipe out my debt. I am the friend of the Europeans from henceforth. Now, with regard to what the Premier said about laying before him any matters the Natives had to complain of, I will touch upon a matter in which the Tuhoe tribe are particularly interested. It is a matter that is creating some difficulty in the boundary of Tuhoe. I will explain what this matter is that is creating the trouble amongst the Tuhoe, and causing dissension amongst ourselves. It is about a school. I desire a school should be established in our district, and there are others against it. That is all I have to say at present. Long life and prosperity to you all!

Hon. Mr. Carroll said,—Salutations to you, the Tuhoe people! This is a visit in accordance with the same questions about which I visited you formerly. We meet in the open, and there is no reason why any words should be held back. Salutations to you my elder cousins, and younger relatives! No matter what reports or remarks you may have heard, I am here, and you will be able to hear the statements of those in authority, who have come to meet you face to face. Many of the old people have passed away, but the words of Sir Donald McLean still live over the land of the Tuhoe people. It was yourselves who branched off from the path that in former times was laid down for you to follow; it was yourselves who adopted and followed out the wrong course, and in these past actions you stumbled on the way. My efforts have been that you should be all gathered together and act in a united manner; that everything should be done in the open, and in a public manner among you. While some of you may weary and fatigue, the Government never tire. Generally, the law has been well observed by the Maori people. It is true that there were some who, acting under ill-advice, diverted from the path of the law as laid down. There was a false step taken in the Waikato; Orakau followed, and men were swept off the face of the earth. Though the tribes became decimated, the land still remains. This latter fact was not the result of your knowledge, but the result of the law which was placed over you for your safety. It is right and proper that the darkness of the past should be wiped away. The sun now shines upon the summit of every hill; the days of evil have passed away, and we are now working in more advantageous times, and with better results. It is quite right that incidents of the past should be thought of and compared with the present. There is a distinct and definite object in this visit to the tribes throughout the Island. Now for the first time the Maori people meet face to face the head of the Government. The reason why I accompanied the Premier on his visit to all the Maori people is that benefit and advantage to the Maori race may accrue, and that you and all your people may be benefited by this visit, and that you may follow out the advice given to you. The Premier has informed you that he is the mouthpiece of the people of this Island. He is the head of all, and what he undertakes to carry out I hope will be faithfully performed. Hence, it is, I say to you, O Tuhoe, let not there be any portion of your thoughts kept back within your hearts. All the evils of the past have arisen from misunderstandings, and through the thoughts of one and the other not being properly and fairly disclosed. Therefore, lay bare, and fully communicate your ideas here in this open space where we are now assembled; let us, in a proper spirit, approach each other, so that you on your part may know precisely what we mean, and that we on ours may know exactly what your thoughts are, that we may be clear in what we have to say to each other. The shadow of evil comes forth from the evil tongue. So far it has been all talk; the actual difficulties have not yet been grappled with in a manner so that they may be settled. It is of little use saying that laws are good or bad. What is the law that has afflicted you? Show us clearly what law it is under which you suffer? Why not say the question of surveys is one that has afflicted us, or say the laws that affect our lands are working injuriously against us, that the Native Land Court is a source of injury to us? Let us know what the evil is. You are simply allowing the land to lie waste; it is not the law that is encouraging that state of affairs; it is not the Government who are allowing the land to lie idle, but it is yourselves. These are the subjects that should be earnestly discussed by us. If the land is the source of trouble, make clear to us that fact, and let us see how that trouble can be removed. If it be the laws that relate to the lands that are the cause of the trouble, then point out to us those portions of the law that so affect you. If it is beyond you to discuss the laws, this, however, you can do: you can make known to us the causes of your suffering. In this tour of ours through the North Island we started from the head of the fish, passed through the centre of the Island, went to the Waikato and visited the tail of the fish, where dwelleth the Ngapuhi, and now we have come here to interview you. All these tribes that we have met have laid all their troubles before us, and discussed whatever they had to complain of in regard to their lands with us. Now, to-day is the time for you. Come, do as these other tribes have done. Quite understand

that to-day is the day upon which you may be recorded as having been "born again." A new order of things, and a new law unto the people, are now in this Island, and it is in the direction of following out what you yourselves have said to-day—that is, forsaking the evils of the past. As to the question of future warfare in this Island, that has passed away for ever; there will be no more war; we shall not retrace our steps in that direction. What we have to do is to turn and look before us, and choose the course to follow, so that we shall be able to search out the best thing to be done for the widow and the orphan, the young and the old. The Premier and myself are between you—the Natives and the European people—and are anxious for your prosperity. We are warding off any evil that may befall you and the Native people, but it will be impossible for us to maintain this position for long. Let what is to be done be done while it is yet day. The first subject to which you should direct your remarks when addressing my friend and myself is with regard to your lands: lay down what should be done with the land, that your feet may still be able to tread upon it. That is the most important point to be discussed. Here now is a Government that you should propitiate—a Government that is looking after your welfare, and desirous of promoting your prosperity, for, whatever the Premier may say to you, effect will be given to his words. That is all I have to say at present to the people. You have explained the trouble you are suffering under with regard to those who are liable to be arrested, and it was a very proper subject to bring under the notice of my friend the Premier, for the law relating to that matter is within his grasp. I wish you all, Tuhoe, every happiness. We are not going away to-day, and you will have a little time to reflect upon what you are going to say.

Numia said,—I think it would be desirable that we should adjourn to a house, as the wind is rather high. We will go first, and will ask you to follow us.

The Premier: With pleasure.

The meeting was continued indoors.

Purewa said,—I stand up in the presence of you folks. I will first offer, before touching on other matters, my greetings to both of you. Salutations to the both of you, who are the saviours of my body and land. Salutations to you both, who may destroy my body and land. These are my greetings to you. The subject on which I have stood up to address you is one of small importance; it is in reference to the matter that a school should be established in this district. This is what I have to say in regard to the request made by Hetaraka Wakaunua. I do not consent to the school being established here. The reason why I do not consent is that the Court which adjudicated upon lands at Ruatoki has not well performed its work. The title to the land has not been ascertained, and if the school is erected before this is done, it will not be known on whose land the school was erected, and it is just possible, for aught I know, that the Court, in determining the title, may determine the land on which the school is erected as belonging to Hetaraka Wakaunua, and award it to him, or some one else. Let us deal first with the question as to who are the owners of the land, and then approach the question of having a school. That is all have to say.

Numia said,—Let me first offer my greetings to you. Salutations to the leaders of the present Government! I am very glad indeed that you have come to this part of the country. In times past all that came to us was a report that you were coming. Now you have arrived amongst us, we, the tribe of Tuhoe, those who are assembled here, rejoice at your having come. The number of people about this place will be something like three hundred. Many have gone inland. Letters were sent to Whakatane asking you to come here, and pleasure was expressed in the open place this morning at your having come amongst us. We listened to what you had to say as to the reason why you came here, and your request that we should lay before you the matters which concerned us most. You also mentioned that you had travelled throughout the Island and listened to what the Natives in the different parts of the colony had to say, and you also urged upon us not to withhold from you anything we had to say to you. You urged upon us to lay now, at the present time, before you all these matters we have to touch upon. In consequence of what you have already said, it is meet, according to the usage of the people here, that I should stand up and express their views upon these points. I may mention to you that a meeting of the Tuhoe took place in March that is past, and they mentioned there their desires and views. That matter was disposed of and dealt with at the meeting held in March. That meeting began its work on the 1st of February, and continued till the 4th of March, when it concluded its business. I will now let you know what transpired at that gathering. I will lay before you what was transacted on that occasion. One matter that was determined was the territorial boundary of what land was to be surveyed under command of the Government, and internal surveys within these boundaries would not be consented to at the present time, and that searching for gold would not be agreed to by them, and that the sale of their land would not be acquiesced in by them, and the laying-off of roads through their land would not be agreed to, and that the leasing of their lands was also to be prohibited, that committees should be established, and that the duty of these committees was to deal with troubles that might arise in reference to their lands. These were the matters decided upon at that meeting. I may further explain to the Government what else took place at that meeting. The people who attended it are dwelling under the authority of the Government; they are dwelling in peace; they will not depart therefrom and take up

the course followed in former times; they will pursue the road that leads to prosperity. Now, this is a separate matter I am going to speak of—that is, in regard to the land. They—I am referring to the meeting—wished to retain within their own hands the administration of the affairs relating to their lands. The lands that are already surveyed are not included in the remarks I am now making. I should explain why the meeting has taken up this position. This is the explanation I have to give: Lands that get under the control of the Government are simply squandered away; those who have possessed land become landless, they are those who are supported by the Government. I should not conceal this fact from the Government, and that is the reason why I lay this matter before you, so that you can investigate it. The people belonging to the tribe that is now before you, are, of all people in the country, the greatest strangers to European customs. Many of the ancient customs abandoned by other tribes are still held by them. Hence it is that I again express my gladness at the Premier being amongst us to-day, to bear the subjects that are being laid before him. That is all I have to say in reference to these matters. There is another point I wish to refer to, and it is in reference to what the Premier said this morning when he invited us to lay before him our grievances. This is one particular grievance we have, and it is one of the particular grievances referred to by Makarini with reference to those men who are liable to be arrested at any moment—I mean the trouble in connection with the surveys. The desire is that those people should be brought before you, and that that particular subject should be dealt with. Perhaps I should cease here in laying before the Premier the particular subjects to be dealt with by this gathering, I will return now to what Mr. Carroll said to-day. I may explain to you, my friend Mr. Carroll, that these are the particular subjects agreed to by my people—these matters already mentioned by me. They have watched what has taken place with regard to the tribes outside of us; we see that others of the Native race are now in a landless condition—that their lands have all passed away to the Government. These lands have passed away, because they desired the Government should have control of them. It is not that the Government obtained these lands unfairly from these people; hence it is that my people wish that the control of their own land should remain with themselves. I may explain to the Tuhoe the course suggested whereby prosperity and wealth may come to them. The people of Tuhoe do not agree; they think that there may be temporary prosperity, a temporary enjoyment thereof by dealing with land. You are an advocate of progress. Very good; but the people do not believe in a temporary prosperity. There is the reaction to be taken into consideration. People like myself, who are upholding the Government, are strong in our endeavours to get the people to consent to the advancement that is pointed out to us, but the bulk of the people of Tuhoe look at what has taken place in the past—they do not agree with us. They see in other parts of the country Natives struggling and passing away; they give away their land without any good coming to them. There is King Tawhiao; he is administering his affairs according to his lights. The Arawas are also looking in the direction they desire; and so it is with all the tribes—working in their own respective directions. Again, I say, Tuhoe are extremely pleased at seeing the Premier and Mr. Carroll. That is all I have to say.

The Premier: Again I speak to Tuhoe. Again I say to Tuhoe that, as head of the Government, I am pleased that they have so far put their grievances before me in such a way that I can reason with them. Though I differ with the opinions expressed, still, I am very pleased to have heard them. It is only by appealing to the better feelings of mankind, whether Natives or Europeans—by reasoning like sensible men—that we can arrive at a just conclusion in the interests of both nations; and it is by reason, and not by force, that I hope before I leave this place to prove to you that what we wish to do is in your interest. If I prove by reason, and show you in reasoning the matter out, that you are in error, then it will be wisest for you, in the interest of the race you represent, to agree to that which is reasonable, just, and fair. You tell me you had a meeting which lasted from the 1st of February to the 4th of March. At that meeting there was only one side represented. Those present were admittedly living under our laws and conforming to our laws; still, there was only one side represented. It is well that you have told me openly the conclusions that were arrived at, because I can deal separately with those conclusions, and point out to you what would be the wisest course to follow. Now, what would you say if to-morrow you had a committee doing your business, controlling your affairs, and a dispute arose, and one side only got the ear of the committee, and this committee came to a conclusion? What would you say? Those who were not represented may be the most powerful, so powerful that if they took umbrage they would say "As we were not represented we will now take by force what they did not give us an opportunity of carrying out by reason." Now, those who were not represented at your meeting, and who have as much interest—a greater interest, in fact—than those who were represented there, are here now reasoning with you to-day. This brings me to one question upon which a conclusion was arrived at, which, I have no hesitation in saying, was almost suicidal on the part of Tuhoe. They might just as well have hung themselves, cut their own throats, or flung themselves into the river; they are coming into direct conflict with what their forefathers, who were wise men, saw was to be in their interests when signing the Treaty of Waitangi. Your forefathers laid down the principle that the Government, which you acknowledge, was to see you maintained in the possession of your own lands. Now, it is impossible for the Government, of which I am the head, to still carry out, on behalf of the Queen, the Treaty of Waitangi; I say it is impossible for us to maintain you in the possession of lands belonging to you

unless we know where those lands are situated. If we go back to the old state of affairs and say you can only hold your lands so long as you are powerful enough to do so, how few of the Tuhoe there are now who could hold them against the races of the world. The only protection you have got that prevents other races coming from all parts of the world and taking from you your lands is the Government. The Tuhoe have gone to the north, south, east, and west, and they have helped people against the Government; and what has been the result? Have you increased in numbers? Have your lands increased? Have you extended your boundaries? Or will you admit the truth, that you have decreased in numbers, that your land has become circumscribed, and that your position is an unfortunate one to-day? If you tell the truth, you must admit that many of your fathers have been gathered to an early grave, that you have decreased in numbers, and that your position is worse to-day than in days gone by. You have to-day admitted—and I was pleased to hear it—that, if any troubles occur outside with any tribe or other people, the Tuhoe will take no part therein, but that you will from henceforth rely upon the Government doing justice to you, and seeing that what belongs to you shall be declared to be yours. After hearing that from you and those representing the tribes here to-day, there is no alternative but to say it is good, it is wise; and, if that course is followed, from to-day will date the prosperity of the Tuhoe. I am sure that the Government, as representing the Queen, and the Queen herself—and I am the mouthpiece of both—will be very pleased that the Tuhoe have come to that conclusion, and mean to faithfully adhere thereto. But what is the use of this if your protestations are only to be treated as mere words. Am I to understand that the words uttered to-day do not carry the meaning of what is intended, because the words of to-day conflict with the conclusions arrived at at the meeting held from the 1st February to the 4th March? I have said that the Government desire to protect you, and to maintain you in the possession of the lands which belong to you; but, first of all, it is necessary to know where those lands are, and each one that the land belongs to. Now, before we can ascertain where your land is, and to whom it belongs, there must be a survey outside the present land surveyed. There are people all round you who dispute, and through those disputes ill-feeling is engendered. Are we to allow you to fight and destroy each other, and simply look on while you become less and less, until you disappear altogether? Or are we to say, "As parents of all these children, we will settle those disputes; we will ascertain who the land belongs to, and give it to the rightful owners"? We prefer to take up the position not of stepfathers or stepmothers, but that of good parents loving their children, and desirous of doing that which is in their interest, and which will prosper them in this world; and in doing this we are only doing that which has in other places proved to be of great benefit to the Natives particularly, and in the interest of both races. You have told me that some of the Natives are landless—that some of them had their titles ascertained, and parted with their land. I am glad you have put that case before me to-day, and that I have listened patiently to what you said in reference thereto. Some of these Natives have dissipated their substance, and I will point out to you what has occurred on the West Coast, from New Plymouth, say, down to Wanganui. In the case of those Natives, the Government have stepped in, and, by a very strong hand, prevented them from doing away with their substance. Two years ago they received rents from their lands amounting to £2,000; last year they received £11,000. Not only that, but they still have remaining to themselves to do as they like with—to cultivate—reserves that are more than ample for them and their children—40,000 acres. Now, that was by dealing with them as kind parents; but, before we could do this, we had to ascertain what lands belonged to them. As my friend and colleague, Mr. Carroll, told you to-day, it was in the interest of yourselves that the Government should do this, so that you might be protected. But all must fall in with the general law, so that the strong power of the Government may be behind you, so as to protect you; and that strong power I am prepared to-day to offer you. You have to-day told me you respect that power, and that you have determined to uphold it. I cannot exercise that power unless I know in what direction so to do, and what belongs to you, so that I can protect you in it. Those who say they do not want the land which belongs to them to be known, only weaken their position, because it leaves it open to be said they are afraid that, on investigation, they may not be the owners; hence they prejudice their own rights; and, as Mr. Carroll also told you to-day, he and I are standing between you and others as your protectors, as a bulwark. We are standing between them and the Tuhoe, and, if the Tuhoe take up a wrong position on the other side, it is impossible we can long stand the pressure that is being brought to bear; and then, when you say to me to-day, "We do not want anything further with regard to the surveys already made, let that stand, that is outside, there is nothing further to do," all I can say to you is, I will not be responsible; and you may rest assured upon this fact: that if you maintain that position it means that wrongs are bound to accrue to the Tuhoe. It is only by getting the legal titles to that which belongs to you that the Government will be able to afford you protection. A legal title is in your favour, and cannot be disputed. In all countries now great changes are taking place, and in all countries where men and women live they must know definitely who are the owners of the land, and must have a legal title for those who own it. Now, in doing that, we do not desire in any way to take from you your rights, or to take from you your land, but the New Zealand Parliament has said by law, and the Queen who governs us all—you are her children as much as I am—has said, "We must ascertain the titles to all lands." It is here in the book. Under section 13 of the Native Land

Purchase and Acquisition Act the following words are there enacted: "With respect to Native land, the Government may ask the Native Land Court to ascertain the titles thereto, and the Court may thereupon proceed so to do." Now, this is done to prevent one party who might want to take the land from the other without making application for it to be surveyed. Under the law as it now stands he cannot do that, but must apply to have it surveyed, and then it will come before the Court, and the Court will decide whose land it is. The Queen, who is the parent of all, has got this Act passed so that both parties may have fair-play. Now, I do not think that, at the meeting you held from the 1st February to the 4th March, those who came to the conclusions you have mentioned were aware that the Government, in the interest of the Native race, had asked Parliament to make this law. Had they known that this law existed they would perhaps have come to a different conclusion. Hence, I say, both sides should have been represented. Now, we will throw aside altogether any mystery or mystification, and I will say at once, I know one reason why the meeting decided to have no further surveys. It was because they were afraid that those who applied for them would be getting an advantage over the others, and they said, "We will have no surveys at all." Now, as I said to-day, wipe the past off the slate, and, as my colleague Mr. Carroll said, make a fresh start. I am here to-day to see a clean slate: wipe the conclusions arrived at at the meeting from the 1st February to the 4th March from off it. Make a fresh start from to-day, and we will see that no one gets an advantage over the other. The Queen will see the right people get the land, and I say so on the part of the Government. The impression that has been formed has, I know, done a great deal in passing these resolutions; they were passed in ignorance of the law and the intentions of the Government. Hence, I say again, wipe out what was done at that meeting, and go on the lines others are going, so that your future, and the future of your children, may be preserved in peace and happiness. You may fear that, in these particular surveys, wrong may be done you. In that respect the Government will be responsible, and see that the persons who make those surveys are men that the Government can rely upon, and who will not do injustice to any one. The Government will see that the expenses incurred are not such as shall eat up the land, but the work shall be done at the lowest possible cost. The Government have no interest in wronging those who come under their protection, but have every desire to see that your interests are conserved. We are not here to destroy; we are here to build up and preserve. I now come to the question of the Courts that have to decide these questions for survey. I am prepared to bring the Court here, to this particular spot, in this very building, so as to save expense, and keep you here amongst yourselves, so that, whilst having your rights adjusted, you shall not be driven to other places, put to expense, and made to suffer the evils you do in the towns. If that had been done in the past many evils which the Natives have suffered would never have occurred. Again I say that, with these privileges granted you, those who do not desire to have the surveys made or have their titles ascertained are afraid. And if they are not afraid, then they are doing themselves an incalculable wrong, because they are weakening their position. The next question is as to the sale of the lands. As the law stands, the Natives are not compelled to sell their lands; they can lease them, and avoid selling. When the titles are ascertained, a majority of the owners can decide, after election, in what way they will deal with the lands; and the prices upon which the lands are to be leased is agreed upon by a Board on which the Natives themselves have fair representation. In making these provisions the Parliament has decided that if you want to have committees of advice comprised of the owners you can have these committees. You can all meet in a room like this—all the owners, and a majority can decide what you will do. If you say, "We will sell," the Government will say, "Very well." If you say "No; we will lease to the Government," well and good. If two-thirds of a majority say, "We want this land submitted to public auction and get the best possible price for selling or leasing," then the law says, "If you prefer that, you can do so"—that is, if you prefer it to dealing with the Government. And after doing this the Government has also conserved your rights, because, as stated to me, you have said there are many who have disposed of their lands who are now landless and penniless. Now, we have made provision to stop that. I admit that Natives have taken moneys in other places for their lands, and have squandered that money. But we have made provision against that, because we have said, instead of getting the money so as to squander it, we give part in cash and part in debentures. These debentures bear interest, and you draw the interest every year as long as you live, and your children who come after you. That is better than allowing the land to be idle. The interest on these debentures can only be paid to the owners of the land, and no one else. By the principle upon which the land is either sold or leased, neither you nor your children who come after you can ever be penniless or in want; and even though you become bankrupt, owe money, or a judgment is given against you, that money is not transferable, is not attachable, and can only be paid to the owner and the one who had an interest in the land. It always belongs to the owner of the land and his children for all time. Now, as you will see, if these facts were known, if this had been known at the time of that meeting held in February and March, you would never have come to the conclusions you did. I have told you of the dangers that surround you. So long as you remain doing what you are doing you will have all these people coming in by-and-by, and when the time comes great trouble will overtake you, and people will claim land who never had any land at all. All the others are getting the titles to their land ascertained—getting all the advantages we offer them; and by-and-by you will suffer if you do not

come to reason and sense, and get your titles ascertained, the same as other people. Now, I told you at the start that we did not want to force anything, but simply to warn you of a great danger that threatens you, and that we are prepared, by legislation, to protect you; and it remains for you to protect yourselves, and take advantage of it. To those who have dealt with the Government under recent laws, and those who come to the Government under this law, I say they will never be landless—never be without money, food, or clothes. They will be more prosperous than Tuhoe have been since they have been Tuhoe. There is still a sufficient remnant of your tribe from which may be built a good and great people, and I have indicated to you the foundation upon which that great people can be built. You mentioned about Tawhiao and other Natives—that they were following upon lines of their own. Have those people profited who went under Tawhiao? Has he profited? What are his people? They are landless. They have no friends. When I met them on the Waikato they asked me to give back land that had been given for school purposes—such is their necessity—and it is those who have joined them, and who are landless and penniless—those who would not allow the wishes of their forefathers and the Queen to protect them—it is those people who are landless to-day in New Zealand. Every step taken by those who opposed the wishes of their forefathers, who signed the Treaty of Waitangi—every departure from that treaty—has been a step taken to destruction. It has been a step taken towards poverty, degradation, and want; and the noble race ought to have been, and would have been, three times—nay, ten times—the number in this colony had they followed the right steps of their forefathers, and the Tuhoe would not have been the remnant that I see, but would have been a great and powerful people; and this place—the whole of this land—would not have held the people to have listened to the Premier. Avert this evil upon Tuhoe before it is too late. Let me tell you this, first of all; The surveys must proceed under the Government direction, and by men who will be responsible solely to the Government—by men who will not favour one side or the other, but who will be just to every one; and the expense shall be as low as it is possible to make it, so that the land shall be left for those to whom it belongs. The expense of the Courts must be reduced as low as we can possibly make it. Then, we must have a Judge—one holding the highest position—one in whom every one, both Native and European, will repose the greatest confidence. He will see that everything is fair and just to all concerned. When this is done, then you will have the protection of the Government. You will have protection against the world; and what belongs to you you will retain and be able to do with it as your own, and do with it so that your wives and children will profit thereby. You mentioned to-day about the site for a school. One asked that a school should be established. Another objected thereto, because the title to the land upon which it was to be built was not ascertained. Shall there be a school here for Tuhoe? One objects and another objects because the titles to the land have not been ascertained. In the meantime, the children are growing up in ignorance, and growing up in that ignorance which is against their after life, and, unless the children are educated, those who are quarrelling about who the land is to belong to are taking the bread, the breath, and the very means of living from their offspring; that is what they are doing. One is not the whole tribe. If Tuhoe says, we want the school, put the school there, who is going to dispute it? What matters it if one man disputes? What does it matter so long as the children are educated, and can make a living in this world? The great power of to-day is education. The pakeha sees that power; so do the Natives in other parts, because they give their children an education. Therefore, I say, have the school, and get your children educated. You have intellect, are strong physically, for you have proved it in times gone by, and why should you be kept behind when the Government is prepared to educate your children? Therefore, before I leave here, think well over this as I have now put it to you, and say, before I leave, "We want the school, and the land will be there for it." The school will be vested in Tuhoe. There will be a committee of yourselves, you will have controlling power, and it will be in your interest to have a school. The day is still long, there is still time, and I want you to commemorate this day so that my colleague and myself can go back and say, "Tuhoe wants education for her children," and if you do that I tell you you are doing what is right, not only for to-day, but for all time; but if you keep your children in ignorance they will curse you. I have by these few words only replied to the questions submitted. I should have something further to say, but I want you now, if you can, to reply to the arguments I have used in favour of what Parliament has done, and what the Government say is in your interest.

Hon. Mr. Carroll said,—I am just going to speak in reference to certain remarks made by *my* colleague. You have explained to the Premier the particular matters that were disposed of at your meeting, and the Premier has laid before you what has taken place in Parliament. The views of both parties are now laid down. Let us look quietly into them. The first point was that the boundary of Tuhoe's land was to remain under the control of a committee, and the Premier asked, "Where is that boundary? how was that boundary to be ascertained? how was that boundary to be controlled? who was to be controlled? under what law—under the ancient laws of your people, or under the control of the law's of the colony?" Was that boundary to be preserved in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi, assented to by the Queen? That treaty laid down the law that the rights of the Maoris to their land were to be secured. It is only by the law that the rights of individuals can be secured to them. You are not in a position to say the land is yours simply because you are in possession of it. We know the ownership is

disputed, as in the case of the Ngatimanawa, who contest your right. Your mere assertion of ownership does not entitle you to the land. That is the reason why the Premier has laid it down that you should appeal to the law and get the law to determine the boundary of your land. Distinctly understand that the Government has this in its own hands—the power to complete the survey. Under the laws the Government can, in its own way, make a topographical survey. The Government wish the law to be carried out step by step in regard to Tuhoe, and hope that they will follow the right course. The survey, if carried on by the Government, would not be an expensive undertaking, and if a topographical survey is to be undertaken by the Government the owners may be fixed upon and the title to the land ascertained. It is quite true, that with the increasing population the country requires necessary steps to be taken with regard to the lands. There is but one thing, and one thing alone, that can preserve you, and that is, to go to the Government and the law. Do you yourselves give this matter your consideration; What results from the boundary you are claiming as the boundary of your land? Does any advantage result to you at all? How is it you are not able to get employment from the Europeans? Is it not because you allow your land to lie in idleness and be unproductive? It is not that the Government has any desire on its part to take possession of your land. What the Government wishes is to see you firmly established upon your own property. The means by which this can be done cannot be reached by Maori committees, because the committees are not supported by the law. The only committee that can firmly establish you in the possession is the *ture*—*i.e.*, the Native Land Court. If there is anything that injuriously affects you in connection with the Native Land Court, let it be pointed out so that it may be remedied. I know that there is an anxious feeling among the Natives throughout the colony in regard to their lands, but let the cause of the anxiety be so held up to view that it may be plainly seen by the Government, and then the Government will be in a position to see the wrongs that need to be redressed. My colleague has said that the evils of the past should be wiped away. He also said let us now take a new departure. In the new law that has been clearly explained to you no injury can befall you. If you wish to rent or lease, a majority of yourselves will decide. If you wish, a committee can be appointed to do that. Also, if you desire, the Government will act as your bankers. You can deposit your money with the Government, who will take charge of it, and pay you interest, so that you can always depend on receiving it regularly, and there will be something left for the support of your offspring when you are gone. But all these things can only be done by acting in conformity with the law. That is the only point of difference between you and me. You think these things can be done by your own Maori laws. I say they cannot be done in that way. They must be done according to the laws of the Parliament. You are seeking for prosperity for yourselves, and for your land to be successfully employed. The Government are also seeking out the course whereby you yourselves may become prosperous and your land made valuable. Your anxiety is lest your lands may be dealt with wrongly. Who will deal improperly with your lands? If you think it is the Government who will deal wrongly with you, I tell you the Government will do no such thing. If it be this, that you are afraid private individuals may act or deal wrongly with you, I tell you the Government will not give them an opportunity to do so; the law will provide against that. The Government has decided that they will not allow private individuals to interfere with the Natives. If there is a dispute amongst yourselves the Court will determine the ownership according to your own customs. What is it, then, that you are really afraid of? Perhaps it is that you are really afraid of yourselves. Some seem to be afraid of the Court, others of the survey. Perhaps you are afraid the land may pass away from you altogether. Hence it is, perhaps, that you came to the resolutions arrived at at your late meeting. If these are the causes of your anxiety, what I have to say to you is: Attach yourselves at once to the Government. The Government will be as a parent protecting each and every child. The Government can deal with your lands if you have had them surveyed and the titles determined. If you act in a contrary direction, you will yourselves be responsible for what befalls you. I will repeat what I have already said: Will you point out what evil results from surveys. If you think that the expenses attending the surveys will absorb a great deal of the land, I tell you, as I have already said, that these expenses shall be lightened. The cost of having the land brought before the Court will also be made much lighter. Do not be blind, deaf, or forgetful of the fact that we are living in an age of progress, and live with the spirit of the age. It is not as if you were a people living under great tribulation or difficulty. This illustration as to the Europeans swarming into the country is quite correct. Another matter referred to was that you object to roads going through your lands. What is the objection to having roads? If the roads were only for the Europeans there might be some reason in your objection, but do not you yourselves use the roads equally with the Europeans? If the roads were absorbing all the land it might be wrong. If the construction of roads resulted in your power over your lands being taken from you there might be some sense in the objection. But what is seen in reference to the roads is that highways are given to the people. Natives and Europeans alike, by which travelling from one part of the country to another is greatly simplified. But the question of roads is not really the main point to be discussed. The two main points settled at your meeting were in regard to the lands and the committees. Now, with respect to the proceedings at this meeting, all that has been said by both parties will be laid before the Government, and placed before Parliament. Therefore you should give your careful consideration to all that has

been said to you to-day by the Premier. We know that you are living in an isolated position, and are not as well informed as many of the tribes living in other parts of the colony. Hence it is that you should carefully weigh and ponder well over what has been said to you. Do not let the utterances of today be cast aside when we have gone away. Think well over what has been said, and give every point your earnest consideration. These are the words I have to say to you, O Tuhoe! Look carefully into what has already been said to you, carefully weigh it all, and it may be possible that a happy union of both parties will take place that will prove a source of happiness, prosperity, and delight to you hereafter. Let not what has been said to-day be rejected. I say emphatically to you that, if what has taken place to day be not heeded, the voice may turn away in a different direction. Other things may be done in another place. Whatever happens, the work in that other place proceeds. Therefore, then, I say, give every attention and consideration to what has been said to-day. I am not asking you to give a decided answer at once; give the matter every possible consideration. You will have means to communicate with the Government if you so desire. You know where the post-office is; you know where to write to. The Government have offered every facility to you. They have come to meet you here to-day at your own place, and at your own home. You have the post-office, telegraph-office, and every means of communicating with them. If it should so happen that these important matters cannot be dealt with by letter, what is to hinder you from coming in person to Wellington and seeing the Government. Parliament meets in the month of June, and this is the time you should lay down the lines upon which you intend to act. Should you arrive at a definite conclusion, it will be for you to send someone to represent you, and to express your views to the Government. Now, the Government in power is able, capable, and has the strength to do a great deal of good if you come to an unanimous decision, and fall in with their views. Effect will be given to that decision. Now that we have met here all together, and come to this place, my Government's desire is that we will be able to do some good and effective work. That is why I have listened with pleasure to the Tuhoe. All I now say is, Give every consideration to what has been said. Gather together all these things that have been said, that birth may be given to some new thoughts that will result in advantage to the Native race and the colony. That is all I have to say after what has fallen from my colleague the Premier. I have just run over what the Premier had already referred to, and all I have to say in conclusion is. Give careful consideration to what has been said.

Numia said,—I wish to express my pleasure to you both for having placed so clearly before us the proceedings as carried on by the Europeans. We have shown to you what the Maoris have done, acting according to their own lights, and you too have explained to us the extravagance of the resolutions come to, and have explained to us the laws. That is the reason why I show so forcibly to you what we have done, acting according to our own way; and in view of having these matters carried out, I thought I would put you in possession thereof. Looking at the Native Land Court work I found the first thing to be done was to have a survey made, and in consequence of this survey the owners of the land had no money. Then a portion of the land would be taken by the Government to pay for the survey. After that the Native Land Court would sit, and when it sat the Natives had not the money wherewith to carry on the hearing, and then the land passed away to those who had money. What followed next was the issue of the Crown grant to the land. Then, when this was done, the owners began to sell, and those who parted with their land became landless; but they sold their land in carrying out their own selfish desire, and the fault was their own. Then, the taxes had to be paid on account of the land; and it is in consequence of all these things that Tuhoe desires that their land should not be sold. It would be the same if I were to explain in regard to the roads, gold-prospecting, and other matters. It is from the ignorant people that those evils come. Those possessing knowledge will not be favourable to this. I have heard what the Premier has said with regard to lightening the burdens falling upon us through the Court, and with regard to the surveys. I am greatly pleased indeed to hear these words. It is owing to no other reason that Tuhoe has taken up this negative action. It is only through the evils worked by the Native Land Court and the expense of the surveys. With regard to the outside tribes, they are also contending for these lands; and the contention is also going on with Tuhoe. Let me make clear what I said with regard to the committee, because the Tuhoe want the committee to investigate the difficulties that exist among them. I wish again to express my pleasure at what the Premier has said, making it so clear to us what the action of the Government is. Perhaps I should say now that we will take the remainder of the day to turn matters over in our minds, and the tribe will be represented at Wellington when Parliament assembles. Now, with respect to what the Premier has said about a school. That matter will be determined at once. We should just like an hour to give the matter consideration, and then we will reply to the Premier.

The Premier: I am very pleased indeed to hear that you are going to come to a definite conclusion. Speaking of those who have grievances, he continued: I wish to refer to those of your number for whom warrants for arrest have been issued, but I will discuss the matter with Mr. Carroll while you are considering the question of a school. Probably we shall come to a decision in the interest of all concerned. I did not mention anything about prospecting for gold, but will say something to you definitely about that later, because we do not want to disturb that subject. We do not want to do anything in that respect. There is also another subject I

intend to say something about. I have heard words here which, I am sure, will give great pleasure to His Excellency the Governor and Her Majesty the Queen. I had the assurance of the chiefs that they desired for the future to work in harmony with and obey Her Majesty's laws. Now, there is something which you generally see floating over every place where they have admitted the sovereignty of the Queen, and expressed their good wishes as good people and good children to her. You of times see it floating over them, for it is their great protection. It is a flag, and is the emblem of freedom wherever it floats. If that flag floated here in this particular spot it would be to the world a sign that from this time forward we are to be as one people—Native and European alike—and all claiming the protection of the British flag. Now, I think I have said sufficient to indicate to you what my answer would be if Tuhoe would express to me here to-day a wish to have a school, and when it comes, then let the flag float there. I speak on behalf of the Government, and I think we shall be in a position to help you. I desire to know your wishes when you have consulted amongst yourselves. I will say nothing further now. We will meet again in an hour's time, and then, I think, we shall be able to finish these small subjects, leaving the larger questions for consideration later on, when I shall probably receive your answer from those who are sent to Wellington to represent you. And I will tell you more than that. The want of means shall not prevent you coming to Wellington and seeing me there. I think it is only right that Her Majesty's subjects living in isolated places should be brought more together.

Kereru said,—I would be glad if you would carry out that remark of yours in respect to having the Court here. Bring it to this house. I am very pleased you have made that suggestion. If the Court is held elsewhere only a few people could get to it; but if it is held here all parties could go to it. I wish you now to give an assurance that the Court will be held here. I said I had very little to say, and I have said it. That is all.

The Premier: I have long seen the evils that have resulted from the Natives being brought long distances from their homes, and having to take their families with them into the towns, and evils have resulted which have been a curse to their families ever afterwards. I have seen the men drinking their substance, actually "swallowing their land." I have seen their wives and daughters defiled in these large cities, and the evil arises through their being there with temptation surrounding them. I have always said that that was a wrong that should not be perpetrated on the Natives. When dealing with matters affecting the pakehas, wherever the majority of the Europeans are their convenience is always consulted, and the Courts are placed accordingly; and if we therefore think it is just and right and in the interest of the Europeans that their convenience should be consulted, then I say we should follow out the same course with regard to the Natives, and do equal justice to them. And I believe it will be right and proper that the evils of the past in that respect should cease once and for ever. And believing that to be the case, even though we may have to go to some expense in making a convenient place for the Court to sit, and where the Judge may reside, that expense would be more than justified if we are doing it in the interests of both races; and I now give my word that the Court shall come here convenient to this place, so that the titles may be ascertained, and that it may be proof at once that we are sincere in what we have said to the Natives. And I feel satisfied that in doing this I am doing that which is in the interest of the owners of the land, and only what is just to all concerned. We shall have to go into the question of detail as to what convenience is wanting. People may have to come from far. At the same time, however, we trust that their convenience will be consulted by the Natives who are here; and, in making this request on behalf of Tuhoe, I know Tuhoe will do that, and will assist the Government in what they are doing. Some people will object, and say it is too far away, and it is not safe to come here. Everything will be done in the interest of the colony. You speak on behalf of Tuhoe, I speak on behalf of the Government; and I say the Court shall come here, and I feel sure good will result to all concerned.

On resuming after lunch, Hetaraka said,—I wish to explain with regard to the subject I have brought before you. I am speaking with reference to what Mr. Carroll said at the close of his address a little while ago—that we should consider the subjects he and his colleague had brought before us. That observation of Mr. Carroll's was generally assented to. This is what I have to say to the Premier and Mr. Carroll with regard to internal surveys and other minor matters. The Ngatimanawa and Ngatiawa wish matters in reference to the Witi Block and the Patuheuheu Hapu, and also Tutakangahau, to remain in abeyance. It has been decided amongst us that the question relating to the surveys should be held over, and cease until such time as we can interview the Government in Wellington. This is what I have to say to the Premier and his colleagues; that these surveys should not proceed until we have had an opportunity of interviewing the Government in Wellington. By that time the thoughts of Tuhoe with regard to the surveys will be known. These surveys are all within the external boundary of the land of Tuhoe. That is the reason why I want this matter held over.

Purewa said,—It was arranged that an hour should be left so that we could consider over the matter you submitted to us, and while you had an hour to consider the points we had raised. We have considered the matter in reference to the school, and have decided as to that particular subject. You have heard what Hetaraka said to-day; and what I say is, We are not prepared to go on with the school. This is in reply to what was said, that the question of a school should proceed. The tribe have consented to the establishment of a school, but in this

way: Let the titles to the Ruatoki Block be first ascertained and determined, then let us have the school. That is the reply we have to make with regard to the school. Let the titles be first determined, and then we will agree to the school.

Hetaraka said,—The reason why I speak again upon this subject is because I was the one who laid the matter before the Minister. I am most anxious that the school should be established, not for the sake of my children, but for the children of us all. You have heard what the others have said on the subject, and I will explain to you the reason why I take up the position I do. This is the third year that myself, Numia, and others have been solicitous that a school should be established in the district. It is in consequence of dissension amongst us that Numia and myself have been unable to have a school. The reason why we have both been so anxious that the school should be put up is because we know the rising generation are growing up in the same state of ignorance that their fathers were in. It is for that reason we urge upon you to let us have a school, so that the children now growing up may not grow up in ignorance. Now, with regard to what Purewa says—that we should not have the school until the titles are determined—I would ask, Who are the owners of the land? Irrespective of the owners of the land, the school would be for all the owners of the Tuhoe Tribe. Numia and myself have, during three years past, also thought of waiting until the titles of the land were ascertained before having the school erected, but we came to the conclusion that we might have to wait too long, and that the erection of the school should be proceeded with at once.

Tutakangahau said,—Now, with respect to what has just been said, the request for the school is from us. You, the Premier, are the light of the world, therefore it is that I appeal to you to determine this matter. If you say that the school should not be put up until the titles to the land are ascertained, very well. If you say the school should be erected forthwith, it is well. That is all I have to say on that subject, because the matter is in your hands. I will now direct my observations to something else that has fallen from Hetaraka. He and I have made the first application for a survey. We have already placed it in the hands of the Chief Surveyor. That is the reason why I think that the question of surveys should be held over until we visit Wellington. The probabilities are that the Surveyor-General will know about the applications that we forwarded to him. They were forwarded from five hapus. Perhaps there were about thirty people who signed these applications for survey, so that if certain of the hapus should move in the matter the Premier will permit it to be held over. We will interview you about this thing, and you will have it in your hands, because this particular matter is a grievance to us, and will be brought before the great House of Parliament, where there are people who can seek out what is good and what is evil affecting the people of their country. It is not that I am objecting to the surveys. No; it is that the chiefs of Tuhoe may be able to proceed in a definite manner in respect to this business.

Purewa: I wish to explain something with reference to what Hetaraka has said in regard to his application to a former Minister about a school. I was the one who stopped that work. The second application was made by Numia, and I also was the one who stopped it. This is the third time the question of a school has come up, the application now made to you. I again stopped the work.

Mr. Carroll: I am going to speak in reference to this matter of the school. What has been said in regard thereto is perfectly clear. You agree to the school being put up after the land is put through the Court. It will be for the Minister to reply to that. Discussion or dissension now is mere waste of time.

The Premier: Coming to the question of a school, you have not known me very long, you have not been with me very long, but I think you will have come to the conclusion that any matter I speak upon or deal with I only do so after giving it the fullest consideration. I therefore strongly recommend you to leave this matter of a school to the Government and myself. Sometimes, when friends cannot agree, and an impartial person is called in to act between the parties, he can very soon settle any difficulty, and both are satisfied. Now, are you agreed that there is to be a school here? (Cries of "Yes, yes," and loud applause.) That reply gladdens my heart, because I can now see the light is dawning upon you. The only question then that remains is, When is the school to go up? One says, "Let it go up at once," and the other says, "Let it go up when the block is through the Court." Now, can any one of you, at any time, stop the growth of the children who want education? Can you give them back three years of their lives? The life goes on still, just the same as the sun and the moon continue to move. The sun rises and sets; the moon comes and goes. Can any of you stop them? Can he who objected to the school three years ago give back the lives to those children who still remain in ignorance? Can he give three years of life to his own children, let alone the lives of other peoples' children? The answer is, No, he cannot do it; it is beyond his power. Therefore, why should any one injure other peoples' children? He can keep his own at home; but why should he prevent other persons' children from going to school? If a school was opened to-morrow, the Government would not send a policeman here to make all the children go to school. Let those parents who want to keep their children in ignorance, and slaves to others through their want of education, keep them so. With the great advance that the world is making, the rapid strides that are being made, and the developments that are taking place, if you do not give your children an education they will be the slaves of those who have education, and the parents will be to blame for this. Now, those who object, and only want the

school to go up after the Ruatoki Block has been put through the Court and the titles determined—to those I would say: Suppose this block took twelve months in passing through the Land Court. There may be disputes, hearings, rehearings, and further hearings. Why should the children be punished by lack of education because the people cannot agree as to who owns the land? With all civilized nations, even the most ignorant people on the face of the globe, at all events, never punish the innocent because of the guilty. Why the children here should be kept in darkness, why their days should be darkened for all time, why they should suffer owing to a dispute about a particular piece of land, is to me a perfect mystery. I cannot understand it. If these men who object had had the advantages of education in early life they would both have been better men to-day. I know that to be the case, and I know that they both mean well; but no one who objects to the school in his heart means well to these little ones. Does he want to punish the children? [A voice: He does not.] I am glad to hear that answer. I know you are in earnest. Your voice has the ring of sincerity in it. Therefore, not wishing to do it, are you prepared to leave this question to the Government, and if we see that this dispute about the land is going to be settled in a short time, we will go on with the school? But if it is going to last much longer, are these unfortunate children going to be punished? My words to-day are words of peace and kindness. I do not want you to decide anything to-day but this question of the school, but I want you to weigh well everything that has been said, come to a decision, and let things progress. I want to get your confidence so that you may leave this matter for me to decide. That being so, you may all rest assured that the one thing that will weigh with me will be the future welfare of your children. My object is to assist and help those little ones whom you love so well. You told me to-day you looked upon Die as your parent. I like that; and, as children are ever dear to their parents, so are you all to me, and in the interest of those children—being a parent to them—it is my duty to look after them; and I would not be doing this if I did not see that the benefits accruing from education were given to them. In the bright future that is in store for the Tuhoe you will want carpenters, you will want youths trained to important trades, young men who have had experience such as will benefit you by their skill and knowledge. In your altered circumstances, and with brighter prospects in store for you, you will want them in the fertilising of your soils and that they may improve cultivation; and they can only do this by your giving them education. This is one of the things above all other considerations which weighs with me when I say your children must be educated, in your interests as well as their own. You have now left the matter for me to decide, and I am sure that the decision I shall give later on will satisfy both the objectors and those who are asking for the school. With regard to the question that there should be no more surveys outside the internal boundary, and in which you say other tribes outside are interested, you ask me to see that this is carried into effect. I have told you once before to-day that people who come to a decision upon a matter in which other people are concerned without in any way consulting them make a great mistake. They do more—they do them a wrong. Then, why should I come to a decision here to-day, and give you an answer, without first going through the other districts, where I shall have an opportunity of meeting the other people. They would say to me, "If you are our father, we are your children, just as much as the Tuhoe are; why should you come to a decision without consulting us?" You have said, "Put off doing anything in relation to these surveys until we come to Wellington." Suppose you never come to Wellington, then I suppose it is to be put off for ever? Now, perhaps these other people may want to come to Wellington, too. You might come to some arrangement amongst yourselves. I must give them the same chance as I give you. I must act fairly towards both parties. I have heard all that you have had to say, and after hearing what all the others have to say I will come to a decision. I will do nothing rashly, for rashness leads to disaster. I will, therefore, leave that question open. I have made no promise, mark you, because I cannot make a pledge until I have heard all concerned. But I have told you this, that in case anything is done you shall have full knowledge thereof, and it will be in accordance with my words to you to-day, that past grievances with regard to expense in dealing with your lands and other evils that have sprung up shall be avoided. My colleague has told you to-day that the Surveyor-General is having maps prepared so as to have the colony mapped throughout. It is for scientific purposes these topographical surveys are necessary, and it may be necessary to make them in your country, so that in mapping off the colony your country may appear on our plans. Now, topographical surveys are surveys wanted for scientific purposes. They do not cost the owners of the land anything. But if a complete survey is subsequently decided on, then there is so much expense saved, for these topographical surveys can be used ultimately for the purpose of subdividing the land. Whatever may be done with regard to topographical surveys, nothing will be done with respect to surveys in detail until I have consulted all the parties interested. Now, as I have heard you to-day, I think you will all admit it is only fair that I should listen to the words of the other people interested. I think you will agree with me that that is a fair thing to do. I have just a few words of advice I wish to give you, and I wish you to weigh them well. My words are these: When the titles to the land are being ascertained, do not fly at each other's throats like mortal enemies, determined to take the lives of each other—the one determined to wrong the other—but assist us as far as you can; meet amongst yourselves; appoint arbitrators—a committee, if you like; search out and ascertain amongst yourselves as to the interests in and titles to the land. If you do that, you will save yourselves expense, and will

not create any ill-feeling. If you persevere in that, you will get the land amongst you; but if, on the other hand, you go quarrelling and fighting like mortal enemies, you will lose the land; the lawyers' fees and the expenses will swell up, and you will get nothing. These words, you will find, are for your benefit. If you will only follow this advice, it will save expense and ill-feeling, and it will preserve the land to those to whom it belongs. That is why I said to-day I would study your convenience and bring the Court right up to Ruatoki. I shall watch carefully from time to time and see how 'you are progressing, and if I can be of any service you can rest assured that service will be cheerfully rendered, because I do not desire to see the land frittered away in expenses. I do not want to see any ill-feeling engendered, and I do not want to see the land go from the people who are entitled to it. I want to see every man get his land, go upon it with his wife and children and cultivate it, and to know it is their own land they are improving. There is no man who feels so happy as the man who is upon his own land, cultivating it, and making it productive, so that his wife and children may live comfortably on it; and the sooner one and all of you know what is your own, the better it will be for you, the better for the Europeans, and the colony generally. Now, you have mentioned to-day—and I have heard remarks also relative to it—that there was gold and silver on the land you claimed. I have been told by a scientist that there are rivers and gold in the moon, yet the Government have never sent any one up to it to prospect for them, and the Government are not going to send anybody to prospect on your land. But whatever you do towards ascertaining the titles to your land will not put the gold there, and if it is there it will not take it away. Therefore, until this larger question is settled as to the ownership of the land and ascertaining the titles, the other matter must be left in abeyance; the Government will not interfere. So you do not require to have any anxiety upon that account. The last question I have to touch upon is a matter which was brought under my notice to-day, and that is in regard to those people who broke the law on a former occasion, and for whose arrest warrants have been issued. If I was to take up a position such as my friend on the right did in regard to the school, and said "Taihoa! taihoa!" (Wait, wait) you would be grieved, would you not? In the case of these men it is worse, for they are not free to go where they like. They might be required to attend the Court to give evidence as to titles, and if they went to Whakatane they might not come back; and yet, if their evidence was not given, it might do a wrong to the people who owned the land. I will explain to you the law. In the first place, the law is beyond the Government; it is beyond myself. If any one breaks the law, the Government cannot stop the law taking its course, and the law is there just as much for the Natives as for the Europeans. Any one who breaks that law—no matter what race he belongs to—that law says he must be dealt with as by it defined. You asked me whether I could withdraw these warrants. I cannot do so. The Governor—aye, even the Queen herself—could not withdraw those warrants; but when once the persons who are wrongdoers have been brought before the Court, then the Queen or the Governor, upon the advice of his Ministers, could say, "Taihoa, it is enough, the law has been sufficiently vindicated, the trouble is over." I believe, myself, from what I have seen and from what has taken place, that the trouble is all over. On my return to Wellington, I will look into the matter carefully and see what can be done. I think the course to be pursued will be that these people must surrender themselves to the authorities and go before the Court, and the Court, or whoever appears for the Crown, would make a statement as to the wishes of the Crown in respect to the cases. Then, after that, the prerogative of the Crown, through the Governor, can be exercised by simply saying they had been sufficiently punished, that they had promised there should be no further breaches of the law, that Tuhoe had told me that for the future they were going to be with us and obey our laws, no matter what other tribes did. I would then recommend the Governor to grant the clemency of the Crown. Now, who may I communicate with after I have looked into this matter in Wellington? Who shall I send the communication to advising what course is to be pursued?

The Natives: To Makirini.

The Premier: Very well; that is good; that is the only course that is open. Now, I told you earlier in the afternoon that in other places the people had a flag. Since I have been Minister for the Natives I have made a present of the flag of our Queen and country. Now, when I hear through one of your chiefs, or from those who come to meet the Government in Wellington, that you have put up a flagstaff, I will, on the part of the Government, find you a flag to put there, and that fact will speak to the outside world against anything else; it will remove that reproach that has been cast upon the Tuhoe that they were never friendly—always against the Government, and against our laws. You have to-day given me words; you have passed your words to me; you have told me to-day that from this time forward you will be loyal subjects of the Queen, and obey her law. You have given me words that have pleased me. When we met this morning we were a long distance apart, but we have been getting closer and closer until we are now here all together. All reservation has gone, the mist has been cleared away, and I am overjoyed to think that such is the case. When Sir Donald McLean came amongst you he was your friend, he advised you wisely. I have been amongst you to-day, and I do not regret it. It has been a day well spent in the interests of both races, and I thank you very heartily on behalf of the Government for the welcome you have accorded to us, and for the confidence you have given us in letting me know your minds. If any trouble arises in the future, and you feel a doubt in your minds, do not hesitate a moment. If you

cannot telegraph, send some one down to me, so that I can dispel the trouble as the sun dispels the mist that sometimes comes on your mountain-tops. Men, women, and children of Tuhoe, I conclude by giving you kind and friendly greeting, and I say good-bye. (Loud cheering).

At the conclusion of the meeting the chief Kereru presented the Premier with his *taiaha*, which the chief said was an earnest that there was to be peace for the future, and that the Tuhoe intended to be with the Government and obey the laws. The *taiaha* once belonged to the ancestor who formerly owned the Ruatoki Block, and it is called Rongokaeke after him. The claims to the block will be founded on this ancestor. The flagstaff the tribe are going to put up will bear the same name as this *taiaha*, as also the large house now in the course of erection. The fact of the old chief, the head of his tribe, handing over to the Premier the sceptre of that tribe is in itself very significant. No better proof of the earnest wish of the tribe to conform to the laws of the Queen could possibly be given. From a Maori point of view such a gift means perfect submission, and is symbolical of an intention to abandon all unfriendliness and to live in peace in the future.

The chief Kereru informed the Premier that his nephew would accompany him right through the country, so that he might see him safe to his journey's end. He said, "There is the country; you are free to go where you like and do what you like. My nephew shall accompany you, and see you safe to your journey's end, and then return."

## A ROUGH JOURNEY TO GALATEA.

The weather was now so bad that Mr. Seddon was strongly urged on all sides not to attempt the journey onwards. The rivers and creeks were in high flood, and some of the residents went so far as to say that if the party proceeded on its journey they would not answer for the consequences. However, the Premier would not be dissuaded. He returned to Mr. Gould's station, stayed there the night, and on the following morning the whole party made a start, Mr. Grant, the manager for Mr. Gould, kindly accompanying the Premier for some ten miles. It is impossible to describe the horse-track to Galatea: suffice it to say that the animals were simply crawling, slipping, and floundering amongst roots and mud from the time they ascended the hill till they reached the flat creek-bed. On arrival at Galatea the Natives welcomed the Premier, and performed a haka in his honour.

## MEETING AT GALATEA.

The following morning the meeting assembled. The proceedings were opened by the Ngatamana Tribe singing a song of welcome.

Hare Hare was the first speaker. He said,—Welcome to the Minister, father of the orphans I Welcome to the territory of Tuhoe, that you may see your people and also see the people of Ngatiwhare and Patuheuheu. We are all your tribes and under your *mana*. Come and give life to the people of this island. Come and attend to the Ngatimamawa and Urewera. The chiefs here represent them all. They are collected here before you. Come in company with my boy, *Timi Kara*. He is the one whom I sent to your great House to represent our matters to you. I instructed him to go and bring forth the offspring of our Parliament. (Chant of welcome.)

Rewi said,—Welcome, my friend! Welcome, you who occupy the position of one seeing to the interests of both races! O my friend, heretofore up to the present time your consideration has been stronger on one side than on the other, but if from to-day you adjust your attention carefully over both parties, good may come, of it. Therefore, you will hear what these people have to say to you. It is well you have come here. As you are visiting other places you should hear what each *kaianga* has to say. Welcome! Come and listen to what each has to say. You need not reply here, you can reply from your Big House in Wellington, after you have heard what you hear to-day. I must thank you for coming to visit us.

Pihopa said,—Welcome! the Government, come to see me, come to see the Tuhoe who were always troublesome in the past. Come in friendship, come in love! This course was adopted by our Saviour. I have nothing to say on behalf of the Ngatimanawa. They were always friendly to the Government, but Tuhoe has been different. However, "Let the past bury itself." Bring us love I If it is love you are bringing, O Premier, come to rule the destinies of this Island, come and give us a bit of your attention. Do not confine it to one race. Welcome, O Premier I If you instruct well your child he may grow up to be a credit to you, but I may point out that he may prove as easily spoiled as a spoilt child. Welcome to you, Mr. Carroll!

Wi Patene said,—Welcome to the representative of the Government! Welcome also to the Hon. Mr. Carroll, your colleague! It is well you have come here. It is your duty to come and see the orphans of our race. Come and visit these isolated parts, Ruatahuna and Tuhoe—Tuhoe who have not borne a reputable name in the

past. They have been the wild turbulent tribe of this island. Your coming may be the signal for everything to shine over the land. We have a lot to say to you. Welcome, O my friend, to Te Whaiti, at which place you are going to see the majestic hills and mountains! They remain, but the people have gone. You are like the snow which clothes the mountain-tops, which creates a freezing sensation. We hope you bring with you the sun that will take away that freezing sensation for a very long time, and that its warm influence will be felt over us. Again I say to you, welcome to Te Whaiti!

The Premier: To the tribes of the Native race here assembled, I offer you salutations, words of kindness, and good-feeling. My words, my salutations, and my kind greetings come to you from the whole of New Zealand. I am only expressing the wishes and feelings of over six hundred thousand pakehas when I say they send to you through me a very kind greeting and their good-fellowship. I have travelled a long distance to see you. I have encountered dangers and difficulties, but you are quite right when you say it is proper we should come and see you and meet you face to face. You are the remnant of a great race that formerly inhabited this island. It is well that those from a distance should come to see those who are here, so to speak, out of the world. It is right that we should bring you kind greetings and salutations. When your friends come from a distance to see you, when they come amongst you and let you know what is going on in other parts, it gladdens your hearts. When you feel lonely you go and visit your friends in other parts, and it gladdens the hearts of those you go to see. It is very pleasing to me to hear your welcome; it gladdens my heart, and will gladden the hearts of many others when I tell them of it. I am also very pleased to find the Ngatimanawa, Ngatiwhare, and Tuhoe present here to give me this welcome. It is very pleasant, and I am glad to be reminded that the Ngatimanawa have always been friendly towards the Government. Seeing the representative of the Government here to-day will remind them of that loyalty which they have always displayed towards the Queen and the Government. It must be also pleasing to the Ngatimanawa to find that the troubles of the past are not revived, and to see the Tuhoe with them welcoming the representative of the Government. You will be further pleased to hear from my lips that I have just passed the mountains after having seen the Tuhoe—a large number of them; and their chiefs have assured me, on behalf of Tuhoe, that peace and goodwill shall henceforth exist between you and the Government and between the two races. I have seen Natives from the east, west, north, and south, but when I met the Tuhoe and received from them this assurance, given in good faith to the Government, it made my heart rejoice, because I said the mist had been removed, and the light of day, the bright sunshine, was at last dawning upon them. The Ngatimanawa will be pleased, I know, when I tell them that the Tuhoe has decided to live under the British flag; they are going to have one at their settlement to remind them of their promise, and to cement the friendship that is to exist between themselves and the pakehas. The day is not far distant when the short distance between here and Ruatoki—the journey to which is fraught with much difficulty and personal risk, and which now takes so long a time to traverse—when you and the Tuhoe will be able to travel it with ease, and exchange visits with each other. One of your chiefs just now said we were like the snow; that when the snow appeared there was a freezing sensation, and he hoped we brought with us the sun, as the sun would take away that freezing sensation, and the snow would disappear for a very long season. There will be no freezing to-day. The sun shines above us all irrespective of race, colour, or surroundings. As that sun shines so do the Government wish to throw their protection over one and all of you in order that you may enjoy the warmth that belongs to you who belong to a noble race. It is our wish that you may increase and multiply, that you may prosper and live happy and contented. These are not empty words—not words only—it is not mere sentiment, it is the honest truth, spoken to you by one who desires to help you; not like the words spoken by one of your members last night, which were sarcastic. Still, he was very near the mark when he said that in the past the Prime Minister and the Native Minister had been like something kept in a glass case, afraid to meet the people and look at them; and when the Minister did come you saw a man like yourselves who had come to speak to you, only somewhat different in colour. I am the Minister *for* the Native race, not the Minister *against* the Native race, and there is no loss of dignity. I merely wish to speak to you as one friend should speak to another, because I come to see you to insure that our relative positions can be maintained with respect on both sides. It does not take *mana* from your *rangatira* because he sits with you and eats with you as one of yourselves. You still respect his *mana*—his position. I say it is impossible to govern you, it is impossible to help you, unless we know what your troubles are, and how we can best remove them once and for all. When we want to help the pakeha, when the Europeans are in trouble, when there is a cloud upon their minds, they command their *rangatiras* to send the Minister to come and see them to explain what the Government is doing, and they put their grievances before him. If the Minister did not do so, and try to remove those grievances, they would turn him and his Government out. They would say, "You are no good for us; we will get others." Now, the Native race have representatives in the Big House, in the Parliament House, in Wellington. It is true there are only four Native members in that House, but you have the same, if not a greater, proportion of representatives in the House than have the pakehas. It is to that Parliament you must look to redress your grievances. You must trust to that Parliament doing you and your race justice. You must see that I and my

colleagues lead that House and those members aright. It is our desire to help them on the right path—the path that will lead to prosperity. We wish to see the Native race and hear what they desire. Therefore, you have now an opportunity to speak out your minds. Do not let your minds disguise your thought, but speak as men. If your tongues are forked they disguise the thoughts that are within your minds; then you yourselves will be to blame. The chief of the Ngatimanawa said he looked upon my colleague, Mr. Carroll, as a son; that he had sent him to Parliament, and hoped he would do him justice. All I can say is he deserves credit for sending so substantial and promising a son to Parliament. My colleague is a very old son from so young a father. There would be very great difficulty, if we put the two together, in saying which was the father and which was the son. But there is no doubt whatever that my taking this son of the Ngatimanawa with me on this my trip to the Native race in the different parts of the colony has been a great advantage to me, and will greatly benefit the Natives. I feel sure from that fact alone that you may look forward to good results. One of the chief speakers here to-day said that no doubt I was here to listen, and that you would not expect replies to the matters brought before me, but that I would reply when I got back to the Big House in Wellington. Up to the present I have heard nothing but your good and kind welcome. Your songs of welcome are still ringing pleasantly in my ears. I shall ever remember with pleasure our pleasant social meeting last night, but I still desire to listen to you and to know what your wants, requirements, wishes, and aspirations are. I must apologize for not being able to give you timely notice of my visit, because if I had done so your numbers here to-day would have been ten times as great as I see before me now; but, as the pakehas say, it is not always from the numbers that you get the greatest wisdom, and there are quite sufficient representatives of the Native race and of the different tribes to lay plainly before the Government, to let me know, your desires, how you are situated, and to let me help you. Once more I thank you for your kind welcome. I am your friend; speak, and I will listen.

Mehaka said,—Welcome, *Timi Kara!* I am glad to see you here to-day with our parent. A truce to greetings. Now to business. My first word is this: We cannot finish our business to-day. You will have to give me until to-morrow. This is no small event, the fact of your presence here, considering the great office you hold in the colony. It is a marvel to us that you have exercised such fortitude and overcome so many difficulties to get here. Even your journey from Ruatoki to this place was no small task, and we can only congratulate ourselves that you have undertaken it to see us who live in these parts. I speak now on behalf of Patuheuheu. I have a grievance: I have land under cultivation, but I have no means by which I can convey the produce I reap from it to the European centres. I have now to make a request to you that a road be opened up from this side along the track you came yesterday so as to open up communication with Rotorua and Whakatane. It is time this place was connected with Ohinemutu by a good road. We should also be connected with Whakatane. The only outlets for my produce are Ohinemutu and Rotorua, and I should like to have an outlet by way of Whakatane, because it may so happen that I may get a better price for my produce at Whakatane than at Rotorua. Why should I be shut out from such a market? Another subject I will touch upon is the establishment of a school at Tahohi. I make this request to you to-day to establish a school there, and I want the Government to take for school purposes the two acres that I selected for a site. Enough on that subject. The third subject is a matter respecting Waiohau. This is a matter we took to Parliament when you, Mr. Carroll, also represented us in the House. If the Government can take this matter—that is to say, the dispute that existed and still exists between Mr. Piper and myself—into their hands, I would like it very much. When the survey of a certain road was going on the Government did not let the Natives know. These Natives might be excused for taking up a hostile attitude. I mention this because I think it is my duty to do so, and to save any misunderstanding, so that when the Government want to survey, ample notice should be given to us. We hope the Government will not think it was open hostility when we took up the attitude we did. You might also consider this: that my people had for a long time remained in obscurity in the recesses of their country, not going into the light, and that now on their first coming out they are eager to join with the new administration. They hear this would benefit them and offer facilities, and by doing this they should be encouraged. We are told the law will relieve the people. When the law confers benefits upon the people it should receive every encouragement. There is another matter I want to bring before you. There was a block of land investigated and sold to the Government. Now, some of my children were included in the titles as owners, and their interests were seized upon by the Government and transferred to the Public Trustee. I would like to have the administration of my own children's property. I should like their interests handed back to them, so that if they like to keep their property they can, and if they want to sell, I will sell for them. I now want to speak on behalf of the Patuheuheu people. They have always been a loyal tribe. Many took up arms on the side of the Government. Some of them are now tottering on the brink of eternity. Their time is brief in this world, and I think they should receive some consideration for their services in the past, which should not be forgotten. In conclusion, after pointing out the various matters to you, I would say I should like you, before this meeting is at an end, to show us how we can put all this to you.

The Premier: I will deal at once with the matters which have been brought under my notice by the last speaker. The first matter was the question of making a road through from here to Ruatoki so as to open up the

country, give the people facilities for travelling and taking their produce to the best market. Now, the Government is favourable to opening up the country so as to let the light of day in amongst the Natives, and give the Native settlers the best means of communication. But at Ruatoki the Natives had a meeting lasting from the end of February to the 4th of March, the result of which was that they decided that they did not want any roads at all; they would not have them. I was pained when I heard that, because they are standing in their own light; they are doing themselves an injury, and they are injuring you and their neighbours. Now, if the Government was to undertake to make a survey, and say, "We will put the road through in spite of you," then they might have cause to complain. But I have asked them to reconsider the matter, and explained to them that they were doing themselves an injury, and were injuring their neighbours as well. It would be well, I think, for those who want a road here, and to whose interest it would be, to consider the matter among yourselves. I met yesterday a large number of Natives going across the hill—and the road is almost dangerous to life, independent of the inconvenience, and you ought to seriously consider this matter amongst yourselves. The Government is favourable to the construction of the road-right through, and the construction thereof would find work for the Natives which would help them very much. There would be no evil effects if the road were made. It would not take the land, and it would not give the Government any greater power, but would give greater facilities to the Natives for travelling and conveying their produce to the market, and would open up the country to the world. Parliament will meet next June. We have some money now, and if that money is not taken for that work now, it will not be done perhaps for very many years. If you had better roads, the people who govern you would come to see you often. It is almost dangerous to life to come by the road you have at the present time. In fact, one of our party nearly lost his life last night. Talk the matter over amongst yourselves now, and let me know in time, so that I can reserve some money for that road, and then I can, when making that road, see that the different *hapus* have their share in making it. In regard to road-making and laying off roads, I listened with great attention to the remarks made to the effect that no notice had been given of the intention to survey the roads. Now, from this day forward I will give instructions that, in laying off roads, notice must be given to the Natives of the intention to do so before the surveyors are sent upon the ground. That will prevent any ill-feeling being engendered, and it would not cost anything. If it was European land the Europeans would know what was intended to be done, and they would receive notice. So my words are spoken. I will assist the Natives in that respect, and will see they are treated the same as the pakehas, and get due notice. Now, as regards the school. A letter has been received about it, but some question was asked about the titles to the land, and what block it was on. How many children are there?

The Natives: There are thirty-two at the school now, and the land is outside the Waiohau Block.

The Premier: My heart gladdens when I hear you ask for a school, and that you have devoted land for it. You ask for the benefits of civilisation. You ask that your children should be put upon the same footing as the European children. Your forefathers arranged that your children should have these advantages, and I will see that the boon is granted to you permanently. I want to point out one thing to you, however, and that is, that it is far better to have one large school than to have two or three small ones, always providing that the distance is not too great for the children to go to it; but your request is reasonable, because there is a river to cross, and there are no roads, and the little children could not travel so far under those circumstances. I now come to the next subject—the question in dispute between Mr. Piper and your tribe as regards this land. The matter has not come before me officially, and I am therefore not in a position to give you a definite answer to-day. I must make myself master of the details of the case, and deal with it accordingly. But Mr. Carroll tells me that an injustice has been done. On my return to Wellington I will look into the matter personally, and if, after going carefully through the papers, I find that an injustice has been done, then I say the wrong shall be removed. I believe the wrong done in the first place was not done by Mr. Piper, but that you are suffering from the wrong done by others. But all the same, if the land has been wrongfully taken from the proper owners, that wrong should be redressed. I believe the late Government did offer, if you took it to the Supreme Court, to assist you with money to get it through the Court, but you were led to take a course advocated by one of your own race. However, I will look into it, and if I can adjust the matter for you, as between the parties, I shall be only too glad to put it right. As regards the next question—the sale of the land, and your children's interest being handed over to the Public Trustee—that is the law, and the law being there, I cannot interfere. Now, what led to that law being passed was that there were some bad parents and trustees who did away with the children's interests, and when the children wanted their money it was all gone. Then it was said that the Public Trustee should deal with all such lands. I do not wish to cast any reflection upon you, because I believe you are good parents; but there are some bad parents who have wronged their own children. If we could in some instances give a discretionary power—that is, where we found the parents were good and competent to look after the interests of their own children—I think that is a matter worthy of consideration. Now, as regards the destitution of the Potuheuheu Tribe, I admit the force of your argument, that, having stood loyally and true to the Queen, and being now in a destitute condition, their case is one where the Government should assist, so that they should not

be in want. I should be deeply pained if I thought there existed any cases of that kind, where the old people were destitute or in want. There is a fund at my disposal out of which I can alleviate suffering of that kind. It would be better, therefore, for the *hapu* to meet and consult amongst themselves, and if there are one or two extreme cases, they might send in their recommendations to me so that I might consider them. I will leave that to you, relying upon your being truthful in what you represent to me. Nothing would give me more pain than to think that those who had been friends of the Government were left in want in their old age. I do not wish that, and will not let be if it is in my power to prevent it. Rest assured, you will not appeal to me in vain on behalf of your old and destitute people. Knowing as I do your kind feeling and the hospitality and assistance you render to your own race, I also know that you would not mention this matter if there were not some cases of destitution amongst you. I shall expect to hear from you when I get back to the Big House. I have now dealt with all the subjects that have been brought under my notice. We have got to ride to Te Whaiti to-night, and I should feel grateful if you would send some one on ahead to prepare a camp for us, and we could then stop a little later with you. But it would not do to run the risk of injuring any one of our party through wire fences. Considering that I scale 2001b. it would be rather a heavy fall for me if I came to the ground. If I can get to my destination before nightfall I shall be satisfied. I therefore hope you will be as brief as possible; but, at the same time, I want you to let me know the several matters you wish me to have attended to; but be as brief as possible.

Wharehuia said,—Speaking on behalf of the Ngatimanawa, in regard to the Whirinaki Block, we want that block subdivided, because we are selling it to the Government. We want the Court to go on with that block. The Ngatimanawa was told that the Public Trustee had control of the interests of their children. Very well, if we cannot manage it, we will hand it over to the Public Trustee. But I went to Rotorua, and found the same rule was not observed there. The people who would not hand over their land to the Public Trustee were allowed to sell as they liked. I wish you to look into this matter. There is no money for the Public Trustee to administer.

The Premier: I will do so, and see what can be done.

Wharehuia: The Ngatimanawa people have always been identified with the Government, and have never attempted any departure. I have nothing else to say. We have always acted with the Government, and intend to do so.

Te Waia: Salutations to you and those with you under the rule and sovereignty of our Most Gracious Majesty the Queen! (Song of welcome.) After hearing you speak to-day, and after taking notes of what was said on both sides, the meeting has been characterized by us as satisfactory to both parties. The meeting has been very satisfactory. The song you have heard was a song of triumph in the olden times. It was composed ages ago by our forefathers, and was sung on occasions like this, where everything terminated satisfactorily.

Hare Hare (head chief of the tribe): I am very pleased indeed at the way in which you replied to the subjects brought before you. On behalf of the Ngatimanawa I can only repeat, through the co-operation of the Ngatimanawa and Ngatiwhare, this country is now opened up. These persons I have just mentioned are all that are left of the older generations of the Ngatimanawa people. We are their descendants. We are the younger generation. We have never been in receipt of any special favours, and have never asked for any. The Ngatimanawa have never received any favours from the Queen, nor have they received appointments as assessors. All the surveys in this country were effected by the Ngatimanawa in obedience to the behest of the Government against all opposition; and every survey we have carried through successfully. All this land you see here was handed over unconditionally to the Government. We always acted under the instructions of the Government. I have carried out roads, surveys, land-courts, leases, and sales. Mine is only a small *hapu*. I have always stuck to the Queen, and I have been defended by the Queen; I have always been supported by her. Now, this is my application to you; I have told you I have always stuck to the Queen, and never troubled her much, or the Government either; but I am going to make this application to you. I want Te Whaiti surveyed off, and my own position defined. The Ngatimanawa is distinct from the Tuhoe. I do not want them mixed up with the others. I do not want the Tuhoe ring, or territorial boundary, as it is styled. I want my land dealt with distinctly from the others. 88 acres were given by the Government to my people out of that coast-line. That land is now in the hands of the Europeans. We want the Government to give effect to the kindness of the days of yore, and return us that gift. I take this opportunity of bringing this matter before you, because we know there is always an uncertainty that concerns everything, and you may be out of office by and by. So while you are in office I would like to have the thing settled. This was an absolute gift by the Government to ourselves, which was never received. Here is another matter: I collected a subscription towards the cost of making the road through my country. That money was in the hands of the Government agent. I collected that money with my own hands to form this road. Now, I ask the Government to make this road, which you will travel over, wider. It is my right; I have done so much, and I ask the Government to widen that road so that my carts can go through. There is another thing I would point out to you: By doing this you would tap the huge totara-forests. The timber trade would be developed, and would go in a great measure to Rotorua. This would tend to benefit, not only ourselves, but everybody. That would be the result, and I strongly urge upon you the necessity of granting my

request by widening this road. This is another matter: I want the Government to lease all this land which the Court has reserved for the Ngatimanawa in different parts, and give me the profit. As it is I can do nothing with it. I want you to give effect to all my requests now that you are a Minister. I do not want to mince matters. I have land over these ranges. I want to sell it to the Government. We have made many applications to the Government, but never received any replies to our communications. I shall cease now; I do not want to overburden you.

The Premier: It is just as well that you have reminded me that nothing has been done at all by the Government for you, and that no position of profit has ever been given to you. I can only express my regret that the services rendered by you have not been recognised sooner, and your application has all the greater weight because, notwithstanding all this neglect, you have still stood a firm friend of the Government. I know it must hurt your feeling sometimes when you see others, who have not at all times been friends of the Government, receiving favours; it must be painful to you, and it makes the obligation all the greater. But, as I said before, send to me at once, stating in what way you think help can be given, and that help shall be given. I shall expect to hear from you when I get back, and I give you this assurance: that your communication shall not be treated as in the past, but I will attend to it. Any promises I make I always perform. As regards the survey at Te Whaiti: At Ruatoki they objected to its being surveyed, and passed resolutions accordingly, and wanted me to stop all surveys, but I told them I would hear what you had to say before I would give a decision. I also told them that these people, who did not want to know what they claimed, would weaken their position if they did not want to know what they had got. If it belongs to them, and they have an interest there, why do not they find it out, so that every man could know what he owns? I have told them the Government can do it whether they like it or not. It is in the interest of the Native owners to know what they really possess. What belongs to them let them keep, and what belongs to you you are entitled to have and do as you like with. They know very well this, that all the country does not belong to them, and why should they assume a "dog-in-the-manger" attitude, doing nothing with it themselves and trying to prevent you from doing anything with it? I say it weakens their case. Well, so that neither case shall be prejudiced, the Government, which is a strong friend of both parties, wishes the two parties to come to a decision on this matter—to decide what is to be done. I will not decide to-day, but you know my opinion. I believe it is in the interest of all concerned to have the titles to the whole of the land ascertained, so that we may know who it belongs to. They are living in poverty and want to keep you in the same condition. You simply have the land to look at, but in the meantime you are dying off. This unfortunate state of affairs must be stopped, and the sooner it is stopped the better it will be for all concerned. I will say nothing further on that subject, because I have to speak to others that are interested as well as you. I am a fair man, and want to do what is right after hearing all that is said on both sides. Touching the 88 acres promised by the Government, I am not aware of any promise; but I will take your word for it shall have the particulars ascertained as to how the matter stands and whether anything can be done, and by what right Mr. Burt is now occupying it. Where I find your word verified by the record, the promise made by the Government, to the friendly Natives especially, ought, in my opinion, to be performed. I will therefore inquire into this on my return to Wellington. You might also write to me giving the particulars as to when the promise was made, together with the details of the circumstances, so so that I may trace the history of it. You will find this will not be like many letters you have sent to other Governments. You will find your letters will be attended to. Touching the next question, that you had contributed money for a road to Te Whaiti. That will be another reason why that land should be dealt with, because the road, of course, will go in that direction. The fact of your having spent your money makes the claim stronger that the Government should do something. Before I go to sleep to-night I shall probably know that there is a reason for making a road there. I tell you I am favourable to this being done in this country, and I am sure great benefits will result to both races by the opening up of these roads, and I will recommend to the Minister of Lands when I go back to Wellington that this road be improved and widened. Nothing can be done until Parliament votes the money for it, but I will bring it up before the Government, so that appropriations for the purpose may be made on the next year's estimates. I hope the Tuhoe will not object to that road the same as they have to the other. They do not often go that way, but they might certainly give you, who want to bring your produce to market, that convenience without being selfish and trying to stop it. It would strengthen my hands, and the hands of the Government, if you would send a joint request to have that road widened. I think I have dealt with all the main questions mentioned by you. As regards leasing and selling land to the Government, Parliament, has passed a law under which a majority of the owners can hand their land over to us to dispose of. All you have got to do is to send me a resolution carried by a majority of the owners, and I will undertake that the Government will sell for you. Send me particulars by letter of the land you want us to deal with, so that I can take the first steps necessary to have it done for you, and we will deal with it expeditiously; and you will get the best value to be got for this land. I have nothing further to say but to express my pleasure at having heard from you what your desires are, and that your requests are so reasonable.

Pihopa said,—I have no objection to the road, but, still, I must side with the tribal resolutions about the boundary; but the Minister has answered all the questions. I hail with pleasure what has been decided upon—that certain chiefs of the Tuhoe should go to Wellington and confer with the Government. Whatever is said in Wellington we cannot take exception to.

Maramu said,—The 88 acres mentioned by Hare Hare—that matter was put before Mr. Cadman; whether it will come to anything or not I do not know; but I see by the *Gazette* that the Court sits at Whakatane this month, and probably it will be brought up then. There is another matter I would like to draw your attention to. These people have suffered a great deal owing to the long distance they have to travel to attend the Native Land Courts. The subject of old soldiers' claims has been dealt with by other speakers. You have asked for our grievances to be submitted to you. There is one thing pressing very heavily upon us, and that is the mode of dealing with applications for rehearings. I refer to the sitting of the Court which inquires into the applications of those who are dissatisfied with the decision of the Native Land Court. In many cases where a judgment is given by the Native Land Court, the Court of Inquiry orders a rehearing, and the second Court gives the same judgment as the first. This creates inconvenience, and time is wasted. I know it is the law, and you cannot go against it; but what I ask is that you should get the law amended. The procedure could be much simplified. Argument has first to be heard as to whether there should be a Court; and why not settle then whether there should be a rehearing or not? If there are 100 European members in Parliament, there should be 100 Native members also. In administering the affairs of the country the Europeans want it all one way and the Maoris the other. Let there be two Native Ministers, and let both work it out.

The Premier: I hope you will not think me discourteous, but if you have anything further to say and have not time to say it now, write it down and send it to Wellington. I will now say a few words with respect to what the last speaker touched on. I quite concur with him that the Courts ought to be brought closer to where the majority of the people who own land are located. Great evils result from bringing the Natives into the large towns, and I intend for the future to bring the Courts as far as I can to where the Native owners whose land is going through the Court are located. I told the Tuhoe the same. The next question is the question of rehearings. I have come to the conclusion that the law as at present in force with regard to rehearings is very bad indeed, and it is our intention to alter it. I quite agree that when an application has been made and people claim that an error has been committed, in that case only there should be a rehearing by way of appeal. We do not have the same law applied to Europeans, and why it should be made to apply to the Maoris I cannot imagine. We wish so far as practicable to put the law as regards the Natives on the same footing as it applies to the Europeans. I have long felt that a great injustice has been done to the Natives by these rehearings, and expenses incurred by them through defects in the law. I will say nothing more now, but conclude by expressing to one and all our friendship and very good wishes, and the hope that the good feeling that now exists will ever continue, and that we shall be able to look back with pleasure to our meeting to-day. I hope you will be able to look back with pleasure to the time when the Prime Minister came amongst you Salutations, and farewell! Greetings to you all assembled!

## A START WAS THEN MADE FOR TE WHAITI

Which was reached at 5 p.m. The Premier received an enthusiastic reception, and a preliminary meeting was held at 8 p.m.

The first speaker was Tatu, who said,—Welcome the Premier, who comes in the name of our Most Gracious Majesty the Queen! Who has ever seen the Queen? We only see her as represented by her laws. Come to this place, the settlement of Te Whaiti! You see here the descendants of the people who made Te Whaiti a settlement. The leader of this place is absent, but nevertheless, come and visit the place! Come in company with Mr. Carroll, the member who was returned by us to represent our affairs in the great House of New Zealand; he who was sent to represent the Native people and advise what was for their good and reject that which was for their ill. This house we are in at the present time is called Roukiwi. I built this to conform to the laws of your Government. You instructed us to exercise the privilege of representation. I voted, we all voted, and this house was put up for that purpose. I have witnessed the evil which has befallen us through the survey. I have witnessed it befall the people outside of our circle. But at the present time I say to you, Welcome! bring here the new things that are created elsewhere; let us look at them. I greet you, the Government, especially for having come. If you have come here to bring salvation to the people, come! I repeat my greetings to you, the administrator of the law. We are also under the law. Sufficient!

Te Wharepapa said,—This is a time set apart wherein we offer our greetings to the Premier and his colleague. This place is Te Whaiti, and the *hapu* is Ngatiwhare. I have certain subjects to lay before you, but I would prefer doing so at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. At the present time I shall confine myself to

welcoming the Premier. This is the first time you have been seen in person by the Native people. The Native people have never been able to originate anything to themselves out of which they could obtain benefit or salvation. Everything has come from you. Consequently we congratulate ourselves upon witnessing, for the first time, the presence of the Premier of the colony amongst us. We are thankful and rejoice at being able to meet the Premier face to face, and exchange words with him. All communications hitherto between us have been by letter, and you can understand the extreme pleasure we feel in having the head of the law in person here to join us and to speak to us. When I lay my subjects before you, I shall have the pleasure of hearing you reply in words, with your own voice. But let me offer you my welcome. Have you come to bring good to the Native people, or have you come to bring evil? If you are here to bring that which will be good for the Native people, come! I take it that you were inspired to make this visit, to come among the Native people, and I only hope and trust that your present visit will be productive of good to the Native race. My address to you is now ended.

Kereama said,—It is a law with the Maori people to welcome those who visit them. My heart is full of gladness at seeing you in person. Salutations to you all! It is well that we should exchange greetings. The people you see now are the Ngatiwhare, who are living in their settlement at Te Whaiti. Welcome the Premier, bringing with you that which will put life into the Ngatiwhare! Hitherto it has only been through the ears that we have known you. Now we see you with our eyes, and that is a token that you have come to save us. Welcome because these people—the Ngatiwhare—have not yet seen salvation. They do not know even yet whether they are alive or dead. Therefore we hail with delight your visit to Te Whaiti, that the Ngatiwhare may see you, and that you may see them. I do not suppose we shall have another opportunity of seeing you. We may not again have such an opportunity. On leaving here you may vanish from us for all time. So we take this opportunity of inviting you not only to our place, but to request that you will put us in possession of what will be for our welfare. It would be well if it were possible that, having once broken the ice, you should repeat your visit. To-morrow you will be hidden from our view; you will be on your way to Ruatahuna. Tuhoe is there. Salutations to you all!

Wharehuia said,—Although I addressed you at Galatea, I have followed you to this place, the end of my boundary, and now I am on my native heath. I greet you, Mr. Carroll, especially, as you bring me such a visitor as the Premier. Take him round and show him all our *kaingas*. Let him see us as we are; let him hear our thoughts as they are. Hence it is I am so glad you have brought our Premier to us. The Premier may have heard of such places as Te Whaiti, and of such people as the Ngatiwhare, but whatever he may have heard must now sink into oblivion, because he is here in person amongst us, and he can see and hear for himself. The Premier will have an opportunity of seeing Ruatahuna to-morrow, and its people, the Tuhoe—see them as he sees Te Whaiti and the Ngatiwhare to-day. I will not touch upon any business in the meantime, because this day has been pretty well occupied by the Ngatimanawa and others, who addressed themselves to the Premier. All I want to do is to discharge my duty and pay my respects on the present occasion to the Premier. To-morrow my utterances will be in connection with business. At eight o'clock to-morrow I will speak. You are a stranger here, and according to our laws we welcome you as we are doing. Of course, to carry our laws out in their entirety, we should have given you a loyal reception when the day favoured us, but it is night now, and night is more congenial to the movement of spirits. I welcome you both to these parts. You are the great monster we have heard of, and, like our monsters of old, you have ever been clothed in mystery. You have never been here before, and now you have seen Te Whaiti and its people. Your knowledge of them hitherto has been only by hearsay. But now you are here you can see and judge for yourselves. I should not wonder but that the place and its people will form the subject of criticism by you. Come in love and friendship I You have dealt out love and kindness throughout the whole world. Under the rule that overshadowed us in the past it was darkness. We found the world dark, without love and friendship. The world is full of envy and hatred. It is you who can prevent the evils that beset the path of man. Do not forget your duty. The Government which you represent brought the light of civilisation amongst us, by which I can now sleep peacefully with my wife. I need not be on the alert lest the enemy should come to destroy me. In the old days, when our ancestors ruled, we were perpetually on our guard; it was not safe for a man and his wife to live by themselves; you required to have a stronghold represented by numbers and force for protection. In the light of that power and civilisation which you both represent, and as you are here on this occasion, do justice to us, exercise your privilege, exercise the position that you hold, and extend the benefits of that power and civilisation to the uttermost parts of our territory and surroundings. I contend that you have been selfish, and have confined the benefits of civilisation to your own race; but you have found us out to-day, still in the same condition—as savages—as we were in under our ancestors and forefathers. It is on account of that great and boundless love which has sprung from the power represented by you that I hail with satisfaction your coming here. I shall cease. I have said enough. (Song of welcome.)

Hiwawa Whataui said,—Although I met you, the Premier, at Galatea, I then met you socially and listened to your address at that place. Although I was pleased, that is not sufficient. I am now on my own ground, and I

pay my respects to you. Welcome, *Timi Kara!* Take the Premier over the four corners of the *kaianga*. Salutations to the Premier and all of you I May you live long! You have come among your people: that is right. Come, see them, and hear them. The visit of a Premier to the Native districts and people was a thing unknown in the past. When Mr. Cadman visited certain districts in New Zealand, in some of these districts he was the first Minister they had seen; but you and your colleague Mr. Carroll have excelled that step, because you are the first Ministers to visit Te Whaiti. I can hardly find words adequate to convey to you my pleasure, and the gladness of my heart at the honour you have conferred upon us and this settlement by your visit. Come, O Premier I Come unto us who are weary and heavy-laden! Come and lighten our burdens! This is Te Whaiti, and it is the Ngatiwhare who are addressing you to-night. Our hearts have yearned over and over again for a sight of the Native Minister, for a sight of the Premier. Come and witness our troubles—we will lay them before you to-morrow. Treat them kindly; treat them justly. It will rest with you to consider the several matters we shall lay before you. Discard that which is bad, reject that which is unreasonable; but sift them, dissect them, and separate the good from the bad. I know you have travelled over many parts of this Island, and have seen many Native tribes who have placed their different projects before you. It is your duty to select those which are entitled to consideration and leave aside those which are not suitable for practical purposes. In my case I give you notice that I will not analyse—I will leave that for you to do; but I will lay everything that is in my mind before you, and you can make the selection. To-morrow I will keep nothing back; I will lay everything at your feet. I would have you understand that the occasion of your visit to these parts is one which gives extreme joy to us the rising generation, who have had greater opportunities than the older people of witnessing the advancing works of the Europeans. We the younger members of the tribe congratulate ourselves that your visit should have taken place during our time. We may profit by what you will give to us in time. There is a generally progressive movement among the rising generation of the Native people throughout all the districts in New Zealand in the direction of grasping the benefits of civilisation. They are brought more into contact with the Europeans, and are observant of the strides the European works are making in the present age, and the spirit of emulation is strong in their breasts. There is no need on my part to waste words in offering you my respects. Many speakers have given you their congratulations, and it is no use my travelling over the same ground. When the time is limited to one subject alone, and that subject is an interchange of compliments between us, it necessarily follows that the tribe is confined to a margin for talk. So I will bring my remarks to a close. But before I sit down I will address you in song. It is an old practice to season speech with song. (Song of welcome.)

The Premier: Ngatiwhare, greetings I greetings of the most friendly character. It has been left to the Ngatiwhare to give to my colleague and myself one of the kindest welcomes we have received during our visit among the Native race. Though you are few in number, still, proportionately, your speeches this evening have been such as would reflect credit on the most intelligent and most learned among the pakehas. With no advantages, being simply children of nature, children residing in the forest, to speak as you have spoken, I, as a fellow-being, should be wanting in my duty to a noble race did I not express the very great pleasure I feel at the kind remarks that have been made; and when I heard my friend that met me at Galatea, when I heard his speech, I was very much impressed with it indeed. I felt that to some extent at Galatea I had done him an injustice, because I said time would not permit me to remain any longer there. But it is well, because when he came and spoke in his own home and among his own people, it lent greater weight, and it was much more pleasant to my ears than if I had heard him at Galatea, because at that time I was very anxious to get to my midday meal. But it seems that I am unfortunate, and doing an injustice to the older generation, because an injustice has been done to my aged friend here on my right. When I asked who he was Mr. Carroll said it was the same old man who was at Galatea. He has suffered because he is so much like the other old man in the corner. At the same time I know his words and those of his comrades at Te Whaiti were words of welcome and kindness to me. I am well repaid indeed for the fatigue of the journey from Galatea to Te Whaiti; but there are people who do you an injustice because they say the journey is much more difficult than I found it. They tell others that it is a much greater distance to come. Hence the injustice to Ngatiwhare and Te Whaiti. Now I have the honour, as you have stated, of being the first Minister that has come to this place and to see the Ngatiwhare and to speak to them as I do now, face to face. But I hope and trust I may not be the last; and though I am the first, I will endeavour to deal with matters in such a way that others will come and see you and hear you with pleasure, as I have listened to you to-night. You are, so you have said to-night, children of the forest, to some extent in darkness, and you seek to have light thrown upon you. You seek for information which you hope will be for the benefit of the Ngatiwhare. If I can in any way lighten your darkness—if I can in any way ease the burdens you have to carry—rest assured I shall do so, and it will be a labour of love. I am here for the purpose of doing you good. I am seeing the Native race in all parts of the island; and before I commenced this trip—perhaps it was an inspiration—but whether it was or not, the sole object I had in view was to benefit the Native race. I have been fortunate in having the assistance of my colleague, Mr. Carroll, who has satisfactorily

performed his duty to you. I tell you honestly, speaking man to man, irrespective of colour, it was honestly my one desire to benefit the Native race that made me undertake this journey. I would indeed be a bad man were I to come, as I have come here amongst you, partaking of your hospitality, sleeping, as I shall, under your roofs, did I intend any wrong to those who have treated me so well and so kindly. No; if I cannot do you good, I will do you no harm. Neither will I permit others to harm you. But I do feel confident that, after having met you as I am meeting you now,—after we have finished our business to-morrow, you will, as men having the interest of your wives and children and those whom you love most dearly in view, help me to arrange matters between us so that your position in this world will be improved. I speak plainly—I speak truthfully. I know that, talking of the older generations of the Native race, and speaking as the old man has spoken to-night, in former days you were always in dread, and were never sure but that the enemy might come amongst you, and you had to live together for mutual protection. There is always an uncertainty as regards life and property, and the children you love so well. That uncertainty has now been removed: that anxiety has gone, because you accept the protection of the Government, the law, and our Queen, who reigns over both races justly, fairly, and with love. I am her servant, and the chief adviser of her representative in New Zealand. The Governor, when I informed him of the journey I intended to undertake—when I told him the objects I had in view—wished me every success, and assured me he felt that, in doing what I proposed, I was doing it in the interest of both races, and that it would promote the welfare and prosperity of both. There are many great changes taking place. This is an age of progress. The circumstances are altering day by day. You in your isolation are prevented from knowing what is going on in the outside world. You have no opportunity of reading. There is no literature that can find its way amongst you. For you there is no possibility of visiting the large centres of population, and if you were to go there you would find yourselves strangers, and would scarcely recognise the surroundings. It is almost impossible that the older men could do this, but the younger generation probably have had an opportunity of seeing the larger centres; and when these younger men and women have this opportunity, and see the comforts, and the great strides that have been made, and see the surroundings of the pakeha, and even those of their own race, they will come back to Te Whaiti amazed with the scene. They would like to improve their position and the position of those they love, but all is darkness; they do not see how it is to be done or by what means, and their perplexity makes sadness come over them. They would like to better their position, and the surroundings of those they love, but they do not see how it can be done. Seeing that they are in doubt, seeing that all must be to some extent in doubt, if my coming here will help to remove that doubt, and show you how a brighter and happier future can be obtained, I say I shall be happy, and will try to remove that doubt with pleasure. Nothing would give me greater pleasure, while a Minister of the Crown, than to know that I had done something to promote the wellbeing of those who are here. Ministers go to the large centres, go to meetings where pakehas assemble by the thousand, and explain to them the position of the country, and what it is in the interest of the country to do by legislation and administration. The pakehas have their papers—two or three each day; they have a morning paper, an afternoon paper—perhaps two or three in one town. Each can read what is going on in the outside world. Notwithstanding this advantage. Ministers consider it advisable to see them and speak to them as I am speaking to you to-night. To be just, to be fair, how much more necessary is it that Ministers should meet the people who are isolated from the world, as you are here, to explain to them what is going on, and what concerns them. This in the past has not been done, and the fault lies with the Government, and I myself will take some share of the blame. Still, it is not too late. For the future we ought, so far as we can, to meet the Natives face to face, so that they can open their minds to us, and we can tell them what is best to be done in their interest. Since I have been round I can see that you are misjudged, and thereby wronged. The pakehas take up the position and say the Natives at the present time are doing a wrong to themselves, and a wrong to the country, and they throw the blame upon the Native race. But the fault lies with those who have never taken the trouble to ascertain directly from the Natives themselves what it is they want, and what would be best to do under those altered circumstances. The Native race does not know what to do. They are in doubt. They say, "We are in the dark; we are willing to do what is right. Show us the right thing to do, and we will help you. We do not want to injure the pakehas. What we want to do is to conserve our rights. We are the descendants of a noble people, and do not want to injure the pakeha. We do not want this, for we are afraid we will destroy our race. We only want to conserve our race, and that is why we are in the position we are in to-day." Still, as you have said here to me to-night, "Show us the way we should go; if you are here for good, you are doubly welcome; but let us know—give us the information we seek. You have knowledge, impart that knowledge to us. We are good people, teach us what is right so that we may do good to ourselves and our children." Since I have been through the country every one I have met has expressed the greatest pleasure at meeting me, and they gave my colleague and myself heartfelt thanks for coming amongst them to reason with them and show them what could be done to improve their position. As I have said before, if any of the pakehas had the land which belongs to you, they would be living in comfort on it, and would be a well-to-do, prosperous people. It is this doubt, this great uncertainty, the fact that you really do not know what a valuable possession

you have got, that keeps you in the position you are now in. There are others who claim your lands, and there is no one to decide to whom they especially belong. In days gone by when any dispute arose you had a way of settling it which did not increase the numbers of the Native race. You took means of settling these matters in a way of your own; but that is done away with. You still live in a state of uncertainty. You are wealthy and do not know it, and it is this uncertainty that is destroying you. Now, the Government and myself—speaking to you as a friend—tell you that we are desirous of removing that uncertainty. We wish to give you that which belongs to you, and with it you shall do as you like. We will protect and maintain you in that position, and the day that uncertainty is removed, the day the Ngatiwhare know absolutely what belongs to them, that day will be as the dawn of prosperity upon the tribe. Your forefathers, looking a long distance ahead, looking into the future, considered that the time would arrive when this should be done. By the Treaty of Waitangi they laid it down that the Government was to do this for you, and the Government was to be your protector. They also foresaw that if their children were to be brought up in ignorance it would prove their curse. To prevent this ignorance obtaining, they stipulated that education should be given to the Native race. Ngatiwhare, you are rich. Are your children being brought up so that they can read and write? Can they write to their parents and tell them what is going on in the outside world, or are they going on in darkness so as not to be able to hold their own for want of education? Does the Ngatiwhare desire to remain with darkness overshadowing it, or do you want to receive the enlightenment of education which the Government is only too pleased to give to you? Does the Ngatiwhare desire still to remain isolated, with no means of communication with the outside world, or would it prefer to have roads so that the people may visit other places, and enjoy the benefits of what is going on throughout the colony? I speak to you as a parent would speak to his children, advising that which is in the interest of those that he loves. You must advance with the times; if you do not do so, and prepare for the day that is coming, disaster will overtake the Ngatiwhare. The pakeha, in order that his children can keep pace with the times, and that disaster may not overtake them, are spending in education for the children of this colony over £300,000 a year. Now, how is it possible for your offspring to compete fairly with people who are receiving the benefits of education and civilisation? You cannot have these benefits if education is not given to your children. By keeping your children in ignorance you are absolutely making them slaves—you are leading them into slavery. A parent who loves his children would not do this wilfully. The Native people love their children. You are not leading them into slavery wilfully, you are doing it in ignorance. If you had the means of communication to-morrow; if you were to grow maize and oats more than sufficient for your requirements; if you were to raise sheep or cattle, you have not children amongst you who could tell, when you sent your produce to market, and received the money for it, whether you had been treated honestly or not. Your children should be able to make out your accounts and see whether you are being dealt with fairly or not. If we were to send amongst you to-morrow books or papers to be read, which would show you what was going on in the outside world, how many are there of you who could read them, and get the united opinion of the Press of the colony? How pleasant it would be if the children were to sit and read to their parents and enlighten them where ignorance now reigns supreme. How pleasant it would be for the aged, your grandfathers and grandmothers, how pleasant it would be for them to have read to them, through the lips of their grandchildren, that the dreams of their early years were being realised, and the race was improving. But it is impossible as things are. They live in darkness and pass away without the light of true civilisation being communicated to them. You seek honestly, I know, to improve your condition, and even to-night, while we are amongst you, the greatest desire on your part would have been to have entertained us in a much more fitting condition than you have, but you have entertained us in the best way at your command. It is not that we have not been well received; on the contrary, we have had a kind and friendly reception, and have been well treated; but what I mean to say is, that your desire would have been to have received us in a different manner, but it is this uncertainty that prevents you. I am here to direct and advise you as to how you can improve your position. What is more than that, I am in a position to protect you against those who would do you wrong. What has fallen from your lips is now recorded; it is a matter of history. It will go forth to the world; it will go to the Queen. It will show to the outside world that you are not a people taking up a negative position, keeping back the colony, or injuring the pakehas. You want that doubt removed so that both races may prosper. The position that my friend and colleague, Mr. Carroll, and myself are placed in is, that there is an almost overwhelming pressure being brought to bear upon the Government. Some advocate extreme measures being taken towards the Native race, because, they say, you are taking up a negative position, and will not allow the Government to do anything for you. This pressure is becoming so great that I determined to see for myself, and place matters fairly before the world. (Laughter.) Well, it is no laughing matter. Do not treat it lightly. My words of warning should not be treated lightly. Treat them lightly, and do not give them consideration, and trouble must eventually overtake you. You are not aware, perhaps, that there are now in this colony six hundred thousand pakehas, while there are only forty thousand left of the Native race. The Native race is decreasing and the pakehas are increasing so rapidly that I have warned you of the dangers that beset you. Last year, I think, we had an increase of twenty thousand people. To-night you have wisely said

that you will go into business to-morrow. I will then make matters plain to you, and, while I am doing so, you must open your minds to me, and keep nothing back. Though you may hurt my feelings, still, keep nothing back, let me know what is troubling you, what the mist is that enshrouds your minds; because it is only by dealing fairly, straightforwardly, and plainly that good can result. Your words to-night, so far, have conveyed a kind greeting. You have followed what has always been the custom of your race, to treat the stranger who comes into your midst with hospitality. I know that you are sincere in all you have said, and that you wish my colleague and myself well. Your words were pleasing, and the songs of welcome I shall ever remember with the greatest pleasure. I am a lover of song and music, and it is pleasing to me that in that respect you possess the accomplishment. In your so possessing it, it reflects great credit upon you. All the nations of the earth enjoy the pleasure of song and music; hence, when I heard your songs to-night I felt pleased indeed. I will conclude my words to-night by offering to one and all a kind and friendly greeting. Salutations! (Applause.)

## THE MORNING MEETING AT TE WHAITI.

On resuming at 8 a.m. on the following morning, Tuhi Tuhi said,—These are the subjects we wish to place before the Premier: (1.) A school to be established at Te Whaiti. We do not wish our children to remain in ignorance any longer. This is a matter for the delegates to settle when they get to Wellington. We agree to give three acres of land as a site for the school. That we can settle to-day. (2.) The survey of To Whaiti. This is a matter the people think they should consider, and then submit their decision to you in Wellington. These are all the subjects I have to put forward. Others will probably bring other subjects before you. I have to inform you that the old man of the Ngatiwhare has only just now arrived.

The Premier: It is very pleasing indeed to me to hear the words which have fallen from the lips of my friend who has just sat down, more especially as regards the school. I look upon the opening of a school here as the means of elevating the Ngatiwhare, and placing them in a superior position. To be educated is to be strong in mind and body. I shall feel when once the school has been established that my visit to the Ngatiwhare has been a blessing to them, and that the children will bless their parents for the decision they have arrived at to have a school. As regards a definite decision upon the matter, I understand that, and will mention to the Minister of Education with pleasure the offer of the three acres of land for the school site. I can, with some degree of reflection upon the pakehas, say that when the Natives agree to have a school, they are generous and devote land for the purpose. The pakehas have never yet—though they have had the benefits of education—shown the bright example that has been set them by the Native race. There is another advantage: When the school is established here, if you get a good teacher, and he has a good wife, they will probably understand something about medicine, and when sickness overtakes you may be able to give you some relief. I am of the opinion that all teachers sent into Nativ districts should be married men, and should have a knowledge of medicine so that they might be able to alleviate the sufferings of those by whom they are surrounded. On behalf of the Government I will see that they are supplied with medicines so that they can help you. Not only that, but when there are matters of public importance transpiring in other parts of the world they will be in a position to let the Natives know by telling the children, who can then tell their parents. You would have amongst you a superior man, who would be able to educate the children and assist the adults, besides acting as Postmaster, &c. You could then get letters through to Te Whaiti. All these advantages will come to you with the education of your children. I told you last night that when we came to talk business I should let you know what was really in your interest, and I have only pointed out as yet one or two benefits that would accrue to you if you let civilisation come to Te Whaiti. As regards the survey, you have told me you are considering that amongst yourselves, and will let me know later on in Wellington. I told the Tuhoe that, at any time they found themselves in trouble, and had matters that they desired to lay before the Government, the Government could not always go to see the Tuhoe and Ngatiwhare, but they could come to Wellington, and that we should be pleased at any time to meet them. I was your guest last night. When you come to Wellington you shall be the guests of the Government. I know it is the want of means that keeps you isolated and prevents you seeing the Government. You have been blamed for this, because it is said, "Oh, they do not come to see the Government; they stop in their own country isolated, and they remain there"; and the people have blamed you because they have not thought of your necessities. They never think how they would act if they were in your place. Now I have seen what I have, I can understand it. It must not occur again. Now that the two races are brought together, there must be a bond of union so that it never can be again torn asunder. I must ask you to put everything shortly, as we want to be on the road again.

Tuhi said,—If we decide on the survey, 5d. an acre is too heavy a charge.

The Premier: I quite agree with you. There are two things the Government should do. The Government should make the surveys and send out respectable and good men who will act friendly towards the Natives and

make the surveys at the lowest possible cost. All the Government want is to see the Natives get their titles properly ascertained. We do not want to see the land eaten up by expenses. It has been so, I admit, in the past, but we must try for the future to stop expense as much as we can, so as to have the land for the Natives.

Rewi said,—Although Mr. Carroll belongs to us, I must address myself to the Premier. We recognise the two as standing between the Europeans and the Natives, and that is a matter for congratulation. Furthermore, we ought to be extremely pleased at what has happened. I thought that I should load myself with my subjects and trouble and lay them before you, but you have come to me and asked me to state them myself. The main subject for which I wish your presence here is the school, so that our children may be enlightened. I want the light of education and civilisation to pierce the darkness which has enveloped us for so long, and although this subject of the school has been mentioned by the first speaker, it is a matter of such importance that I hope you will excuse my mentioning it again. I have heard your reply and am much pleased therewith. My second subject is the survey of the road. Although brought before you by the Ngatimaniwha, it will bear repeating. The road from Ohinemutu to Galatea is opened, but now we want the connection between Galatea and Te Whaiti completed. You saw evidence yourself yesterday in coming along that it is not a road fit for carting produce to these parts. You saw the wagon with a tent over it. I want this road completed and widened as soon as possible. I now leave the matter in your hands; it will be for you to decide whether it is to be done soon or to be delayed. As far as I am concerned, I should like it done to-morrow if it were possible. Send me word when you get to Wellington. Do not let this work stand over till June or July. As you touched upon the advantages of communication and other questions, I may say that you must first establish the school, and everything will evolve from that. Where a set of subjects are not identical with each other, then I would make a special demand, and that demand is for the mail. Now, about the survey: that is placed in my hands. I hold it; I do not want any one else, either Maori or European, to interfere with what concerns me only. I do not want to treat with outsiders respecting the question of my land. Now you have come here I announce to you my decision in the matter. I am going to get the survey carried out. Other people have spoken to you about surveys and their own respective matters; but the Ngatiwhare are speaking to you now on their own platform. I myself went in person to Auckland to arrange about a survey of Te Whaiti, and to see the Government about it, but the Government put so many obstacles in my way and loaded the survey so heavily with expenses that nothing came of it. I have nothing to say about Tuhoe's matters; they can look after their own affairs. I confine myself to my own business, and this is what I want done with my affairs. I am the Ngatiwhare. This is another matter: I have never received anything at all from the Europeans, but what I now ask for is a flag. I want you to give us one. Wharepakau is to be the name of the flag, which is the origin of the Ngatiwhare. Another request I have to make to you is this: I would like the Government to give us a section of land at Ohinemutu. We are constantly going there; that is our chief port, as it were. We suffer very much in going on our journey to Ohinemutu on account of having no place to stay at when we get there. Other tribes who visit Ohinemutu have their relations living there with whom they can stay. They belong to a separate tribe altogether from ours; they are not relatives of ours. You really must give effect to this application.

The Premier: To save time I may say that the request is already granted. There shall be some land at Ohinemutu set aside for the Ngatiwhare.

Rewi, continuing: I would like a section opposite the boiling springs, so as to obviate the necessity for a fire to cook our food. There are many other subjects, but the school will settle them; all will follow in due course.

Hiwawa Whatanui said,—All subjects have been mentioned, but I will just run over them. First of all the school: that has been replied to. I may tell you we have not been asleep. We have already made an application to the Minister of Education about a school, and he has replied to us in the affirmative. I have got the letter from him dated 3rd of March, 1894. You will see the Ngatiwhare has already been in communication on this matter. Now, what I want to say is, we are holding this question of a school tightly in our hands, and when you get to Wellington I will communicate with you, and the whole question can be settled there. The particulars as to site and everything can then be arranged absolutely. I also have the survey question under action, and I wish to keep that also in my hand and fix it up absolutely with you in Wellington. It is too big a matter to arrange by letter. The same will apply to the question of the road. All these matters we can arrange without shifting about between this and that place. Any communications you have in respect to these matters I wish addressed to me. My address is Hiwawa Whatanui, Te Whaiti, Fort Galatea, *via* Rotorua, Auckland.

Raharuhi said,—I indorse the remarks of the previous speakers. The *mana* of the Queen is already at Te Whaiti. Get a road there and the survey carried out. It is well to have the titles to these lands ascertained. It is for our benefit especially. In the old days our education was confined to teaching the young the use of firearms. Their physical development was attended to; that was the chief feature in our old school, but now we must educate the mind. The mind is the power of the present age.

Paraone Meihana said,—It was only last evening that myself and the old man arrived from Napier, and we have not had an opportunity of giving you welcome, and, as we are anxious to do so, I say, Salutations to you

all! Welcome! I indorse all the remarks of the previous speakers in respect to the school and the survey. In these matters treat with the Ngatiwhare. So far as this place is concerned, I do not want you to start a school or survey to-day, but when you get to Wellington you will probably see some of us there, and we can arrange everything.

The chief Hamiora Potakurua said,—Salutations to both of you! I welcome you in the name of our Blessed Saviour, whose religion it was to love and diffuse that love throughout all mankind. Let us here to-day emulate the example of that Great Teacher and the love of that Great Master. With respect to the different subjects which have been submitted to you, there is nothing to say beyond supporting what has already fallen from the lips of the younger people. The survey, the school, and other matters have already been mentioned by them. I desire all these wishes of theirs fulfilled before I pass away to my forefathers. You can see I am an old man, and have not much longer to live. Let me see these things come to pass before I go hence to be no more seen. Let them take place while I am alive, O Premier! The principal subjects which have been laid before you—the road, the survey, and the school—these sum up the whole of the business affecting this tribe. These are the subjects which gladden my heart. I say again, I am alive at the present moment, let these things be done in my time. That is all.

The Premier: I am deeply gratified to find the elder chief of the tribe here this morning. It must be pleasing to the Ngatiwhare that he has arrived before I left, and that I have seen him in person and in the presence of all. I will now shake hands with this old and respected chief, and in person welcome his presence here to-day. I rejoice at having had an opportunity of shaking hands with him before he passes away. This is the position the Government, my colleague, and myself take up. We say that as every day and every week of time that passes without your having your titles defined, there is great danger. We must see that this is done—that justice is done to you before you are gathered to your forefathers. You are the connecting link with the past; you represent the past generations. With regard to the younger men, if this link is severed evil will befall them, misfortune will befall the younger generations. Others will reap where they have not sown; others will get in error that which belongs to the Ngatiwhare. I therefore, so far as the Government is concerned, wish to have that which belongs to you clearly defined and satisfactorily settled. I think your voices have a right to be heard and your wishes complied with, more especially as regards the survey of Te Whaiti. When I see you in Wellington I shall then have seen the people right through the district and can come to a conclusion. You know my views in the matter. I wish to be fair and do what is just to all concerned. I will therefore finish my journey before I give a final decision. I do, as a friend, as one wishing the Ngatiwhare and the whole of the tribes well, advise them, before it is too late, to have the titles to the land ascertained, so that they can know what belongs to them and what will go down to their children. I will now leave the question of survey, and go to that of a road between here and Galatea. I may tell you in that respect that after hearing your wishes in the matter I am favourably disposed, and if I can arrange for it to be gone on with I will do so even before next June. Wherever a road is made, progress and prosperity follow it. Whilst the schools educate the mind through the schoolmaster, the road also educates because it gives the older people an opportunity to meet their friends, and they get the news of the outer world. Without those roads their visits would be very few and far between. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than for the old man to live to see you able to drive in a buggy from here to Galatea. I notice he is getting frail, and riding on horseback would be exhausting, but he could drive in a nice buggy along a good road. If there was a good road between here and Whakatane, and between here and Ohinemutu, the visits of Ministers would be more frequent than they have been in the past. And now we come to the request of the Ngati whare, that they may have a flag given to them to commemorate this visit, and thereby to know that you have the same protection afforded you as the other parts of the Queen's dominions have, because the sun never sets on her possessions. If you want that flag and that protection you shall have it. I have already told you that, as regards setting apart a piece of land for the Ngatiwhare at Ohinemutu, it shall be done. You shall have that land. If you had a piece of land there upon which you could camp it would be of benefit, and I will see that you have it. I think I have now spoken upon all the subjects. I am glad to see that letter you have received from the Education Department. If you have no map to mark the principal piece of land I will get the Chief Surveyor to send you one, so that all these particulars can be fixed, and the three acres marked off which you wish to give, and then we can get the matter completed without delay. As to the investigation of the titles to the Whirinaki and Herewera blocks, the Government have no power over the law. When once a decision is arrived at, the Government have no power over rehearings, and cannot interfere, unless there has been absolute fraud. The Supreme Court is the only tribunal that can interfere. But it would be well if you were to reduce to writing the matters complained of, and send the particulars down to me, so that I may make inquiries as to how the affair stands. I will now conclude by expressing to you the very great pleasure I have experienced on this my visit to the Ngatiwhare. I must also express my thanks to Hiwawa Whatanui and his wife, who, on behalf of their grandfather, have done the honours of the house, and have so much contributed to our comfort while here. They have entertained us, and we thank them for their attention. I hope the Ngatiwhare will rest satisfied that they have nothing to regret. We have been well entertained and received

here, and shall remember our visit amongst you with very great pleasure indeed. Salutations and a kind farewell to the Ngatiwhare, and may you prosper!

The party then proceeded on their journey to

## TE MIMI,

hoping to reach there before nightfall, but, having made such a long stay at Te Whaiti, they had to camp in the bush. The next morning a start was made, and Te Mimi was reached by noon. From here the Premier proceeded to

## RUATAHUNA,

a distance of seven miles. Here another meeting was held.

Teihana was the first speaker. He said,—This is our great house Matatua. It is not much of a place for visitors, but come; welcome the Premier!

Hautaruke said,—Welcome to Ruatahuna! Come and see these people. Welcome, Mr. Carroll, with the Premier! Come in love; we greet you. It is well. Go where you like over this country. See the country and its people if you wish. We expected you to come to see us. We are on the move ourselves. We are going down to the Court. We are glad to comply with the European laws.

Te Whare Kohia said,—Welcome, Mr. Carroll, to Ruatahuna! I have only heard of you, Mr. Carroll, as the one returned to represent us. I now see you in person come to Ruatahuna. All our chiefs are gone; there are very few here now to welcome you. This is, no doubt, a historic place in the European mind. It is not much of a place when once you have seen it. Come, if you are so inclined, to kill the people on the land. If you have come to show us light, well and good. [Song of welcome.] If it is for our good that you leave our side and are standing for the Europeans, I trust it will turn out all right. I hope you and the head of the Government will not forget our race. I am glad you have brought him here to see us. I cannot see into the future; I do not know what is in store for us. If you cannot do anything else for us, let us have your love. Remember what the Great Master said: "Love thy neighbour as thyself." No matter how we decide among ourselves, it will always be pleasing and to our mutual benefit to remember that great teaching. Welcome the Premier! Welcome to Ruatahuna! Welcome to this place! It was anxiously considered by Sir Donald McLean when he was in power. His old friends the chiefs are gone. He had always a care for us and endeavoured to save us from getting into trouble. We have never been attended to since his old friend Paerau passed away. Only the young children are left. Come, let us see—be it for good or be it for evil; but I do not think there is evil in you. There never was evil in you; it was my own fault, it was our own fault. We are more to blame for the ills that have befallen us than we can ever credit the Government with. [Song of welcome.] Welcome, great man of the colony! It was always said that the Government were careful of the interests of all Natives, both small and great. Come and bring with you the good tidings! Do not be like those of the past, unapproachable by us. If you had returned to your home without seeing us we might have had reason to think you were like the others, but, having taken the trouble to come through this country, we feel very much pleased to see you. There are other lands you will travel over. This is hardly a fit country for a man like the head of the Government to travel over. Welcome!

Mita Haaka said,—Welcome here to Ruatahuna, Mr. Carroll, bringing with you your illustrious companion! Welcome to you both! You represent the word of the old chiefs who are gone. When they were alive you were the selected one to represent us. This, now, is the first time we have seen you in person. You can explain to us the object of your visit. Now that you are a different man you have come to see us. We may not agree on many things worldly, but, notwithstanding all our differences, our mutual love is strong, and if that exists between us it will cover a multitude of sins. We have no business to discuss with you. We are only glad to see and welcome you. If, on the other hand, you have anything to say we will hear you. Welcome the pakehas, welcome to Ruatahuna, if you wish to see it! This house is Matatua; it represents the prestige of the place. Had you given us due notice, we would have been able to arrange a programme to discuss. Suffice it to say we see one another. We know you are going on your way to Waikaremoana and Wairoa, and you turned aside from the track to visit this people, but that need not hinder you. If you have anything in your breast express it to us, teach us. (Song of welcome.) We sing and welcome you, O great man of this Island of Aotearoa. If you do not succeed in seeing this outright, come again.

Te Pukeiotu said,—Salutations to you, Mr. Carroll! We were the first of the Island to return you at the last election to administer the affairs of the Maori people. Although this is your first visit, we know you by name—by connection—and the time when you changed to go through a European constituency to be returned

is coincident with your visit here. This is Ruatahuna, and the two great chiefs of this country, Paerau and Te Whenuanui, in the days that are past and in the days of the voice of Sir Donald McLean, arranged that this territory should be kept inviolate, and that they should reign supreme in this part, and that was given effect to by Sir Donald McLean. Mr. Locke was District Commissioner, and when he came here he represented the Government. These chiefs arranged that all Government matters should be excluded from this boundary—namely, roads, leases, wrongful sales, mortgages, and everything that is vile. There was then a protectorate over this place, to protect these people against the advances of the Europeans. I now address the Premier. Welcome in the name of the Government! Welcome as the representative of the Government! Welcome to Ruatahuna! Look at the land, inspect the people! These are some of the people. There are some at Ruatoki. You saw some at Te Houhi. They are spread all over this country. I am very pleased indeed that you have come here—that you, O Premier, have come to see this place and to see us. No other tribes have ventured into these parts because the Tuhoe are living all round the borders thereof.

The Premier: Friendly greetings to all the Tuhoe here at Ruatahuna. You have given me a cordial welcome—a welcome in words and a welcome in song. My heart rejoices to meet you and to hear your welcome. You asked the question. Had I come here for your good, or had I come for evil. My reply is,—and I speak for the pakehas of the country,—I come here for your good. Would the relatives of Kereru, your relations at Ruatoki, your friends, the grandson of the chief of the Ngatiwhare—would they bring through this country a man that would do you evil? I spoke to your friends at Ruatoki. I had their welcome and assurance of friendship and their desire that all should live in love and peace together. You said truly that Tuhoe lives at Ruatoki. They are also here, at Te Mimi and at the lake, and I desire to see them all, and that is why I am here amongst you to-day. Now that we have met face to face, let all the troubles that have hitherto existed be removed. You have reminded me of my old friend, Sir Donald McLean, who has been gathered to his forefathers. You have told me of the chiefs who were associated with him, your illustrious relatives—that they have also been gathered to the bosom of their forefathers. Well, let us say now that, as Sir Donald McLean was the friend of your forefathers, so I have come here to-day to tell you that I am prepared, and it is my desire, to be the friend of the present generation. The friendship that was cemented between your forefathers and Sir Donald McLean by his having been amongst you and having seen the people of that day, so let it be a new friendship and love between us and those who are here to-day of the Tuhoe. I speak for those over whom I am placed to govern; for Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, who governs over all; for the Governor who represents her. I say it is their desire also that the Tuhoe should increase in numbers and live in prosperity. You leaders of the tribe, you know better than I can tell you that you are not prospering, and that your people—those whom you love—are passing away—not passing away after living to a good old age, but passing away before their proper time. That, I say, should be stopped. Those of you that are left should endeavour to keep alive and acquire prosperity for all who are near and dear to you. Now that I am here to-day, let us confer together. Open your minds; speak to me as chiefs on behalf of your people. I shall then speak to you on behalf of both races, because I am the *rangatira* of both—not only the *rangatira* of the pakeha. You have told me to-day that I have not given you proper notice. I can only express my regret, and at the same time I desire to explain to you that it was impossible for me to say when I could arrive. But I am here, the day is young, there is time yet for you to confer. You have given me your friendly greetings, you have opened your mind slightly, but there is time yet for you to see to the matters you desire to bring before the Government. You have not the excuse now to say that the Government have never been with you, for the Government is now face to face with you. You mentioned that you had here the house Matatua. It reminded me of the canoe Matatua. It recalls the days when those chiefs first came to this land. They were men who spoke their minds. They were far-seeing men, and founded a great race. Your friends at Ruatoki told me that in the past—and you have repeated it here to-day—the troubles that have arisen were brought about by the Maoris themselves, and they did not altogether blame the Government. They also at Ruatoki passed their word to me that in the future they would work with the Government, recognising that the Government would treat them fairly, and because they saw evil coming if they did not do so. They also told me that, when other tribes had a difference with the Government, and the Tuhoe had gone to assist them, the tribe had suffered because they had assisted their brethren who were in trouble. They also told me that they had been reduced in numbers and impoverished thereby; that their trouble had not commenced so much amongst themselves as by assisting others; but that from that time forward—from the time when they were speaking to me—they gave me an assurance, which I shall convey to the representative of Her Majesty the Queen, that, no matter what trouble there is with others, there will not be any further trouble so far as the Tuhoe is concerned. To hear these words of wisdom, to hear a decision of that kind, which is in the interest of the Tuhoe and both races, more than repaid me for the fatigue and great trouble I have taken in coming to see them and speak to them face to face. My colleague can tell you that great changes are taking place; that the pakehas are increasing in numbers very rapidly; that there are now over six hundred thousand of them in this country; and that last year their number was increased by twenty thousand. Now, the Government has to control, guide, protect, and assist

both races. They do not govern the pakehas only. Now that I am here it is for you to open your minds and to assist me, so that I may do justice to you and prevent evil befalling you. Now, I do think—and I speak from my heart when I say it—that you have, so far, been misjudged; that the position taken up by you has not been understood. You could not go to see the Government, and the Government have not been to see you; but that reproach has now been taken away, because the Government is here, in the person of myself, speaking to you. On my return to the great city, and when the Parliament meets, I shall be able to tell them that I have met you, spoken to you, and found you quite different to what you have been represented by others to the world. You have been represented as a people who did not want to see the Government. It has been stated that you defied them, and would not allow them to come near you. Now I can say that the Government have been here, and have been welcomed; and that you have told the Government to go over all the land of the Tuhoe and see all the people. The reproach I have mentioned shall be taken from you, because I shall very plainly tell your traducers that their statement is absolutely incorrect, for I have met with nothing but goodwill in the welcomes that have been given me, in your words, in your songs, and in your deeds since I have been in the land of the Tuhoe. I am the first Prime Minister that has come here to meet you for very many years. In fact, I think I am the first Prime Minister who ever came here; and I think, from my experience in travelling over them, that if there are no better roads made I shall probably be the last. I do not wonder that your visits to one another are few and far between, for there is a great risk when you go to see your friends among the mountains that you will never come back. But, notwithstanding the great fatigue, notwithstanding the difficulties in the way, your welcome this morning has more than compensated me for coming to see you. I am still, I am pleased to say, very substantial; and, after having put up with the fatigues on the road, I can put up with any fatigue in having to listen to your wants and requirements. If you are *pouri*, tell me what causes it. If there is mystery and darkness in your minds and mist in your eyes, let me clear that mist away that your hearts may be glad. It is for the purpose of hearing from you what is in your minds that I am here. I tell you plainly you are not prosperous. I am not blind; and you are not as prosperous as I would desire to make you. I see a number of children and young people here, and I see no education going on. Without giving these children education, their parents are condemning them to slavery. As the world is progressing, and with the changes that are taking place, education is now a necessity. The real gladness that comes with civilisation comes with education. As compared with others of the Native race who have seen that their children received an education, you will find they have been better able to look after the land than where they have been kept in darkness as to education. At Ruatoki the Tuhoe have asked the Government to establish a school, so that this reproach may be taken from them and that their children may be able to compete with the world, as they will have the advantages of education. At Te Whaiti the Ngatiwhare have asked, and have given land, for a school, and have asked that the darkness may be taken from them. Your forefathers, by the Treaty of Waitangi—and if that treaty had been kept faithfully by both sides these troubles could never have occurred—I say they saw by that treaty the great necessity for education, for they stipulated that their children should be educated; and I say that those parents who have not seen fit to give their children the benefits of education have not been good parents to them or done their duty by them. Our Great Master has laid it down that we must not simply eat, drink, and pass away, but that we should leave something behind us to improve the condition of those who follow us. I will speak your mind, I will speak for you now—and the Tuhoe parents here to-day who listen to my words know I am speaking the words of truth and am giving them good advice as a friend. I know that the minds of the fathers and mothers here are dark, because they tremble for the future of their children and do not see their way clear. I say that doubt is causing the chief trouble amongst you. If I can remove that darkness and doubt, my visit here will have been a very great pleasure indeed. And the matter which is causing uneasiness in your minds is in regard to your lands. The old men of the tribe are passing away. They are the connecting links with the past; and if you do not ascertain what belongs to you, if you do not put this right before they pass away, you are doing a wrong to your children. Owing to the want of this evidence, those who have never sown will reap; those who are not entitled to them will probably be put in possession of your lands. The great changes that are taking place make it almost imperative that the titles to all lands in the colony should be ascertained, so that Natives who own land should be put in possession of their own land, and may have the protection of the Queen. Your forefathers stipulated that the Queen was to give them her protection. She can only protect you by giving you a title and by placing you in possession of the land. Those who say, "We do not want the protection of the Queen," are practically committing suicide, because the land is life. Others take advantage of this and say, "Oh, they have no title; if they have a right to the land why do not they say so?" The very fact of taking up a negative position is prejudicing the Tuhoe. I speak for the Government when I say we promise you our protection to confirm you in the possession of your lands. We do not want to take your land from you. We want to give you a title in fee-simple which can be defended before the world. You said here in your address of welcome that you would like to hear what my business was, and why I came to see you. My visit to you is one of friendship; one of inquiry; and one on which I desire to meet you face to face and see your condition, so that I can speak with truth and authority as to what I have seen. If I

do not bring you good, rest assured, my good people of Tuhoe, evil will not come from my visit. Therefore, while I tell you I am pleased at your address and song of welcome, at the same time let me also now ask you to think over what I have said. The day is still young; I am prepared to stay a little longer so that you can confer amongst yourselves. If you have anything to say, say it before I leave. That is my advice to you, and I give it as a friend. Even if you say things that are unpleasant to me I care not; though we may disagree, I do not care. Open your minds to me and speak freely. When men once speak their minds the mist disappears. I am a good listener. You will be speaking to a friend. I thank you for the welcome you have given me.

Te Pukeiotu said,—As regards the reproaches cast upon the Tuhoe, I really do not know what wrong they have done. Of course in the old days there used to be a lot of evil about land, but it was amongst themselves. In the old days of Whaene and Kahungunu, there was very little love existing between them. They had a row, and one hit the other over the head with a fish. There was bad feeling in consequence. This enmity was kept up for many generations, and trouble constantly came over the land. There was a King movement, and we joined in it. We were not alone, as nearly every tribe joined in it. After that most of the tribes of the Island returned to the Government with the exception of myself—that is, the Tuhoe. When Te Kooti landed with his force in New Zealand war broke out again. I joined Te Kooti. It was only in the year 1871 that I made peace with the Government. That was the year that Paerau went *viâ* Wairoa to Napier to make peace and swear allegiance to the Queen and the Government. That was when Sir Donald McLean was alive. When they came back from there, they called a meeting at Ruatahuna and laid down the ring boundary—the territorial boundary—and decided it should remain intact. Some of the chiefs were those you saw at Ruatoki, and you will understand that whatever Tuhoe settled with you at Ruatoki is binding on us. We will never go back and stir up muddy water again. The law will be our defender and we will look up to it. We consider the subjects agreed upon at Ruatoki are binding on us. Another thing I would mention: You are the first Premier to come here, do not be the last. Now you have established a precedent, let others come.

Te Whare Kotua said,—The Government officers never represent us to the Government in our true light, neither do the Government do rightly to us, otherwise who is responsible for the absence of the law from us? Why have we been kept so long out of advice? Why have we been allowed to remain in our isolated position? I am glad this day to hear words of wisdom direct from the head of the Government. There is no means of communication between ourselves and the outside world. In the old military days there used to be orderlies, and we used to receive communications from the outer world. You say they asked for a school at Ruatoki: so will we; though we will not stand out against anything they say. I would like you to know that throughout the length and breadth of Tuhoe all these things are agreed upon; and I believe, myself, it would be the best thing for both races if they all joined together. They need have no apprehension; all those subjects discussed at Ruatoki in regard to settlement will not be opposed by us, but are indorsed. What we feel apprehensive about is that your servants will not carry out your words. You advise us and speak words of wisdom, but you go away and we lose sight of you. The question is: Will those who have to carry out your instructions do so strictly in accordance therewith? They might do otherwise. I would like the surveys held in abeyance in the meantime. We want our territorial boundary defined. We want the Government to let a committee of Tuhoe be established to carry out our affairs. We would not then need the Government to carry out our affairs within this boundary. If you like to answer these subjects now you can do so; but if you like them to remain over until you reach Wellington that will suit us equally well. We do not want other people to prosecute the survey, and cut up our land while we are trying to arrange with the Government. We want a proper understanding to be arrived at. We want our boundary confirmed, and our titles to the land indorsed, without a survey if possible. We want the Government to give legal effect to the establishment of a committee, who will manage our affairs in connection with our land.

The Premier: I have listened with pleasure to the speakers who have informed me on the several matters that have been dealt with, and it is satisfactory to know that the people here are in accord with what was said and done at Ruatoki. Whilst they have asked for a school at Ruatoki, that would not apply to this place, because it is too far to go there from here. How many children are there here of school age?

The Meeting: One school will do if established on the borders.

The Premier: The next question is. You desire to have the boundaries defined; but, in the meantime, you want the survey of some portions held over until your delegates have been to Wellington. At other places where I have been they desired that what belongs to them should be given them. What they claim, they say, should be settled. If it does not belong to them, then let them be told so; and if it does belong to them let them have it. They say, why should they be kept out of what belongs to them, because other people did not want that given to them which belongs to them? This internal dispute consequently forces the Government into the position of ascertaining once and for ever what each is entitled to. I have told them at Ruatoki and wherever I have been—I have told the parties who wanted the survey, and those who did not want it—that I would see all the people before coming to a decision, and therefore it is pleasing to me to have met you, because I now know your

wishes. You will, I think, admit that it is fair in all these things to hear what every one has to say. I treat them with fairness; then, after that, decide. Now, what you say for the present is that you do not object to the surveys, but only ask that they be delayed until the delegates have been down to Wellington, and have decided on something definite. That is your mind upon this subject, and hence I will remember it. Now, you have said, at the same time, that you want to have the boundaries of your land defined, but that you would like to have them defined in some other way than by survey.

A Voice: Let the law define that.

The Premier: It is for me to lay down the law, but it is impossible for the Queen or the law to give protection while the land is held under the old customs. We have what are known as topographical surveys—that is, putting up trig, stations, merely fixing a line from one point to another without defining any sections. It is not a complete survey, but it is quite sufficient for investigation purposes.

The Meeting: All the surrounding land is surveyed.

The Premier: We must connect it with trig, stations.

The Meeting: We have defined our territorial boundary.

The Premier: But people dispute this point.

The Meeting: They have exhausted their land.

The Premier: These people say "No," and that is the cause of the trouble. Not only that; there are connections that have never been made at all. Other lands have never been connected, and it is impossible to connect them without a topographical survey. There is one thing you have brought under my notice. You say in the past sometimes Government servants have not carried out the words of the Government. I do not like to hear Government servants blamed without allowing them to have a chance to explain. If any servants of the Government have misconducted themselves, and not acted in accordance with the wishes of the Government, it is only fair that you should let me know those particular servants, so that I may judge between you and them. If you have any case to quote where any Government servants have not done what is right, and have not been nice and friendly with the Natives, as they ought to have been, send me a letter; put it in writing, then I can deal with it. I can only tell you this: that any Government servants I send amongst you for any purpose must carry out my wishes, the wishes of the Government, in friendliness, and I am sure that the Natives will assist them. In future I will send you notice beforehand of what the intentions of the Government are in respect to these matters, and will tell the Government servant who is coming to do whatever is to be done that he is to act in a friendly manner and do what is right. If he does not do so, write to the Government, and I will see things put straight. What I think has been the mistake is that there have been men who have been engaged privately who have caused a little trouble.

The Meeting: Yes; that is true.

The Premier; Very well. For the future the Government will deal with you, and whatever is to be done shall be done by Government servants. Then, if there is any serious difficulty that you cannot put into writing, send me word, so that I can send a representative man to come down and see you upon the subject. I cannot come to see you, but I am quite willing to send someone in authority to you who will help you to come and see me, and that will be much wiser than to incur expense in other directions. That is to say, come and see me and talk the matter over without having any unpleasantness. That is my way of doing business. I always like to meet people face to face, and let them tell me their minds as men. It is my desire, and the desire of the Government, to act fairly with you. When we were very few in number in this colony and you were strong you treated us fairly. Now that we are strong and you are weak it is only manly, it is only honest, that we should treat you the same.

A Voice: Let us define our own boundary.

The Premier: I have told you, in compliance with your own request, that that matter shall remain in abeyance until your delegates come to Wellington, and so it must remain.

The Meeting: We can show a paper with all the signatures of the Tuhoe in support of this subject.

The Premier: If you mean by that there is to be another Government outside the Government of the country, and that the Queen is not to be recognised by the Tuhoe, it is no use for you to discuss it in that way. There cannot be two Governments in this country. I always speak plainly, so that I may be understood. I do not come here to leave any doubts in your minds. There are none in my mind. Not only that, but you cannot have protection unless you acknowledge the sovereignty of the Queen, who governs all. Who is there to protect you? You are only a few in number. It is the law, the Parliament, and the Queen who afford you protection. Suppose we said, "All right, you say you can govern yourselves; very well, do so"; where would you be? Why, you would soon disappear from off the face of the earth. There must be, and can only be, one Government. I have said, as regards any matters you wish to put before the Government, come and do so. Do not stop at home nursing ill-will, but let the Government know the cause of the trouble. It is impossible for things to go on as they are much longer. You must admit that you are disappearing from the face of the earth, and that you are in absolute poverty. Well, the Government is willing to maintain the race, but you must work with the

Government, so that your own welfare and the welfare of your children may be protected. If you want to have a committee amongst yourselves to meet and discuss matters so as to condense and bring down to a focus what is in your interest, it is wise you should do so. The pakehas adopt the same course, and they select advisers for the benefit of the country. They are what are called advisory committees. There is no objection to that. But, if you want a committee that is to pass laws to have effect in the land of Tuhoe and to act antagonistically to the Government, I may tell you at once it is impossible, and the sooner you get that out of your minds the better it will be for all of you. That has been the cause of all your trouble. What has been the result of the King movement? What has been the cause of your position to-day? Do not think of that for a moment. I do not believe in using force; I always believe in reason. I think it is better to show the advantages to be received; it is always better to be kind, but at the same time firm; to reason matters out, and to show you the position you are in. If you attempt to depart from that course trouble is bound to ensue. I always appeal to the better nature of a man, whether he be Maori or pakeha. I always appeal to his good sense, after pointing out the trouble into which he is going to land himself and those belonging to him. Now, you are contradicting yourselves. You told me you were agreeable to what was done at Ruatoki, and that whatever was done there you were bound by. Now you want something entirely different to what they want there. They told me there had been a meeting at the end of February which lasted until the 4th of March. They told me of the resolutions passed, and placed them before me. After the explanation I told them there could only be one Government, and they said they would deal with the matters I had placed before them, and later on would see me in Wellington. I can, in conclusion, only advise that you should have a meeting, gather from all parts representatives of the Tuhoe—their best men—consult together, then come to me and bring matters in such a form that I may grant what is reasonable. What is unreasonable I mean to reject, and one thing I should object to, and that would be to have two controlling bodies over one country. Perhaps I have misunderstood you, and I would not like it to be said you had again requested the Government to allow you to pass laws for yourselves in these boundaries. I say, perhaps I have misunderstood you.

A Native: No, we do not want to fly so high as that.

The Premier: What am I to understand, then?

The Meeting; We simply want a committee for our own district to settle matters amongst ourselves, not between ourselves and other people—a committee to protect and control our own affairs.

The Premier: Suppose that those thus protected refused to submit to what the committee had done; by what power are you going to enforce the decision of the committee, or by what laws? Is the Government to stand by and see you killing each other? Are we going to see you have recourse to arms again? Without the power of the law, any decision of the committee would be valueless; with no laws to support you, it would be no good.

The Meeting: The Government could give effect to the decision.

The Premier: You can never do that. Suppose the people you pass the decision upon object; are we to send a Commissioner to see whether the decision is wise or not? There can only be one Government. The whole thing is in a nutshell. You may have people to advise the Government, but there can be no power but the Government. They are two distinct things. It is impossible to have two Governments over one country. If, therefore, you will take up this position—namely, that you want the Government to recognise an advisory body, that the Government is to communicate with you through that body, and that the Tuhoe will speak to the Government through that body, and also that it is to be simply advisory, I see no objection. Further than that it would be very unwise to go.

The Meeting: That is what we mean.

The Premier: My colleague has reminded me of the Natives who were going to have a Parliament of their own. They had a Premier and Native Minister. The speakers were going to pass laws and did pass some. Before they broke up they decided that the whole thing was a farce. The first thing they did was to demand a subscription, and they found the people would not pay it. What was the use of having such a state of things as that?

A Native: It is well that we brought this matter out, because it has drawn from you the possibilities and impossibilities. We are quite satisfied, if it is at all feasible, to have a committee to act on behalf of the people, and to advise the Government in matters on behalf of the people.

The Premier: That is quite feasible. There is nothing more to be said now, but I wish you all good-bye. I do not think I shall have the pleasure of coming here again until I can come in a buggy. If you had better roads you would see your friends oftener and would be brought into contact with the outside world, which would be of great advantage to you. I will say good-bye to you all. My last words are words of kindness, and I hope the time is not far distant when your troubles will be at an end, and that should I in the near future re-visit this place, I may find it and its people in a better position than I find them to-day. Good-bye!

The Premier and party were then taken over the great house, Matatua, after which they returned to Te Mimi, where they stayed the night. On the following morning a

# **START WAS MADE ON FOOT FOR LAKE WALKAREMOANA,**

a distance of twenty-four miles. This was a most trying journey, it being over the roughest part of the country they had travelled, the party having literally to crawl over masses of slippery clay and rocks, besides fording several streams. At one time they would have to ascend to a height of 2,000ft., and at another descend to the same depth. These gigantic undulations continued until about 3 p.m., when, upon ascending the last range, one of the most beautiful sights it is possible to imagine met the gaze. The lake was then viewed in all its picturesqueness, fringed by one of the grandest forests to be seen in any part of New Zealand. A wild hurrah burst from the whole party, not so much perhaps on account of the view, but because they imagined they were nearing their destination. This was not so, however, for several hours of weary travelling lay between them and their destination. Suddenly the track—if track it could be called—turned sharp off to the left, and a large sandstone bank, some 300ft. high, met the gaze, and the party descended floundering, slipping, and rolling to the bottom. Then commenced an especially difficult jaunt through a sandstone creek-bed. The Premier led the way. The whole party commenced to climb over huge stones for some hundred yards, and would then drop 12ft. over a terrace; travel another hundred yards or so, then drop again, and so on for about seven miles. The Maori packers declared it was a moral impossibility to reach the lake that night, and advised camping, but the Premier and Mr. Carroll were determined to go on. Night came on, and to keep the track in the dark required a good deal of caution. The lake was reached at about seven o'clock. Here there was a difficulty. A Maori had been sent on the day before to get the Natives at Onepoto—the other side of the lake—to bring a canoe to convey the party thither, but there was no sign of any one having been near the lake. There was an old canoe, which had a split in the side and was half-full of water, and that was the only means of conveying the voyagers across the lake, so far as could be seen. Therefore the party resigned themselves to their fate and camped for the night, deciding to wait to see what the morrow would bring forth. The Premier's secretary, when proceeding to the edge of the lake next morning to perform his ablutions, saw a speck of white paper lying in the mud. Picking it up, he saw "Timi Kara" written on the top, and took it at once to Mr. Carroll. The whole matter was then explained. The Natives had been there with a canoe, and had waited, but, thinking the party would not arrive till next morning—for (as they said when they ultimately came) they never imagined the journey could have been done on foot in one day—they had returned home, intending to come again later on. Before this paper was picked up, however, the Native guide and Mr. Biddle, of Ruatoki, had volunteered to go in the split canoe to endeavour to hail the settlement at Onepoto. This they did, and were nearly drowned for their temerity, for the canoe was almost in a sinking condition before they returned to camp at 3 p.m. Suddenly a European hurrah was heard, and a large canoe hove in sight manned by five stalwart Natives. Camp was struck, and all were on board in no time. Sail was set, and the waters lay hushed like a sleeping child—but not for long. Far away in the distance could be seen "white horses" coming out of the various arms of the lake, and many predicted tough times before the travellers in their frail bark reached the haven they sought. The captain of this "dug-out," however, assured the Premier that it was too rough at the landing-place, and he would not attempt to take the canoe in. But, unfortunately, he was himself taken in, whether he liked it or not, for he was in the break before he knew where he was. But, once in it, he exercised the most consummate skill in bringing his charges safe to land. It is enough to say that

## **THE PARTY WERE IN IMMINENT DANGER**

for an hour and a half, and, to make matters worse, the last twenty minutes of the perilous journey was traversed in the dark. But, after being half drowned by the huge seas which continually broke over the canoe, the party were safely landed and heartily welcomed by Mr. Robson, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Johnston, of Wairoa, who were in waiting with a kettle of boiling water and a bottle of whiskey. They applied the latter restorative unsparingly. The party then proceeded on horseback to the Native settlement, a distance of three miles, where a splendid dinner and welcome, and, what they urgently needed, a gigantic fire awaited them. Wet through to the flannel as he was, and without a change of clothing, the

## **PREMIER ADDRESSED A LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC**

# MEETING

of the Natives, which lasted from 9 p.m. till 1 a.m. the next day.

Hapi was the first speaker. He said,—This is the dividing line between the Urewera Tribe and the Ngatihahungunu Tribe. All the people who are here at present are anxious to discuss certain matters with you, our parent, the head of the Government, and we fervently hope that the requests we make in connection therewith will be given effect to. The first subject we wish to bring before you is in regard to the territorial or tribal boundary. The next is in respect to the reserves in these parts affecting Waikaremoana. There is some land belonging to us which is included in that belonging to the Government.

Hori Whererangi said,—Welcome the Premier to this place! You have an opportunity now of seeing the people who reside here. This place marks the dividing-line between the Ngatihahungunu and Tuhoe Tribes. We are a people who are not thoroughly acquainted with the law, and I am glad to see you have endured danger and physical hardship in coming here to see us. We are not living at ease in this place. We do not know how we stand. Therefore we welcome you and your European friends. We hear that the object of your visit is to arrange for the sale to the Government of all Native surplus lands. You will have seen, on your journey, that we occupy most of our land that will admit of occupation. However, we will learn from you yourself, when you speak, the object of your visit.

Te Kohai said,—Welcome, my parent, Tupaea, that you may see your people who are living here! You will understand all about the reserves between the Ngatihahungunu and Tuhoe. That is all I have to say to you. Welcome, Mr. Carroll, welcome, my son! You were sent to Parliament to fulfil a mission on behalf of the Native tribes, with the object of seeing their rights adjusted and grievances remedied in respect to their blocks of forest land. Whatever may have been done elsewhere, no relief has reached us; but I still have hopes in you, and place confidence in you. Although you occupy a different position to that which you did formerly, I still look to you to redress the grievances of the Native people. I may receive salvation, or I may not. We did not elect you as a Minister—neither ourselves nor the other tribes—though we trust good may come of it. That is all for you. Welcome, my loving friend, the Premier!—loving when you are disposed to be so. I am glad you have come; my heart rejoices, for it gives you an opportunity of seeing our position here, and the grievances we labour under. You will also find out whether those grievances are the fault of ourselves or some one else. It is only since I came under your wing and became your child that I knew what it was to suffer. That is all.

Mihaere said,—Welcome, the Premier! Welcome, Mr. Carroll! It was very thoughtful of you to tread over the territory of the Tuhoe. This is not a country frequently visited by people. It is a strange country. It is isolated, and I give you credit for undertaking the journey. I greet you for appearing here in our midst. You have travelled through the territory of the Tuhoe, and this is the end of that territory. We are the people residing at this end. I cannot, on the present occasion, go into my grievances in detail, but to-morrow I will have them ready. I shall, therefore, confine myself at the present time to welcoming you, and offering you my greetings. I shall be quite satisfied to hear from you the reasons for your visit, and what thoughts may be in your breast affecting this part of the country and the people living therein. Oh, my friend, let me welcome you to day. You behold a strange people, who are strangers to European laws and ways. You say that if certain laws are followed out it will lead to the salvation of the people. I have not yet seen that such will be the case. I do not know—I am ignorant. No outside knowledge has been imparted to me. I am living now as I did, according to the customs and usages of my ancestors. I fear that my ignorance will not facilitate me in grasping any counsel that you may give which will lead to our improvement. That is all.

Mei te Manuka said,—Welcome the Premier and Mr. Carroll! You come here in two forms; let me understand you: you are Maori and European together. I am unacquainted with the many ways of the world, and it is your duty to make things clear to me. If you have anything to say to me in regard to our old traditional matters, well and good; if you bring with you European innovations, then I do not understand them. However, I am quite willing to learn, quite willing to benefit by any suggestion that will improve my condition and increase my knowledge. I am quite willing to receive any information from you in connection with your travels and journey over this rough country. When you speak I shall be able to dissect your speech, and find out that which is trickery and that which is good. Teach! I can understand the difference between cold and warmth.

Te Wao said,—Welcome, Mr. Carroll! Welcome, Tupaea! Bring us our parent; lead him over our territory. If you have thought of the tribe of Tuhoe, it is well. That is all I have to say to the Maori members of the troupe. Welcome the Premier! Come and see your poor people. Come and look through the Tuhoe country. If you have come to save, come; if you have come to kill us, come. You are the head of the European people; you are the Government. All power is vested in you. All knowledge of matters in connection with land, and all grievances, are centred in your hands. (Song.)

Hapi again addressed the Premier, and said,—We are very glad at your visit. None of us can take offence for your having come through our country. You have come in open daylight. You have come through boldly, and met our people all through. Others have crept through dark places—that is what has been reprehensible. Now, let me give you both a hearty welcome for your condescending to come and see us as you have done.

The chiefs then addressed Tupaea, the young chief sent by Kereru to accompany the Premier. He also thanked them for their kind welcome. Mr. Carroll also returned their greetings.

The Premier on rising said,—Men, women, and children of the Native race, I offer you friendly greetings, and thank you heartily for the kind welcome you have given me here to-day. If I had wanted evidence of your goodwill you have given it, and given it so completely that all doubts that may have been in my mind, and in the minds of those who are with me, have been removed. I have listened to the several speakers, and the words used have been those of love, kindness, and welcome. You have pointed out that you are located on the Tuhoe boundary. I did not come to you and from you to Tuhoe. I went to the Tuhoe first and came through the Tuhoe country to see you. We came through boldly, and without fear, knowing we were with friends in the Tuhoe country, and were coming to friends here. Before coming here I saw the representatives of the Tuhoe at different places—at Ruatoki first—and the welcome I received from them was of the same kind and cordial character as the welcome you have given me here to night. Kereru, whose name I know is revered and respected by all of you, is my friend. At the conclusion of the address at Ruatoki he presented to me the sceptre, the *taiaha* of the tribe; and he also went further, because he offered to come with me on this my perilous journey, but age troubles him, and the infirmities which come therewith, and I would not take advantage of his kindness to undertake such a journey. He, however, did what one friend who loves another would do, he sent with me here, as a guide to see me through and bring me here safely, his relative Tupaea, one whom you respect; and I thank you for the welcome you have given him as well as for the welcome you have given the whole party. Kereru could not have put my colleague and myself in better hands. A better friend it would be impossible to meet, and no one could have done more than he has to bring us here safely. The very fact of his being with the party would, I am sure, be a safeguard so far as you are concerned—in fact it would be the mouthpiece of Tuhoe. He is the connecting link between the two. I have on my journey seen every tribe. At Ruatoki, Galatea, Te Whaiti, Te Mimi, and Ruatahuna; and the same welcome, the same kindness has been accorded and shown to the party and myself on every occasion. As we have journeyed on our way every assistance has been rendered to us, and that assistance we wanted, for it is a perilous journey, and it was over one of the roughest countries I have ever had the experience of travelling through. After travelling yesterday from Te Mimi to the lake, I assure you we all slept soundly last night; we were very tired indeed. Well, our guide and friend, Tupaea, brought us safe to the lake, but it rested with our gallant captain and the crew of the canoe to bring us across the dividing boundary and bring us safe to you this evening. Your lake is well named Waikare Moana. They are very troubled waters, and I think every one of our party will vouch and take my word for it that the waters of the lake to-day were very wet. It was rather suggestive to me when I found my old friends Biddle and Collier here, who are travelling with us, taking off their boots. I said to myself it is a case of swim, but I thought the best thing to do was to keep my boots on and rely on the captain and crew. I watched very carefully what the captain was doing, and I knew full well he knew the danger, and that we were in safe hands. Hence I was satisfied we should reach the shore safely and well. We had very little food on the other side; there were no pigeons to be had, and it became a question as to which of two evils to face—the water or starvation—so we trusted to the canoe, and the captain and the crew who were with it. I must not forget to mention the young man who came from Te Mimi, who assisted the men in the canoe, and who came ahead to let you know of our arrival. Therefore, we may, I trust, presume that the perils of the journey are now at an end. There was great responsibility on the captain and crew of that canoe to-day, because there would have been a change of Government if we had not arrived safe on the shores of the lake. As it is, I believe I can say, without being at all egotistical, I am the first Prime Minister to travel that perilous journey; and it is not saying too much when I say I think I shall be the last for a good many years to come. You have asked the question,—and you are quite right in so doing,—now that I have passed all these perils and am safe here, what have I come for? You have said, "If you come for our good, welcome; if you come for our evil, welcome; we are glad to see you." Well, I will tell you honestly, as one man speaking to another, colour makes no distinction. We all belong to the Great Master who looks down upon us and loves us all, and I say I came here for your good, and not for evil. I would not have come this distance to do you evil. Just ask yourselves the question—you have done me no harm; you have not injured the Government; you have done no harm to any one; why then should I desire to come here and meet you to do you an injury? You have said that you are troubled; that you are a people living here isolated; that you do not know what is going on around you; and that you are ignorant of what is going on in other parts of the colony; and when you speak these words to me, you speak the truth. I feel that to be the case. You are isolated; you are living, as you say, not knowing the Government, or the reason for your isolated condition. You say, "Let us know the law; let us know what is going on; what is for our good." That is why I

am here. I am here to let you know what is for your good. You have said to-night that you have been informed that I have been going round to see the Natives in order to get them to sell their surplus land to the Government. That statement is incorrect. You have told me that you have no surplus land, and that what land you have you are occupying and using. If you are doing so, that is all the Government desire. In doing that, you are doing good to yourselves and the colony. That is what the pakehas are doing, from one end of the colony to the other, and I speak for both races when I say that is what the pakehas desire, and they have said so by passing laws to that effect. The land is there so that it may produce and the people may live—no matter to what race or colour they belong. There is sufficient land in New Zealand for both races, and it is my desire and the desire of the Government that both races may live in love and friendship side by side. It is to promote that object, and with a view of seeing that the evils of the old times—disturbances with the pakehas—are not repeated; to see that there is an end to this for all time; to know what your feelings and desires are; and to see how best to assist you and promote friendship between both races, that I have undertaken this journey. I shall, therefore, ask you to be true to yourselves, speak your minds, and speak openly. You have said to-night that I am your parent and the head of the Government. Well, I ask you as a parent, and as head of the Government, to speak your minds openly to me, that I may know your troubles, if you have any, so that I may be able to help you. If you have no troubles you will not need my help. The result of my experience on this journey is that I find on one side the Native race think they are labouring under a grievance because the pakehas have not paid them that attention which their case demanded, and on the other hand the pakehas say that the Natives are not taking up a position of progress. Between the two there has been a misunderstanding, and you have been misjudged. I can speak from personal experience, and will be able, with the assistance of my colleagues, to remove the doubts that have been on your minds. I have considered your position. You could not and have not been able to go down to Wellington and see me or the Government and explain for yourselves the position in which you are placed. Those who have represented you have done their best. I will not say too much, because I do not desire to flatter, but will say of my colleague, Mr. Carroll, that when he represented the Native race he did his best to bring about friendship and peace between the two races. You have mentioned to-night that his position has changed, that he was formerly the representative of the Native race and now represents a European constituency, and that he is now a Minister in the Cabinet, representing the Native race. I think this will convince you that he possesses the confidence of the Native race, because they returned him to represent them twice, and that he possesses the confidence of the pakehas is conclusive, because they have now returned him to represent them. His position, therefore, is more powerful for your good to-day than ever it was before. I have told you that the Government desires to help you. You said to-night there were two or three matters you desired to bring under the notice of the Government, but first you desired, according to your custom, to offer to my colleagues, my friends, and myself a hearty welcome, which you did. You now meet the Government face to face, so that you and the tribes may speak to the Government direct. This is an opportunity which I hope you will take advantage of. Nothing will do so much to remove the doubts which exist as the fact that we are here all together, speaking as honest men should speak to one another. I believe that if your isolation were removed, if you had better means of communication, and that you could go backwards and forwards to meet the outside world, it would be an advantage to you and to the Natives right through the country I have travelled over. It is this very isolation that has caused you to be misjudged. Another false impression that has existed, which this journey will, to a large extent, remove, is that a large extent of your territory is valueless. I say that that statement is partially incorrect. You have asked me to explain the laws to you. I will give you an explanation of the latest laws passed affecting the land of the Maoris. As you have no surplus land, it will not affect you; but I will tell you the law shortly. In the first place there is a Board established that has to decide whether the land is wanted for settlement purposes, and whether the Natives are utilising it or not. Then this impartial Board—upon which the Natives have direct representation (I think they have two representatives, the member for the district, and one appointed for minors), and a Judge of the Supreme Court—these sit and decide upon the value of the surplus land which the Natives desire to dispose of. Then, when this is done, an election is held. The majority, at a meeting of all the owners of the surplus lands, elect whether or not they will hand over the land to the Government, either to sell it or lease it for them, the Natives retaining the ownership of the land, but leasing it to the Government at the price fixed by the Board. If the majority say they will not dispose of it, but want it for themselves, and decide to retain it, the law says, Very good, retain it. But if two-thirds say they do not desire to dispose of it to the Government—if they prefer to submit it to public auction and the world, so that it may fetch the highest price upon the market—the law says it shall be dealt with in that way. You will therefore see that, by the latest law passed, no advantage whatever is being taken of the Native race. All the Government desires is that the Natives should have ample land for themselves to cultivate and prosper by. That is the wish of the Government. These are the words of the head of the Government to the Native race here. We also say to the Natives—and I speak my mind to you as a friend—that it is in the interest of the Native race that the real owners of the land should be known; that the titles should be ascertained, so that the Native owners should know what belongs to them.

Every day, every week, every year that this is delayed makes the danger of doing a wrong to the real owners of the land so much greater. The old men are passing away. They are the ones who know the facts upon which the titles are to be executed; and as they pass away there is no one who can give us their history. They are the connecting links with the past, who can give evidence as to who are the proper persons to obtain the land. I know that in the past, owing to this delay, wrongs have been done, and that people have reaped where they have not sown; that people who had no interest in land have obtained land which did not belong to them, and that the real owners lost it because their evidence had passed away. I know also that a great advantage would accrue if each of the Natives—say the Natives here—knew the particular piece of land that belonged to them, and that all the improvements you made thereon would be for the benefit of your wives and children. You would work with a better heart if you knew you were working for those who are ever near and dear to you. There are many who do not till, who do not work, but are content to sell what is produced by the hand of others. I say all should cultivate, but they would do better if they knew that the land they were cultivating belonged to their wives and children and those that come after them. It made me sad when travelling through the North Island to find the Natives passing away—not after arriving at a good old age, but passing away before coming to mature age; passing away before their time. And they have lived almost in a condition of poverty when they should have lived, if they had had a title to that which belongs to them, in comparative affluence and wealth. They are wealthy in land. Land is wealth; land is gold—nay, better than gold, because the land will produce so long as it is capable. But they are not producing, and that is the condition in which I find the Native race in general. What would be the good to a man if he had his weight in gold, if that gold were placed beside him on the lake with no canoe? why, he would absolutely starve; gold would be no good to him under such circumstances. Yet that is the condition in which I see the great majority of the Natives in this colony are unfortunately placed in. If, therefore, I can do anything as head of the Government that will remove this reproach from you, that will help you to improve your position, that will enable you to live in comfort, that the comfort enjoyed by the Europeans may be yours, your wives' and children's, then I say I shall do it. I am here for that purpose, that is the object of my visit on this occasion. Again I say I am not here for evil, I am here for your good. Shortly after my arrival here I saw a number of young children, ranging from four to sixteen years of age, and I asked the question if a school was established here, so that the knowledge we have could be imparted to them, and through them to their parents. The answer was that you had no school here. I asked one of your chiefs what the population of the place was, and he said close on two hundred souls—men, women, and children included. I have not been able to ascertain the number of children you have here, but what I saw would be sufficient to warrant me in saying what I am now going to say to you. I say the parents who neglect to have their children educated are doing them a serious wrong. As the world progresses, if you maintain your isolated position—if you allow your children to grow up in ignorance—they will turn round and curse the parents who gave them birth. The parents who do not use every endeavour to give their children an education are doing them a serious wrong. If you demanded it and it was refused you, then the blame would not rest with you; but if it is never asked for, then I say you are condemning your children to be slaves for all time. The uneducated will be slaves for the educated in the world. There was nothing which gave me so great pleasure at Ruatoki as when I was requested to get a school established there. The same request was made at Te Whaiti. Each asked me, as I came along, to establish schools in their midst, so that their children should receive education. I say it gladdened my heart, because it was a step in the right direction. Education is the brightest gem of civilisation. Civilisation oftentimes brings with it evils, but the real safeguard to a noble race and the completion of that race's glory is to have its people educated. Without education your position will grow worse and worse every year, and the day will come when your children will say, "Why did we not have the privilege that was given to the pakehas and others of our race in the different parts of the colony?" I was pleased when I was at Galatea to find the schoolmaster was also a medicine-man. The Government had supplied him with medicines; he had a slight knowledge thereof, and he was acting as doctor for the district, and had been the means of saving life and alleviating the sufferings of those who were sick. I also found he was the postmaster, and that they had the convenience of a mail in the place. All this springs from the school. Now, if you have produce you want to dispose of, and your children and yourselves are not taught, how would you know you were getting a fair price for the produce you are disposing of? If there are laws being passed in Parliament, you ought to know which are for your benefit or if any are disposed to do you harm. If the latter, how are you to have them rectified if you have not some one amongst you who can read and write and know what is being done? I therefore tell you that that is the one subject which is of paramount importance to you, and it deserves your attention as soon as possible. The hour is growing late, and I will not say anything further at present. I have given sufficient indication why I am here, and that the object of this journey is for your improvement. There are three subjects you desire to bring under my notice to-night, and I should prefer that you do so to-night. I have been a long time from the outer world, and my attendance is wanted in Wellington. I have been longer away than I intended. I would have liked to have stayed with you to-morrow, and discussed matters further, but time will not permit; but I am prepared to sit up with

you all night if you like. I am one of those who like work, so let us proceed if you like. If the work is to be done let us embrace the opportunity; let us do that work. Speak to me as a friend; we want to deal fairly and honestly with the Native race, and in such a way that it will promote their best interests. I wish, in conclusion, once more to thank you very heartily for the kind welcome you have accorded to my colleague, our friends, and myself; and I am not saying that which is not founded on fact when I tell you that of all occasions on which I have landed in places in New Zealand, none have given me such great pleasure as when I first set foot on the shores of Lake Waikaremoana.

Hapi said,—You deserve the thanks of all. I heartily approve of bringing the territorial boundary under the law, as mentioned by Mr. Carroll. With regard to our father's (referring to the Premier) remarks in reply to the many points raised in our speeches, I can only say I am more than pleased—in fact, the whole house joins with my hearty approval of all he has said. This is the first time we have heard any one in his position speaking. It is quite true we should not go by what we hear; it is far better that we should meet and talk face to face as we have done to-night, to hear straight from his lips the Minister's own words; that is fair, and more satisfactory. He has carefully advised us to-night, and given strong reasons why he so urges upon us that our only salvation lies in the law. With regard to our father's remark that wherever there is land it should be utilised and made productive, I may state that all the available land, so far as the Tuhoe are concerned, is occupied. The land that you saw lying unutilised when going through this territory you have properly described. It is rough and uninhabitable. The house has naught else to do but express entire satisfaction at what has been said to-night, and the counsel the Premier has given us is worthy of every consideration. He did not confine himself to the question of land alone, the position and character of it, and how it should be dealt with, but he also applied his remarks to the condition of the people, the supremacy of the law, and how the proper management of the affairs of the people can be made conducive of good results. I heartily approve of and agree with the Premier's remarks in reference to education. Education is the means of imparting knowledge to the people, which will qualify them to undertake administration, and better their position. The people on this side of the lake have really no land of their own; they are living on Government land. The whole of us here agree that we should have a school. In consequence of the Premier's remarks we are anxious to have it, but I would point this out to him, that all this land we are living on is Government land. Where we are living now is only a reserve the Government gave us. We are occupying the whole of it, ourselves and our horses. If the Premier will consent to give us a portion of the Government land for a school site, we can settle the school question in one breath, because we want the school.

The Premier: If that is the only obstacle in the way, send me the number of children here who would be likely to attend, and I will confer with the Minister of Education, and settle the matter. The school ought to be convenient to where the children are. It only requires an acre of land.

Hapi: The Government have some land adjoining this land down the valley here.

The Premier: I will make inquiries in respect to it.

Wharerangi said,—Wiremu has been applying for this school for two years. Mr. Bush came here and he also applied to have it established, but it was not granted. Captain Preece, who was Resident Magistrate then, saw the number of children we had here, and he advised the establishment of a school, but without result.

The Premier: How many children are there?

Wharerangi: Fifty.

The Premier; I will confer with the Minister for Education, and I have no doubt you will at once have the school.

Wharerangi: You will see when the list is sent you. Possibly there will be more than fifty. There is another subject we wish to lay before you which I will explain. In the Waikareiti Block, or rather division. No 10. Waipawa Block, the Government own a portion and we own a portion. The Government got a portion of this by the purchase of Block No. 10, and we have the other portion. What we propose is this; that we should surrender one portion to the Government, making the whole block Government land, in exchange for land which belongs to the Government, and which we want. We will give up our interest in that block in exchange for the Government land here.

The Premier: The proposal seems reasonable if equal value is given in exchange. Whichever way it goes I am favourably disposed to grant the request, but I must first see the Minister of Lands and discuss the matter with my colleagues. In the face of it the proposal seems reasonable, but it may be that the land is leased or occupied by some one else, therefore it is a matter that I must make inquiries about before giving a decided answer. You had better reduce the proposal to writing and send me a letter giving details and what you are prepared to do, so that I may deal with it when I get back to Wellington.

Wharerangi; The third matter is this: There was a reserve given by the Government to us in the Tukurangi Block, and there were reserves given to us in the Taramarimari Block and Waiau Block. There were portions which I excepted from the sale of these blocks to the Government. I do not know the position of them, whether

they belong to me or are still in the hands of the Government. I want you to explain to me whether we only hold this land on sufferance, or whether it really belongs to us or is still in the hands of the Government.

The Premier: Of course I cannot give a direct answer to-night, but I take it that what you desire is for inquiries to be made into this matter, and that you should be informed definitely how it stands; whether the land is yours—whether it has been legally vested in you. I will let you know after consulting the proper authorities on my return to Wellington.

Wharerangi: That is really what I want. These are all the subjects I wish to lay before you. I will just refer to the first matter mentioned by the preceding speaker, with regard to utilising the land. I believe we are utilising all we can. The bulk of our land, as you are aware, cannot be utilised, and we should be only throwing away labour and money in attempting to utilise it.

Mihaere said,—We do not object to the Native Land Court or the surveys. We are quite willing to have the titles to the land ascertained, but the bar thereto is the terrible expense we are put to for surveys, and for Land Court expenses. Past experience has been disastrous. The land has been swallowed up in expenses.

The following morning a start was made for

## WAIROA,

a distance of forty miles, which was reached in the afternoon. Considerable difficulty was experienced owing to the recent floods having washed away parts of the road, and the party had to go over the hills. Having received several deputations the following morning, a start was made for Gisborne. *En route*, a meeting was held at

## TE MIRA.

The first speaker was Rev. Tamihana, who said,—Welcome, Mr. Carroll, who bring with you the Government! Let the Government see its people, that they are true. Come, O Government, and see the Native people you have to rule! Come and see their condition yourself. [Song of welcome.] Come and bring light to the Native race. [Song.] We have waited for you many years. Throughout all our suffering we have waited anxiously for you to appear. Now that you have come, we trust you will do something which will improve us and lighten our burdens. There are only a few here. Most of the people are on their way to a meeting which is about to take place shortly at Gisborne. They are waiting there for you. We are only the remnant left behind. Your Native children have been sorrowing for a long time. Woe has been with them. Now that you have come, treat us as you would those who are entitled to receive consideration.

Ihakara said,—Welcome to the Government which is now before us! Let the Government speak to-day to us, their children. That is all I have to say.

Te Hapimana: Welcome the young chief of Tuhoe! Welcome, my son, under the feet of my Government! In days gone by you trod the path with the King of New Zealand, with the Hauhaus and the Ringa-tus, and the result of this trouble to yourselves was the loss of the land, the loss of the people. But now a new light dawns upon me: I see you associated with my Government; I see you travelling in company with them, and looking after them. Welcome! Welcome! Trust my Government, cling to my Government, and the Government will be a friend to you. It will rest with you as to whether good will result or bad. Let us know, let us be satisfied, that you have led them over our territory. Harken, O my son, hearken to my words! Do not attach yourself to the Government to-day and leave it to-morrow. If the Government will not do you justice in the near future and still imposes heavy burdens on you, do not resent it as in days of yore in the Native style, but point out to the Government where they are wrong. Although we have been told that this visit is only for an hour or two hours, I shall take up most of that time myself. When I say to you, my son, this is my Government, that you should cherish this treasure of mine, I do not mean that I prefer this one to the previous ones which were in alliance with our chiefs who have departed. The people who established this place asked the Government to spread its protection over the land and the people. All the big chiefs of this district were supporters of the Government as against some of ourselves, who rebelled against the rule of the Queen. They gave it as an injunction that we should look upon the Queen and the Government as heirlooms with which to cherish their memory. This is a day for reason, for interchange of ideas and argument as to who is wrong and who is right. My words to you cease now. Welcome, Mr. Carroll, my light! Welcome to you in company with our Government! I am glad you have performed the journey that you have, and witnessed for yourselves the character of the country and the condition of the people. You have, I hope, carefully explained the sores which exist among the Native people here; they are everywhere. Now that you have reached this place, this district in which you were born, look

inside, see its internal position, see what ails the people; make no difference whatever as to the state of one or another. They are all alike in my mind, and their grievances are as much entitled to your consideration as those of the greatest man in the land. The trip of the Premier and yourself through this country may be likened to that of a doctor who visits his patients. Wherever the sick and suffering are, the doctor visits them and supplies remedies. You should take up that position. The women and children will speak, they will lay before you their sufferings. The sufferings are not only with the people, but with the land as well. I must apologize for the absence of the male population of this district. They are all away at Gisborne to attend the meeting there, and all that are left are what you see—chiefly women and children. I am on my way to this meeting, but I stayed behind on hearing of your expected visit, so that the women and children of this place would have some one to speak for them. That is all to you, Mr. Carroll. Welcome the Premier! Welcome the head of the Government! The persons who have journeyed over the Maori districts and visited the Maori people; and as you have thought fit to come and see the Native people to hear from them what has been troubling them, to see for yourself what is wrong with them, I welcome you as the Native Minister. You have two races under your administration, the European race and the Maori race. I am sorry, and it is a matter for regret, that coexistent with your journey, your visit to the Maori people, you find them in small numbers. You are the captain of the great canoe of the State, you have precious souls on board, and you have to see that the ship is safely taken into its haven. (Song.)

Toha said,—Welcome the Premier, and welcome Mr. Carroll! We need not tell you that this place is Wairoa. Its people have not been favoured by a visit from the Government since the days of Sir Donald McLean. We thought at first your visit to this district was only to the Europeans, that they might have an opportunity of laying their matters before you. But now you have come here and visited the Maori section of your people, welcome! When Mr. Carroll was our representative we petitioned him to get the Government to empower the Native Land Court to investigate certain land which had been given back to us in the day of trouble, but it appears through the peculiarity of the law that the Native Land Court has no power. I made two trips to Wellington in reference to this land question. It is a very big grievance to us, and it was during the Atkinson Administration that I raised the question. The Government of that day sympathised with us, and concurred that an injustice had been done, but no step whatever was taken to relieve us. Now that you are in power, we lay the same thing before you. I will never cease applying to Parliament, no matter what Government is in power, to have these troubles attended to. These lands were given back to our chiefs and our people by Sir Donald McLean in his day. All we ask you is to look into this matter, and if you perceive that there is justice in our demand, then in the interest of justice give it to us. It is not a very serious thing, it does not affect many people; it is only a matter between ourselves. All we want is that the Native Land Court should be empowered to investigate the true title to this land. I have always considered it a very small matter, that could be easily set right. I have a number of times asked Parliament to redress this little grievance, but have waited in vain, there has been no result; and I began to think that questions of a serious character might be treated the same way. Shortly, our trouble is this: Certain lands were ceded by us to the Government. After certain portions were selected, and absolutely vested in the Crown, it was agreed that the balance was to be returned to us. There was no Court to investigate who the owners were. The Government scheduled out the lands; but we now want this land investigated by the Court to see who are the owners, or whether they have been left out and others included who are not the real owners. I know the latter has been the case, and so I hail with satisfaction your visit to us on this occasion, which will allow us an opportunity of laying before you this matter, that affects not only myself but the whole of my people. It is purely a matter of adjustment. We want the titles adjusted. That is all I have to say. You can consider this subject.

The Rev. Tamihana said,—I quite agree with the remarks of the last speaker. That is really our trouble in this part. Although it is in connection with different lands I am speaking, they are in the same category. I have petitioned Parliament over and over again—before Mr. Carroll was our representative, and even during his time—in reference to 300 acres which should have been returned and which were promised by the Government, but this has never been given effect to. These acres are lost somewhere or another. Another matter is this: After the first fight here the lands were confiscated. The boundaries were laid down. The majority of the pakehas at that time represented the Government, and in laying down the line they declared that from a certain point the land outside that line should be returned to the Natives. Now, we are not clear whether this has been done or not, but we are certain we have not got the land. This is in the Taramarama Block. The 300 acres, which was arranged should come back to us, has never reached us.

Hone Taune said,—I can scarcely find words to do justice to the sentiments I feel and to properly welcome our illustrious guests. I may not be able to do it in the old style, but all I can say now is. Welcome the Premier! We are very glad of your visit and Mr. Carroll's to the district. Excessive joy took possession of the hearts of the people of this district on hearing that the Premier of the colony and Mr. Carroll were visiting it. You, the Premier, have arrived, and you will find our people—the Native people in this place—bemoaning their grievances. Of course, so far as your colleague is concerned, he is one of us, he was born in this place. Our

greetings are directed to you. We are suffering under the operation of the Native Land Court laws which have emanated from the House of Parliament. One of our special grievances is on account of the old law which only admitted of ten persons being put into Crown grants as owners of the land. They were morally trustees. In those cases there were only ten grantees who were included in the title to a block of land. They should have been only representatives of the people and the owners in bulk, but they became absolute owners, and in many cases these grantees willed away the heritage of the people—and by law had the power to do so—to strangers. That is the great trouble here, in some occupying land, believing it to be theirs, knowing they have claims thereto against those who are in the Crown grant as legal owners but have no right. We suffer also under the Act recently passed by the Legislature which enacts that whenever Natives sell a block of land, 25 acres shall be reserved for their own use. Now, if a large block of land is sold by the Natives, 25 acres will not be enough to maintain them. I support the contention of both Toha and Tamihana that these reserves which were intended for us, which were all promised to be given back, should be seen to. The reserves, in which I myself am interested, are Tanikaka and others.

Hekiera: Welcome young Kereru, bring our friends with you I Welcome the Premier! Welcome Mr. Carroll! Come and see your people who are heavy laden! We have suffered through the recent floods about a week ago. One flood has destroyed all our crops. We want relief; give it.

The Premier: Friends of the Native race, men, women, and children, salutations! You have expressed your very great pleasure at my being present amongst you to-day. Let me tell you the pleasure is mutual; that I am pleased to be here with you, and that the words which have fallen from the several speakers who have addressed me and my friends have gladdened my heart. I shall leave you to-day knowing that I have friends here, that the Government have friends here, and that you desire to live at peace and in good-will with all men. You have said that you were pleased when you heard I was coming to your district, that you thought I was coming to the district only to see the Europeans, but when you heard I was coming to see you you were delighted. My mission on this present occasion, and the reason for my travels through these parts of the colony, have been to see your noble race more particularly than to see the Europeans. The latter have advantages which have not fallen to your lot. The Europeans have the Press to protect their interests and to speak on their behalf. The Native race have not this advantage; and I should have been wanting in my duty as head of the Government of the day had I not met the Natives face to face and asked them what their troubles were. We are one people. We belong to one mother. Colour makes no difference to the Great Father who watches over all, and to Him, we must look for assistance and love. We are only here for a period, for a very short time indeed, and while here we ought to live in love and friendship one with the other, irrespective of race or colour. "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." So I say the pakehas, who are the dominant power, should follow out that precept, and do as the Natives did when the Europeans were very few in this country. You have to-day touched upon a subject which is all-important. You have said that your people are passing away, not arriving at a ripe old age, but dying before their time. We find you are a noble race, and yet disappearing prematurely from the face of the earth. The world is wide, there is room enough for us all in this land, and it is not the desire of the Government, nor my desire, speaking on behalf of the pakehas in this country, that you should disappear, but it is our desire to inquire into this, see what is the cause, and apply a remedy. You have said that I came amongst you very much as a physician, as a doctor would visit his patients, and after seeing them would prescribe for their ailments. You have well described the position; you could not have put it more plainly. I am here to-day as a physician, as the Government is desirous of prescribing for your ailments and, if possible, restoring your health. Yours is the sickness of the mind. Your troubles are more on your minds than in your bodies, and yet even in that respect there is trouble. I have found on my travels in the districts in the north, and with the Natives I have met in other parts, very much the same trouble that affects you. Promises have been made and left unfulfilled, and most of the trouble is in respect to the land. Is it to be wondered at that those Natives who have been in the past unfriendly to the Government should doubt the Government, when we find those who have lost their people while supporting the Government not having the promises made to them fulfilled? You welcome here to-day the young chief of Tuhoe who is with the party, and what was said to him I greatly appreciated. They were words of wisdom, and I am sure will bear good fruit in the future. We are deeply indebted to Tupaea, our guide, the young chief of Tuhoe, who has brought us here in safety amongst you to-day. He will now see another world and, as it were, another people, a people of his own race, though of a different tribe, who have always been friendly to the Government, and who are living side by side with the Europeans. There are some evils that he will see that I hope will be a lesson to him. He will see, and has no doubt seen—they are here in your midst to-day—those of the Native race giving way to a very great evil. That evil has done and is doing more harm than any other evil that has befallen the Natives. I allude to strong drink. He will see other things that are good. He has now seen the Rev. Mr. Tamihana, who is following the mission of his Great Master, and he has heard his words of love delivered as a message from that Great Master, who is greater than the Government, and greater than all those who are or ever have been in New Zealand. Then he

will have heard, perhaps, for the first time that you people here are only representing the *wahines* and *tamariki*, that your great men have gone away to a meeting at Gisborne, and, as a wise man, he will have said to himself, "What is the good of their being at Gisborne; taking part in a farce, when the head of the Government himself is here in your midst"? Well, the Government loves the mothers, wives, sweethearts, daughters, and children of the Native race. Hence I am just as well pleased to meet the women and children as I would have been to meet the men who have gone away to take part in that farce. I will speak for the welfare of the women and children. I say that we, the Government, are desirous of promoting the well-being of the Native race, and of conserving to them the land which belongs to them, and of improving their position in the world. We see a people who, if the Europeans were in the same position, would be considered very well to do indeed. They are rich in land; but that land is useless because it is not producing, and the owners are living in almost absolute poverty. Land is only valuable to mankind when it is producing. The great trouble that besets the Natives arises from the fact that each Native has not got his own particular bit of land to cultivate. Some will not work; some reap where they have not sown. That is the curse of the Natives in this country. That is the mist that is over the minds of the men of the Native race. They see this going on, but do nothing to stop it. In time they will refuse to work, and will leave the *wahines* to do the cultivation. If I had the power, I would subdivide every plot of Native land and put each of the owners on his own particular plot, and see the husbands, wives, and children cultivating it so that they may live, and know that what you are doing is for the benefit of yourselves for all time I have been through country during the last few weeks where, in former times, prior to the advent of civilisation, there were fields of green waving corn. At that time the Native race was prosperous. All toiled; all were living in peace, happiness, and affluence. Now their land is covered with tea-tree, fern, and that abominable nuisance the "*missionaries*." No one will go to cut down or burn the tea-tree and face the "*missionaries*." And why do not they do it? Simply because they do not know who they are doing it for. If they knew they were doing it for their wives and children, they would take off their coats and go to work as their forefathers did of yore. This brings me to the several matters that have been brought under my notice by you to-day. You have told me that land has been vested in ten owners; that it was originally intended that these ten owners should be trustees for the tribe, but, by some mysterious misconstruction of the law, you find that these persons have dealt with the land as if it were their own, leaving the rest landless and in a state of destitution. If anything was to occur of that character with the Europeans the Supreme Court would at once rectify it, upon an application being made thereto. Of course, there is great difficulty in connection with this matter. The land may be all let. It may be that these persons have disposed of it to innocent persons, who have purchased it thinking they were treating with the persons who held the titles. These people may have paid their money, and may be now in possession. I am grieved to hear that petition after petition has been made to the Government pointing this out to them, and that no action has been taken. This must have occurred before the land was disposed of. If there is still land remaining in the hands of those persons who were named in the deeds as actual trustees, if it is not too late, I myself would favour inquiry with a view to prevent further evil. I have met with several such cases since I have been Native Minister, and in all cases which have come under my notice where there is good ground for believing the persons named are only trustees, I have granted an inquiry. I believe that next session we shall require to pass legislation to give effect to the inquiries made. I may tell you there is great danger in disturbing titles, because other titles have been granted upon these titles, and very great care will have to be taken. My advice to you is: put down in writing the particular blocks, the respective owners, and the whole of the circumstances connected with this matter, and send it down to me, giving all details, so that I can first of all decide from that information as to whether or not an inquiry is necessary. The next subject I will touch upon will be as regards the 300 acres which you say has disappeared. My reply to that is: give me the particulars in writing, the particular lands, and the whole of the circumstances, so that I may deal with that also after inquiry. The next question you brought under my notice was where you had ceded land to the Crown and lands were given you in return, and that the wrong owners had been put in the schedule of these lands. You want that adjusted? The law cannot, as I pointed out, enable inquiry to be made. You desire it to go before the Court, but the law would not permit it going to the Court for inquiry. That is the true interpretation of the law. There is good ground for an alteration in the law, and I am at a loss to understand why an amendment was not made. In respect to this matter, you inform me that a petition has been sent down to Parliament, or the Government, and that no action has been taken thereon. I am not—and it would be unfair to hold me—responsible for the mistakes and errors of another Administration, but I do assure you that it is my earnest desire to do justice, and, where injustice has been done, to see the stigma cast upon those who have done such injustice. I would therefore advise you in this, as in the other two cases, to reduce to writing the particulars of the grievance, and send it down to me at Wellington, so that I may, after inquiry, decide whether legislation should take place to meet the case. The last subject that I will touch upon is the one which to me was the most painful of all, and that is that, owing to the late flood—one almost unprecedented in its character, nothing like it having taken place for the last twenty years—your food has all been destroyed. That is a most serious matter indeed.

Although you are suffering under this, probably it has been sent as a lesson. From this misfortune good may result. You have lands that the flood could not have touched, lands that belong to these people, yet they have not been cultivated. Had their land been cultivated, the food could not have been taken away by the floods, and you would have had that to fall back upon. You know the old teaching that if you build your house upon sand the sand disappears, and down comes your house. You only cultivate on the banks of the river. The flood has come, and your food has gone. The Pakehas have an old saying, and that is, "Never put all your eggs into the one basket." Now, the lesson taught by this flood is this: Do not always rely upon small cultivations, on the small quantity of food on the banks of the river, that is liable at any moment to be swept away by a flood. I see stalwart men here, they are very numerous, and a greater number are away at Gisborne. They would be better cultivating the land here. There are quite sufficient men here to cultivate it. You are either idle, or there is something that prevents you from cultivating. Your forefathers were—and I do not desire to hurt your feelings by saying this—as good, if not better, men than you, and yet they toiled and cultivated the soil. This is the mist that overhangs your minds; this is the gulf which you cannot bridge; and to remove it, and to get you back to honest and industrious toil, so that food may be found for your wives and children, that is why I am here to-day. You have said that I was your parent; well, I have spoken to you as a father would speak to the children he loves. You know what has often been said: that the parent who does not deal firmly with his children when they do wrong and fails to correct them—that those children in after life will blame that very parent for not doing it. My words to you to-day have been of a corrective nature; they have been used in your interest; and, again, as a parent, I will tell you this, that I do not wish—indeed, I should be very sorry—that any of you should want for food. I will have inquiries made as to the loss you have sustained, and, if necessary, the Government will render you assistance in this your great tribulation. The Rev. Mr. Walsh is here to-day, and the Rev. Mr. Tamihana is also here in your midst. I will ask them to write to me on the subject, so that I shall be able to deal with it; and upon their reports as to your trouble in this respect, if there is the difficulty you have pointed out, and there is need, I will supply that need by letting you have the necessary food. It is too late for you now to cultivate, the season has gone by; but we must help you in your necessity. Never again stand before a Minister and say this trouble has overtaken you, whilst if you had used caution the trouble would never have occurred. I have nothing further to say to you but to express, in conclusion, the very great pleasure it has been to me to be with you to-day, and to thank you for the hearty welcome you have accorded my colleague and myself. The former, by the way, is no longer a little boy, he is a big boy. I also wish to thank you for the welcome you have accorded to the representative of the Tuhoe. We now wish you a kind and friendly good-bye.

The party then proceeded to

## MARUMARU,

stayed there during the night, and proceeded to Gisborne the following morning, arriving at the latter place at midnight.

The young chief Tupaea was sent back to his home from here *viá* Opitiki, in company with Mr. Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands. The night previous to his departure he expressed a wish to address the Premier when bidding the latter farewell. He said,—We have had a very pleasant trip together, and I am glad you have arrived safe. My mission is now ended; but before we part I wish to assure you, with regard to my tribe, that whatever trouble they may in the near future come in contact with I will let you know of it. You may rest assured, on account of what Kereru told you at Ruatoki, that the troubles of the past will never be renewed, but that our people will now live in conformity with the law and in peace. That is the feeling of the younger generation. We say no good can come out of anything that is troublous or anything that approaches the troubles of the past. We of the younger generation are also mindful that a new age is dawning upon us, and that that dawn is in the interest of our tribe and our lands. At the present time, while my elders are alive, the control of the affairs of the people rests in their hands. I speak of Kereru, Numia, and others. Were anything to happen to them—were they to die—it would then be my duty to assert myself in my proper position; and I feel that whenever it comes to that period—although I should always regret their passing away—I would immediately, in the interest of my tribe, take up my position and manage for the good of the people and for the good of the land. The *hapus* to which I belong are large land-holders. There is one thing, however, that I could do, not with standing my youth fulness, and I feel that I would be in order in doing so, and that is to advocate as strongly as I can the establishment of schools in our district for the purpose of educating the rising generation. I felt all through our journey the want of education. I often sat by and listened to you enjoying your jokes with each other, and the members of our party, and I judged by the merriment which was evinced that there was something to relish; but I was precluded from joining therein owing to my ignorance of your language. Now when a young man like myself is so expatriated from the fruits of knowledge, it behoves him to take up the line

of action I have indicated, and to strongly advise his people to have schools in their districts. Hard as this may be on myself, still, it cannot be helped. Suffice it to say that Kereru, Numia, and myself have been sacrificed to the want of education; but, in the interest of the younger people of the Maori race, education should be given them. They are noting now the error of the past. Henceforth let schools be established, or else they will find themselves in the same condition of ignorance that we are in. Now, with regard to the proof of your love for myself (alluding to a gold ring which the Premier had taken off his finger and given to Tupaea) in this token, I tell you in all earnestness I will never relinquish it, nor ever let it out of my hands into those of others, but I will cherish it, not for its intrinsic value, but for your having presented it to me as a memento of our journey and the good feeling that exists between us. I will not keep to myself the knowledge of our trip, with all its pleasing incidents, and all our mutual enjoyment, but I will relate everything that has happened, even to your goodness to me as evidenced by your gift, to Kereru, Numia, and the elders of the people, as well as to my own helpmate and my children. I was very glad that you were so thoughtful as to communicate with them, and to inform them of our safe arrival in this place; and I was very pleased at the nature of their replies which you showed to me. I hope the good feeling that exists between yourself and colleagues will never cease, but will continue so long as I am on this side of the grave. I can only thank you for your kind consideration in regard to the photograph which you say you will send me, and copies thereof to distribute amongst the other chiefs, so that they will remember the journey we have performed together across our territory. It will cause their minds in the future to look back to this time with feelings of kindness at your meeting them, and joining together with them in mutual *korero* and travelling through their country. I told Kereru when I left Ruatoki that I was anxious he should insist on the block being investigated by the Native Land Court, and to oppose any attempt on the part of the other tribes or *hapus* to postpone the hearing. I said that I was anxious there should be a test case, that our right to the land should be investigated, so that we might know what we really did own, and that it was a good thing our lands should be under the protection of the law. I am rather grieved at what I heard to-day in this place that the Ruatoki Court was further adjourned.

The Premier: It is adjourned for seven days. I telegraphed to Wellington, and learned that Judge Scannel could not get away. When I get back there shall be no further adjournment. If Judge Scannel cannot go I will get somebody else. I am anxious to have the matter properly adjusted, and your claims to the block proved.

Tupaea: I undertook this journey out of love and friendship for you, and to see you safe through the country. I shall be on my way home to-morrow, and so will you. I therefore wish you a kind farewell.

## CONCLUSION,

Thus ended the most successful trip that has ever been made by a member of the Government through Native territory.

The distance travelled was 1,794 miles, viz.:—

The following are the settlements visited, viz.:—

Nineteen meetings were held, and two thousand assembled Natives addressed, representing about ten thousand.

It will be noticed that in the foregoing narrative the speeches made by the Hon. J. Carroll are conspicuous by their absence. This is accounted for by the fact that, wherever the Premier met the Natives, he was introduced to them by Mr. Carroll, who fully explained to them the object of the trip, and at most of the places acted as interpreter, the party not having taken an official interpreter with them. Where their services were available, Mr. G. T. Wilkinson (Waikato) and Mr. W. E. Goffe (north of Auckland) rendered valuable assistance as interpreters, and thanks are due to them on that account.

The Premier's party consisted of Hon. Mr. James Carroll, Mr. Gerhard Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Chief Surveyor for the Auckland District, and Private Secretaries T. H. Hamer and J. F. Andrews. The latter took a full note of the proceedings throughout the entire trip, and to his skill as a stenographer is due the foregoing very complete record of the many meetings with the Natives. Under all the circumstances the work of recording the speeches was a most trying one. The party was engaged in travelling very frequently all day long, and at night would hold meetings with the Natives in their primitive dwellings. It is no easy task to follow and take a correct stenographic report of a number of long speeches at any time and under favourable circumstances; but, after travelling on horseback over the roughest of rough country, to sit or lie down on the floor of a Maori runanga (meeting-house) and—*sans* table, chair, or other convenience—record verbatim a number of rapidly-delivered speeches is a feat in phonography.

The party was accompanied during a portion of the trip by Mr. J. M. Geddis (*New Zealand Times*, Wellington) and Mr. J. Gray (*Auckland Star*), whose reports were published in their respective journals *in extenso*, and Mr. William Herbert Jones, F.R.G.S., during the journey through the Urewera country. Mr. Jones

is collecting material for a work that he is about to publish dealing with the principal features of the colony, and his researches in this hitherto unvisited locality will prove of considerable interest. Attached are some extracts from newspapers regarding the Premier's trip.

The narrative of the trip was to have been laid on the table of the House during the session of 1894, and it was commenced to be printed just before the session began, but it was found inexpedient to go on with the printing, as the large amount of one class of type required would, if so locked up, have greatly inconvenienced the printing-office staff. The printing was therefore delayed till after the bulk of the sessional work was completed.

## Appendices.

### Press Opinions and Reports.

#### MELBOURNE "ARGUS."

THE *Argus* of the 28th March, 1894, comments thus on the Premier's trip:—

*"The Maoris are to have no abiding city in their native land. This may be unavoidable, but still the divorce of the New-Zealander from his territory will be regretted by sentimentalists in general, and by the many friends of the race in particular. The fiat has gone forth, because the Premier of the colony claims to be a philosophical Radical, and because the philosophical Radical is strictly utilitarian when it comes to business. Mr. Seddon has been through the so-called King-country, and he sees no reason whatever for adhering to the arrangements made when the soldier was in the field, and Sir George Grey was Governor, that 'the Maori should have his piece'—a very small slice, and that 'the pakeha should have his piece'—a very large slice. The Maori idea was that the white man should not buy land in the King-country, and that the tribes should remain there on their tribal domains for ever. But this is not to be. Mr. Seddon's proposal is that the Maoris should be informed that there is no difference between their part of the country, the romantic and volcanic district between the Waikato and Taranaki, and any other part; and that the Government will in future take possession of any tract in the King-country it wishes to sell to the white man, paying the Maori for the area in interminable debentures. This power of 'resuming' lands needed by the State is, of course, well known in all countries, and yet it is self-apparent that there is a difference between deposing the Maori from his final acres, and the taking the bits of land for public purposes. New Zealand will not seek to deal harshly with the Maori; and it so happens that the tribes have a champion in England in the person of Sir George Grey to state their case if injury is proposed. Moreover, as time goes on, the Native race will doubtless have to go; but assuredly there was a tacit understanding when the fighting was on that if the King tribes laid down their arms and acquiesced in the boundaries as arranged for them they would be left on their holdings; and as a matter of sentiment it might be well for the Wellington legislators to wait until Rewi and the last of the chiefs who fought, and fought gallantly, for this right of the Maoris to hold Maori land have disappeared from a scene which they are now fast leaving."*

#### AUCKLAND "STAR."

The following vigorous article, from the *Auckland Star*, of 20th March, will tend to illustrate the fact that the Northern people regard the Premier's trip in a most favourable light:—

*"Mr. Seddon's modest peregrination through the North Island, accompanied only by Mr. Carroll, has had very little of the outward aspect of a Royal progress. Instead of pomp and circumstance, there has been for the Premier, we are sure, a great deal of mental fatigue and weariness of the flesh in these long journeys, and often tedious interviewings. But, unless we are greatly mistaken, his visit to the recesses of the King-country and to the country north of Auckland will be fruitful of more valuable results than have accrued in other countries from many a real Royal progress. Already it has had an excellent effect in more ways than one. To begin with, it has furnished the people throughout the North Island with the best proof they could get of the earnest industry which the Premier displays in all his work, and of the desire to do justice to all parts of the colony by which he is actuated. Even Mr. Seddon's bitterest opponents, where they have not been converted into his friends—a transmutation of which we have had frequent evidence lately—have been forced to praise the assiduity, firmness, and tact he has shown during the tour. They may bring the favourite old charge of autocracy against him for lack of any other, but they certainly can never accuse him of being a roi faineant. Hard-working and most practical in his industry is the character he has justly earned throughout the North. If there is anything more than another which we do need in these colonies, and which in the past we have lacked often when we most required it, it is a practical Ministry with a practical Premier at its head. We think no one*

will dispute that we have both now, and the advantages of them to the whole country are becoming more and more apparent every day. This is peculiarly the case with regard to Mr. Seddon, and especially since he determined in his dual capacity of Native Minister and Premier to make himself personally acquainted with that great tract, the King-country, which it is imperative should be thrown open for settlement, and those other tracts in the North which, though long ago open to the European and a source of great wealth to the colony, have been almost ignored in Wellington. Here is no Premier sitting in his armchair dozing over 'visions of a perfect State,' or inditing essays on Utopia while a young colony brimful of wealth and opportunities is crying aloud to be developed. Here is no vain theorist or smooth-tongued speechifier, excellent, no doubt, in a debating society, but worse than useless in a Legislature like ours. Here is one who understands that a practical knowledge of the conditions of life in the colony is even more necessary in those that make the laws than in those who are chiefly affected by them—one who sees with a clear eye that here where the Premier has to take on his own shoulders the chief burden of the State, and has not Secretaries and Under-Secretaries to share it with him, he should have a minute, almost parochial acquaintance with the needs and resources of every part of his dominions. Of course such an acquaintance could only be found in an ideal Premier. We must be well content with approximations to it. To gain such an approximation in regard to the North Island is the object of Mr. Seddon's present visit. In regard to the South Island he already possessed it, partly as an inheritance from his predecessors in office and partly through his own researches. Prior to this journey of his, it has been somewhat fashionable in the Wellington House to be ignorant of the greater portion of this Island. The King-country has been a sort of 'misty mid-region of Weir' in the minds of nine-tenths of the members, and as for the country north of Auckland, it might be compared to the famous 'Isle of Wind' on which Pantagruel and his companions landed in their search for the Holy Bottle, and where the inhabitants are described by Rabelais as living on promises, flattery, and hope. With the Premier's advent a new epoch has dawned for both the King-country and the North, we hope. We have now the perfect assurance that in the future sessions of Parliament these long-neglected portions of the colony will have the attention which they merit. When discussion arises in future debates on questions relating to the settlement of Native lands in the centre or northern portion of this Island, or to the development of settlement in the peninsula north of Auckland, there will be found on the Government benches, in the person of the Premier, a willing and discriminating listener, to whom Northern members can address their grievances with the certainty of having them considered with that impartiality which only comes from perfect practical knowledge. In the future, recalcitrant Maoris meditating foolish and misjudged opposition to the march of civilisation will remember the practical Premier who travelled open-eyed through their land, and think twice before they venture on a 'humberging' policy. And in the future the struggling Northern settler, and the equally struggling gumdigger, will feel that they have a friend at Court indeed. The former, toiling with his produce through roads deep in mire, will not despair of some amelioration of his hard lot when he considers that the Premier understands his difficulties, while the knights of the spear and spade will feel a firm confidence in the man who entered so fully into their difficulties in the most familiar spirit without designing to flatter them for one moment.'

## "NEW ZEALAND HERALD."

The Premier's visit to the picturesque district and township of Whangarei is thus recorded by a special reporter of the *New Zealand Herald*. The report appeared in that journal on the 17th March:—

"I omitted in my last to pay a tribute of praise to the Northern Steamship Company for their excellent steamer arrangements. The Premier and party found the s.s. 'Wellington' a most comfortable boat. Under Mr. Ransom's management the company have gained a reputation for the comfort and punctuality of their boats.

"Taurau Kukupa, a leading chief of the Parawhau Tribe, had an interview with the Premier this morning. He claims to be the principal owner of the Whatitiri Block, in which the Uriroroi Tribe are also claimants. He wanted the Native Land Court for the investigation of title to sit at Whangarei. He also wanted his application for a rehearing in the Omiru Block, which comprise the Wairua Falls, heard as soon as possible.

"The Premier replied that he had already promised that the Court for Whatitiri should sit at Poroti. The application for a rehearing could not be considered until a successor to the Chief Judge was appointed.

"The Premier, Mr. Carroll, and party, accompanied by Mr. R. Thompson, M.H.R., and others, left Whangarei by special train at 10 a.m. to-day for Hikurangi. At Mairtown two of Mr. Dobie's little girls were at the station and presented the Premier with a magnificent bouquet and a basket of locally-grown oranges. The party went on to the terminus of the railway at the new coalfield, a mile beyond Hikurangi, and inspected the place. On returning to the township the Premier received telegrams apprising him of a banquet in his honour at Kawakawa in the evening, and asking him to meet the Natives at Waiomio in passing through, and to have another meeting at Waimate to-morrow.

"Various deputations were awaiting the Premier on his arrival at Hikurangi Township, and they were duly received in the billiard-room at Rolleston's Hotel. Mr. J. W. Kerr acted as spokesman for a deputation

appointed at a public meeting on the previous evening to urge on the Premier the necessity of immediately pushing on railway extension to Whakapara, three miles and a half beyond the present terminus. He pointed out that it would there tap the river, which had a drainage-area of something like seventy square miles, and a large extent of valuable timbered country, comprising the Puhipuhi Forest and Crown land to the eastward of it. The railway-works would also afford employment to a large number of men who could not now make a living at gumdigging. Coal and manganese deposits would also be tapped.

"The Premier said it was a waste of time to talk of starting works merely to give employment to gumdiggers. The Government could not exceed the parliamentary appropriations. The extension of the railway to Whakapara was a matter deserving consideration when passing next year's estimates. The deputation had made out a good case, and if the statements as to the extent and quality of timber, and coal, et cetera, it would bring to the market were verified by official investigations the matter would receive the favourable consideration of the Government.

"Mr. W. G. Barker presented a petition, signed by forty settlers, urging the formation of a road between Hikurangi and Whananaki, on the East Coast. Messrs. J. W. Kerr and H. Hawken also spoke.

"The Premier said the Government had given assistance to settlers in respect to these matters last session—first, by making Native lands chargeable for half rates, and, second, authorising the imposition of a vehicle-tax. Settlers must be self-reliant, and a vehicle-tax ought to be imposed on those who used the road. He could make no promise.

"A large deputation of gumdiggers was next received. Messrs D. H. Lannan, R. Hutchinson, George Horn, Moore, and Cato spoke, urging the necessity of starting road-works if the gumdiggers were not to be thrown upon public charity. Fifteen out of every twenty men were not able to earn 'tucker,' and the best men could only make £1 5s. a week at present prices.

"The Premier said works could only be started where likely to be reproductive, and only to the extent of the appropriations. The Government could not initiate works solely for the purpose of affording work to the unemployed. Gumdiggers, like farmers, were feeling much the bad times. Something, however, ought to be done, and he was considering whether an arrangement could not be made whereby gumdiggers could take up land, as miners now did, under an occupation license, paying nothing only so long as they had a certificate enabling them to dig for gum and cultivate, secure against invasion from other places. This would also give permanency to the industry. He intended to inquire carefully into the matter, and see what could be done. The delegate to the Conference at Canada had also received instructions to investigate the cause of the present depression of the foreign gum-market.

"Mr. D. D. Lannan asked that land in Puhipuhi should be opened for settlement. The timber there would help settlers to make a living.

"Mr. Seddon promised to lay the matter before the Minister of Lands.

"The party, after lunch, left for Kawakawa."

## **THE PREMIER AT KAWAKAWA.—("NEW ZEALAND HERALD.")**

The following is taken from the *New Zealand Herald* of the 19th March:—

"The Premier and party arrived at Kawakawa about 8 o'clock on Friday evening, after a long drive over exceedingly rough land, and were met by Mr. Houston, M.H.R., and a large party of residents. The party immediately adjourned to the hall, where a sumptuous banquet was provided by Mr. Stewart, whose efforts were much appreciated. The Chairman, Mr. Kirkpatrick, proposed the toast of the Premier.

"Mr. Seddon, responding, said the reason of his visit was the desire of the Government to settle people on the land. They were met with the difficulty of procuring land, which was held in large tracts by Natives—unoccupied, unused, barren, and untitled. With a view to remove this difficulty the present tour was undertaken. Mr. Seddon referred to the extremely involved condition of the Native-land legislation as absolutely retarding settlement of the question. The time had arrived, he said, when this entanglement must be removed. The Natives should be consulted in the matter, and should have indicated to them the course of action which the Government intended to take. The sooner they knew this the better for themselves and the colony. The Natives should know that the lands which they do not intend to use must be disposed of to Government.

"The Hon. Henry Williams, M.L.C., said he had long entertained the opinion that some change was absolutely necessary in the methods of procedure. He felt sure that the Natives would readily fall into place if made to understand that special concessions would not be made in future,

"The Premier and party, accompanied by Mr. J. S. Clendon, Resident Magistrate, and Mr. Houston, M.H.R., journeyed to Waiomio, where they were met by an influential representation of the Ngapuhi Tribe. They intimated to the Premier that they had nothing to say regarding their own affairs.

"The Premier said he took it that silence indicated perfect contentment and happiness, and urged them to avail themselves of this opportunity to ventilate their grievances.

"The party next proceed to Waimate, where one of the most important meetings will be held."

## THE PREMIER IN THE UREWERA COUNTRY.—("NEW ZEALAND HERALD.")

"The most interesting part of the Premier's trip was that through the Urewera country. The Urewera Tribe have resisted the advances of civilisation with greater pertinacity than that displayed by any other branch of the Native race; but the Premier's visit has gone a long way towards removing the difficulties which retarded settlement in the district occupied by that people; In dealing with the Maori race considerable tact and judgment are required. It is true that the tribes who have been brought into close contact with the Europeans during the last thirty years have acquired enough knowledge to convince them that their interests are bound up with their white neighbours; but the Ureweras, before the Premier's visit, were in a similar condition to that in which Sir George Grey found the Native race in 1845. A passage from the preface to Sir George Grey's 'Polynesian Mythology' applies with considerable force to the Premier's visit to the Urewera country: 'I soon perceived,' writes Sir George, 'that I could neither successfully govern nor hope to conciliate a numerous and turbulent people, with whose manners, customs, language, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. In order to redress their grievances and apply remedies which would neither wound their feelings nor militate against their prejudices it was necessary that I should be able to thoroughly understand their complaints; and to win their confidence and regard it was also requisite that I should be able at all times, and in all places, patiently listen to the tales of their wrongs or sufferings, and, even if I could not assist them, to give them a kind reply, couched in such terms as would leave no doubt on their minds that I clearly understood and felt for them, and was really well disposed towards them.'

"The foregoing remarks fully explain the utility of the Premier's visit to the Urewera country."

## AUCKLAND "STAR."

That the trip to the Urewera district was not without its difficulties and dangers may be gleaned from the following report furnished to the *Auckland Star* of the 9th April:—

"Wairoa, this day.

"The Premier and party have just arrived safe and well at Frasertown, about five miles from Wairoa. We have had some thrilling experiences. The country is the roughest and most dangerous to travel through that I have ever met with. The floods on Monday week have played havoc with the tracks, which were ever bad at the best.

"From Timitimi to Lake Waikare-moana we had to do on foot twenty-four miles, and after eleven hours' travelling we reached the Ruatahuna side of the lake just in time to find the canoes gone, the Maoris having come to the conclusion that owing to the bad weather and rough country the party had gone some other way. There was an old canoe on the bank, so some of the party went round the lake yesterday morning and lit fires, which could be seen from the Native pa on the other side of the lake. A miserable day was spent, as the supply of food was run out, and short rations was the order of the day. The Premier's food yesterday consisted of a pigeon which the Maori guide had shot, and the novelty was relished exceedingly. It reminded him of his old digging days.

"In the afternoon the Maoris came with canoes, but advised the party that there was a risk in crossing, as there was a gale blowing and the seas were running very high. There was hunger on the one side and a drenching on the other, so 'All aboard!' was the order. Camp was struck, and into the canoe the party went. All went well until the canoe got to the middle of the lake, when it commenced to blow a gale, and the seas kept coming into the canoe, and it was a case of bale for existence. The Maoris behaved splendidly, and it was owing to their skill, courage, and coolness that the party reached *terra firma*. The party on shore gave up all as lost, for they saw nothing at one time but the canoe. Some of the party in the canoe lost all heart, some took off their boots and made preparations for a swim, and one of the party wanted to know why the Maoris did not make for the nearest land. Mr. Carroll and the Premier took the matter very coolly. The former simply said, 'Leave the Maoris alone. They value their lives just as well as we do ours.' After battling for about two hours, the canoe was beached stem first into one of the coves to the west of the usual landing-place. The party were drenched through and through, but this was all forgotten on being landed safely.

"Mr. Robson, Mr. Lambert, and Mr. Johnson gave the Premier a hearty welcome, and expressed their gratitude at seeing the party landed safely. The Premier said of all the welcomes given on the trip none was so welcome as that accorded; in fact, there was no shore which he was so pleased to set foot on as that on the south bank of Lake Waikare-moana.

"The party then proceeded to the Maori pa, and after food the Premier received addresses from the Natives, and delivered one lasting over an hour, and at the conclusion the Natives expressed themselves delighted at having their parent, as they called Mr. Seddon, amongst them. In fact, right through the journey the welcome

from the Natives has been very enthusiastic.

"The Premier has seen all the Urewera hapus, the Waitangas at Galatea, and Wheaweras at Waiti, and all expressed themselves as desirous of working with the Government in keeping the laws and living in friendship with the Europeans.

"To-night the Premier is to be banqueted at Wairoa."

In connection with the Urewera country, the following interesting report of Mr. Mueller, Crown Lands Commissioner, taken from the Auckland *Star*, will further indorse the Premier's statement that the differences between the races there are practically settled. It is also gratifying to note that Mr. Mueller considers a large part of the land admirably adapted for settlement. The indications of gold form another encouraging feature in the Commissioner's report:—

"On Saturday evening, Mr. Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands, returned by steamer from Ohiwa, after his recent tour with the Premier's party in the Urewera country. Mr. Mueller states that about Ruatoki there is a large amount of good land for settlement—land absolutely ploughable, and very different to what the party found in the southern parts of the Urewera country. From Ruatoki they went to Galatea, and from thence to Ahikereru and Te Whaiti, a Native settlement. The road lies along the old Constabulary track formed in the time of the war. It traverses about twelve miles of open land and seven miles of bush, coming out on open fern-lands on which the Native village stands. The Premier's party received every hospitality from the Natives, and had a meeting with them. They went down to Ruatahuna, one of the famous strongholds of the Ureweras in the war time, and not far from it was one of the early mission settlements. It is now marked by the densest masses of sweetbriar that could be imagined—in full fruit, with red berries—looking at a distance like a painted plateau, and can be seen miles away. The land in the Whakatane and Waimana Valleys was found to be very good, but the area which will stand cultivation is exceedingly small. In fact, the whole of the cultivable land seen in these valleys did not amount to more than 8,000 acres, all the rest being mountainous country. The ranges were steep but not precipitous, and were covered with good soil, and producing, wherever grass or clover had an opportunity of striking root, most luxuriant growth. In several places they saw cocksfoot 4ft. high. They had a meeting at Ruatahuna with the Natives, and were the first Europeans allowed to enter Te Kuti's runanga house. They had to hand over pipes, tobacco, matches, and knives, as it was *tapued*, and no one in possession of these articles would be allowed to enter. It was excellently carved and painted, but the carvings were of the modern type, and by no means as beautiful as can be seen at Whatiwhatihoe, or those which were executed at Oruanui, Taupo.

"From Ruatahuna they went back to Te Whaiti, and stayed there for one night. Next morning they started for Te Mimi, and this was the worst journey for the horses, being up and down hill. They commenced the journey at daybreak, and were overtaken by night in one of the steep ravines, there just being room enough for two or three small tents. They pitched tents, tied up the horses, and huddled together for the night, the Maoris sleeping round the camp-fire. At daylight they pressed on, reaching Te Mimi at noon, and held a meeting with the Natives. It is one of these out-of-the-way places where three-fourths of the younger Natives had hardly ever seen a European.

"On the following day the journey had to be made on foot, the Maoris carrying the swags, the route being to Lake Waikare-moana. The road from beginning to end almost crossed the run of the terraces, and it was simply a succession of ascents-and descents. While crossing the creeks, a sharp lookout was kept by those of the party who had mining experience for signs of gold. Several layers of wash and most likely-looking stuff were passed. There was no time for prospecting, as they knew that their energies would be taxed to the utmost to reach Lake Waikare-moana that night. The party also crossed several quartz reefs, three or four of them composed of dim hungry-looking quartz; but amongst the pieces picked up in one of the creeks, at least one showed unmistakably gold in the quartz. It will be many years before that country can be opened up and made fairly accessible for miners, but there can be no doubt it will prove gold-bearing. Alluvial mining, as far as could be seen, will never be carried out on an extensive scale in the Urewera country, but quartz-mining and reefing may develop into great importance. About seven miles from Lake Wai-kare-moana the party struck a deep creek with sandstone bottom, gouged out and widened to an average of fully a chain. Down this creek the party made up the lost ground of the previous climbing. The Premier, heavy man though he is, kept the lead for fully five miles, no doubt owing to his alertness in following West Coast parties. However, when the party reached the lake at dark he was clean done up, and could not have gone another half-mile to save his life.

"When the party got across Lake Waikare-moana they went to a meeting-house at a kainga three miles below the lake, and were well received and entertained. The evening was devoted to harmony; English, Irish, and Scotch songs were sung, and after Christy Minstrel selections were exhausted they fell back on Moody and Sankey, the Maoris coming in with a few *waiatas* and speechifying. This went on until half-past 2 o'clock in the morning, when matters got quieter and more subdued towards daylight. Then the tinkling bell called them to Hauhau morning prayers: men, women, and children join in the responses. The same ceremonial took place at 6

o'clock at night, the prayers being a compound of Christianity, Judaism, and heathenism. Saturday was the Hauhau Sunday, and Hauhaus stick largely to the Old Testament.

"Leaving Lake Waikare-moana they got horses and went to Wairoa. On the road the Premier broke the record in riding from the meeting-place to Frasertown in the shortest time, although part of the road was washed away and a detour had to be made.

"At the Wairoa, and near Gisborne, the Premier had meetings with the Natives and received deputations, after which he went South.

"Mr. Mueller, according to promise, escorted a Urewera chief, Tupaea, from Gisborne to Whakatane by the Motu track, one of the routes held in fear by those who have to traverse it in the winter time. As it was, the last day's journey commenced at 6 a.m. and lasted till half-past 8 p.m., the women being fourteen hours in the saddle to reach Opotiki. From thence Mr. Mueller made two trips inland to examine two large blocks at the upper ridges of the Waioeka, and another south of Ohiwa Harbour, with a view of constructing roads giving access thereto. The Chairman of the Whakatane County (Mr. Abbott) and several Councillors accompanied Mr. Mueller, and the party returned exceedingly well pleased to find a good passable road through Nukuhou and Waimana Gorges, which, owing to the height of the range, prove to be the only means of access to this large block of good land. Mr. Mueller, as already stated, returned by sea from Ohiwa to Auckland.

"Mr. Mueller says there will be no further trouble with the Ureweras. The past is past, and they will trust the Government and the Europeans to deal fairly and justly by them in future. They recognise that the balance of power has passed from the Native people to the Europeans, and that it is futile to oppose the extension of settlement."

That the Premier's trip to the Urewera country must be productive of great good cannot be doubted. The following report of the farewell meeting, taken from the Auckland *Star* of the 3rd April, establishes the fact that relations of a most cordial character have been established with the tribe. The accompanying article from the same journal of the 4th April compliments the Premier on the tact and judgment displayed by him in dealing with a tribe which has heretofore not been on the most friendly terms with our settlers:—

"Whakatane, Tuesday.

"The Premier finished his meeting with the Urewera tribe late last night. The result has exceeded the most sanguine expectations, and Native troubles in this part of the colony are practically at an end. The chiefs assured the Premier that the Tuhie, or Urewera, will ever respect and obey the laws, and no matter what other tribes may do they will never again assist in any movement antagonistic to the Government, but will, if necessary, help and strengthen the Government. They have requested a school being established at Ruatoki, also that the Land Court for investigating titles shall be held at Ruatoki. This will no doubt astonish all who know the Ruatoki and its past history, for it was the Hauhau centre and the stronghold of the disaffected Natives.

"The Premier promised to send them a Union Jack flag when the chief notifies him that a flagstaff has been erected.

"The chief asked Mr. Seddon to withdraw the warrants that are still unexecuted upon some offenders over past troubles. He told them that the law must take its course, that the law was more powerful than the Government. If they surrendered he would, seeing now that the surveys have been made, favourably consider and recommend the Government to remit the sentences, but would not make any promise. They must express contrition and obey the law.

"Kereru sends his nephew with the Premier to-morrow, to act as guide through the Urewera country, and the final act of the meeting was that Kereru presented the Premier with the Urewera *taiaha*, which belonged to their ancestor Rongokaeke, and through which ancestor they claim the Ruatoki Block. In presenting it, the old chief was very much affected. He said he gave it to the chief *rangatira* of the pakeha, and it would be in good hands, and those of a friend. The Natives would not again require the weapon. It was now a token of peace.

"The Premier replied that the Government would see justice done to him and his tribe and to the whole of the Native race, and that their faith in the Government was not misplaced. He and others think to see us part on our journey to-morrow morning.

"This is a little different to what occurred a little over three years ago, when Governor Onslow thought it wise to turn back after getting as far as Ruatoki.

"The Ministerial party should reach Wairoa about Friday next."

## "The Urewera Country.

"The present trip of the Premier of the colony, the Hon. R. J. Seddon, through a portion of that erstwhile *terra incognita*, the Urewera country, at the invitation of a large section of the Urewera Natives themselves, is attracting special attention, as it deserves, on account of the novelty of the journey by a Minister of the Crown, and because of the fact that the Urewera Natives were until lately the most hostile and intractable of any of the

Maori tribes, and were most bitterly opposed to the Europeans, and to the advances of the pakeha. It is only within a very short time that the celerated Urewera have allowed Europeans within their inhospitable and forest-clad domains. It will be of some interest now to recall descriptions of the Urewera some years back.

"In February, 1871, after the East Coast War was over. Major Ropata, with his friendly Ngatiporou, was sent on a mission into the heart of the Urewera country in order to meet the scattered members of the Urewera, and try and wean them from the influence of Te Kooti. The Urewera assembled at Tanaki, and sent an insolent answer to the effect that they would not allow booted feet to pass beyond the boundaries of Maungapohatu. Major Ropata marched on with his two hundred men to Ruatahuna, into the far interior. 'Here,' says an account of the time, 'they met the Tuhoe Tribe—wildest and most savage of bushmen. A spectator might well have imagined himself in the New Zealand of Captain Cook's time, so wild and fierce was the appearance of these people. Their long hair was tied up in a bunch like the scalp-lock of the American Indians, and ornamented with white feathers. The effect was ferocious in the extreme. In their speeches to Ngatiporou they denied that Te Kooti was a man of crime, arguing that the slaughter of women and children was only an old Maori custom. Like all the inland tribes, who could have no grievance against us, they expressed undying hatred to the pakeha.'

"In February, 1886, Captain J. E. Rushton, of Ohiwa, returned to Opotiki from the heart of the Urewera country, where he had been, on behalf of the Government, endeavouring to take a census. 'His report was most unfavourable,' said a newspaper report at that time—only eight years ago. 'He found the Natives very sullen and morose, and unwilling to give him any information, declaring themselves averse to pakeha rule and pakeha religion, the greater portion having adopted the Hauhau religion of Te Kooti instead. There are, it appears, fully six hundred fighting men of this savage tribe occupying a large area of country almost surrounding Opotiki, while Opotiki itself, with its thousand men, women, and children, lies unprotected and defenceless. There is not a single rifle in the district. A few of the settlers have applied to the Defence Minister for permission to get arms, and form themselves into a rifle association, but no reply has as yet been received.'

"Since that time the Urewera seem to have been somewhat reconciled to the ever-advancing pakeha, and they now give evidence of a disposition to abandon the policy of isolation which they have stubbornly maintained for so many years. The rumours of gold in the Urewera Range are not lost sight of, and it is probable that prospecting parties will take the earliest opportunity of spying out the land when the old antipathy of the Natives to gold-prospectors is overcome."

## "TEMUKA LEADER."

That the Premier's trip has attracted a good deal of attention in the Middle Island may be gleaned from the following article, taken from the *Temuka Leader* of the 20th March:—

### "*The Premier and the Natives.*"

"The Premier's tour amongst the North Island Maoris can only be characterized as a triumphant march. He has been received everywhere with demonstrations of goodwill and kindly feeling, and, so far as we can gather from the published reports, the Natives have shown him pretty plainly that they repose confidence in him. Mr. Seddon has not gone amongst the Natives with a cringing mien; he has employed no arts in his efforts to secure their goodwill. When a man arrested for some misdemeanour in connection with stopping surveys offered to shake hands with him, Mr. Seddon refused to do so, on the ground that he could not take the hand of a man who had been guilty of breaking the law. Compared with the action of Mr. John Bryce in 1883, in shaking the hand of the murderer Te Kooti, Mr. Seddon's conduct stands out in bold relief. In the same way, when Tawhiao, the Maori King, put on airs, and attempted to get the Premier to dance attendance on him, the Premier maintained the dignity of his position by insisting on the King coming to see him. The King was an hour behind the time he had appointed, and when he arrived he found that Mr. Seddon had left. This is the way to teach the Natives obedience to the law; it is, in fact, the best way to bring them to realise their position. But this was not all. Mr. Seddon told the Natives that the vast areas of land which they had kept locked up must be made productive. He told them that the Government were cutting up the large estates of Europeans, and that the Natives must expect to be similarly treated. It is not with honeyed words or fair promises, or deceptive artifices, therefore, that Mr. Seddon has secured the goodwill of the Natives. He has spoken to them bravely and fearlessly, but at the same time he promised them that they should receive justice and fair play. Manly and spirited independence, as well as earnestness of purpose, and a disposition to be just and fair, have won for the Premier the confidence of his European fellow-settlers throughout the colony, and we have no doubt that it is an appreciation of the same qualities that has aroused the applause of his Native audiences. They have, with that keenness of perception peculiar to them, seen that Mr. Seddon means to treat them honestly. They see that he is determined to save them from being robbed by the harpies who have hitherto been preying upon them, and hence the secret of their

confidence in him.

"But, from all appearances, Mr. Seddon will have no easy task in devising a land policy which will be acceptable to the Natives. They are imbued with the idea that they ought to have a Parliament of their own, and manage their own affairs in their own way. This cannot be permitted. If they had lived on a separate island something of the kind might be done, but in this colony, where Natives and Europeans live in promiscuous intercourse, a separate Parliament is an utter impossibility. Then, there are some of the Natives ready to lease their lands, and others who would prefer to sell. So far as we can see Mr. Seddon is more favourable to leasing than to purchasing Native lands, and in this respect he is unquestionably right. There are many good and tangible reasons why leasing Native lands is preferable to purchasing them. In the first place land is the only means of living Natives have. A European can turn his hand to a thousand-and-one things, but the Native's whole dependence is on the land. That being so, it is necessary that he should have land in order to live, for without it he must become a burden on charitable aid. This must be prevented, and now is the time to do it. The Maoris have more than enough land now, but they are not making proper use of it. It is necessary that this land should be made productive, and at the same time secure to the Maori a living from it. How is this to be done? If the land is sold the Maori will squander the price of it in a few months, and be a beggar for the remainder of his life. That certainly is not the way to do it. If, on the other hand, the land is leased, an annual income is secured to the Maori, and he cannot become pauperised, for the yearly sum will always be paid to him. Under the leasehold, also, the land is secured to the Europeans, and is made productive by them, and thus all the requirements of the State are satisfied. Selling means beggary to the Natives, and consequently taxation for charitable-aid purposes to the Europeans; leasing means a secured income to the Natives, and immunity from irksome burdens to the Europeans. Leasing, under proper conditions and Government supervision, is better for the European than purchasing, and thus, in whatever way one looks at it, the advantages are all in favour of leasing. We have no doubt Mr. Seddon sees all this, and that he means to carry it out. If so, it will be a good thing for both the Natives and the Europeans."

## THE "OAMARU MAIL."

The following is taken from the *Oamaru Mail*:—

*"That the action of the Premier in relation to the Natives who reside in the most isolated parts of the North Island must be productive of good will be admitted by all colonists who are not blinded by prejudice. At much personal inconvenience the Hon. Mr. Seddon made his way to the Urewera country, and succeeded in establishing friendly relations between a once turbulent tribe and the European settlers. The course of duty is often not the agreeable course; and to the irresolute man there is many a lion in the way. But the Premier, whatever his other faults may be, is not irresolute. He possesses a strong backbone, and, when he considers that a certain course is right, his action is decisive, and his judgment prompt and sound. The Hon. Mr. Seddon is the sort of man who, in spite of obstacles, independently of what may be the opinion of partisans or opponents, will do what he thinks right. He feels like Pompey, when venturing on a tempestuous ocean, when on an important occasion he had to be at Rome, and exclaimed, 'It is necessary for me to go; it is not necessary for me to live.' Or like Luther when he said, 'I would go to Worms though devils were combined against me thick as the tiles on houses.' Or like Paul when he said, 'I am ready not only to be bound but to die at Jerusalem.' The sense of duty transcends every other active force. The man who is nerved with that cannot be worsted. He sets at defiance the attacks of his political opponents, and pursues a straight course in order to accomplish what he considers a good work. From the reports of the Premier's interviews with the principal Natives which have appeared in some of our Northern contemporaries we feel convinced that his trip through what was, until recently, a terra incognita will bear good fruit. Whilst taking up a firm and determined stand, he at the same time exhibited statesmanlike tact and diplomacy; thus winning the respect of a people who are shrewd judges of character, and can appreciate a leader of men when they meet him. The colony owes a debt of gratitude to the Premier for his action in bringing the Native race into closer harmony with the European population.*

*"One of the strongest illustrations of the yeoman service which has been performed by the head of the Government is to be found in the fact that, during the last couple of months, applications have been made for the establishment of four Native schools in districts where heretofore no such institutions existed."*

## AUCKLAND "STAR," 29TH MARCH, 1894.

"The cry of the roadless North has long resounded through the land. The lament is not of recent date, but year by year has steadily grown and increased in volume until it has sunk into insignificance almost every other question affecting the province. In the past little or no efforts were made by the Government of the day to ameliorate this deplorable state of affairs, and the settler, beset by all manner of difficulties and oftentimes danger, has had to struggle on as best he could, relying on his own exertions and a kindly Providence.

Impassable roads and no roads at all and a consequent isolation from market and business centres have been disheartening handicaps for the settlers, and that they have fought on and at last established homes proves conclusively their lion-heartedness and courage. But it seems that the turn in the long lane has at last been approached, thanks to the present Liberal Government. To the Hon. R. J. Seddon is due all praise and credit for being the first Prime Minister of New Zealand to be personally interested in the wrongs and distresses of the North of Auckland, and to demonstrate that interest in a practical way. We can with confidence say that every settler and resident gratefully appreciated the desire shown by the Premier to lighten the burdens of the struggling toilers and to permanently improve the existing circumstances. The visit and investigations were by no means of a superficial character; every opportunity was availed of to glean the fullest and most accurate information, and the honourable gentleman underwent a great deal of fatigue and labour in his determination to make his knowledge as complete as possible. He was everywhere enthusiastically received by the residents and settlers, who exhibited their delight at the visit of the Prime Minister in every possible way. Mr. Seddon is now thoroughly conversant with the needs of the North, and the position as regards Native lands, the locking up of which has so greatly retarded the settlement and prosperity of the country, and accentuated the hardships of the pioneers. The gum industry was not neglected, and the Premier's suggestions for solving the difficulty in connection with the present crisis, and to meet any future contingencies, have almost without exception been heartily indorsed by gumdiggers and others interested in this valuable trade. The tour concluded on Tuesday evening, and, although it is premature to predict, we are pretty safe in saying that next session will see most of the proposals framed in definite terms.

"On Tuesday night, the 13th instant, the Hon. R. J. Seddon left Auckland, in pursuance of the visit which was promised last session to the country comprising the extreme northern portion of the North Island of New Zealand. The party, numbering altogether seven persons, included the Hon. J. Carroll, the representative of the Native race in the Cabinet, and Messrs. Gerhard Mueller (Commissioner of Crown Lands), T. H. Hamer (Private Secretary to the Premier), J. F. Andrews (official reporter), and the representatives of the *New Zealand Times* and *Auckland Star*. The trip by the steamer 'Wellington' to Whangarei initiated the journey into the northern wilderness, and the party made Marsden Point and steamed up the tortuous though pretty arm of the sea that leads to the jetty and railway on the following morning. The sea jaunt had proved a delightful inauguration of the tour, and no one had had any cause to bemoan unruliness or insubordination in the gastric regions. On the landing-stage, cordial, and his jolly countenance wreathed in welcoming smiles, stood Mr. Robert Thompson, member for the Marsden electorate, and with him was Mr. Dobbie, well known to Aucklanders as the most successful orange cultivator in the district, and who is also manager of the railway traffic in this particular portion of the colony. Under the care of these willing gentlemen the run to the township was quickly accomplished, and the travellers at once adjourned to the Commercial Hotel, where host Bunyard had thoughtfully prepared a most excellent breakfast. The wants of the inner man had scarcely been satisfied, and a few telegraph messages received, considered, and the answers despatched, when the Premier was under weigh to fulfil the objects of his tour—to visit the toiler for kauri-gum in his lonely desolate haunts, and the Maoris in their most retired villages. Comfortably ensconced in a capacious brake, a start was made for Poroti, a settlement lying some seventeen miles almost due west of Whangarei, the centre of one of the best gumfields in the North and of the Urirorois, a tribe holding some 50,000 acres of first-class land. The road was of a very circuitous nature at the commencement of the journey, leading over a low range of hills. Once these were negotiated some very pleasant level country was traversed, the good metalled road being skirted on either side by thriving homesteads. A prolific crop of maize and a miscellaneous profusion of vegetable growth were eloquent testimonies to the rich productive quality of the soil, and their contemplation almost forced one into a state of dreamy reverie—to forget the present unnatural state of affairs, and picture the North a happy prosperous country with all the magnificent gifts and recourses of a bountiful nature being similarly availed of and developed. Alas! this ideal was soon rudely disturbed and dispelled, not only by a complete change in the aspect of the land, but also by the most unceremonious jolting of our devoted vehicle. We had parted company with the settlers' best friend. Macadam, and, leaving behind the evidences of man's civilising hand for the nonce, had plunged into a region still clothed in all the glory and beauty of nature's original garments.

"Down the winding mountain-path on the far side of the range we were soon enjoying a scene which dwellers in the towns are seldom privileged to witness. The hills, thickly wooded with virgin bush, rose abruptly on our right, a fern-clad valley followed us on the left, and far away, restricting the vision, was the horizon of ranges—the eternal ranges. Small homesteads cosily nestled in the forest by the wayside were passed at long intervals, and blackened smouldering stumps and partially-cleared plots showed what a courageous and successful fight the lonely settler was waging with almost overwhelming forces. Several bullock-wagons, conveying kauri timber from a stretch of bush in the vicinity of Maungatapere, were quickly lost in the rear, and then we were left to ourselves and nature. But no more ruminating on the country as it ought to be was possible; all one's thoughts and energies were concentrated in devising the best and safest

means of alighting from the coach the moment before it capsized or rolled over the embankment. That precious vehicle, however, seemed to take a fiendish pleasure in anticipating your decisions, and unless the calculations were carried on with both arms glued tightly round the rail you were in imminent danger of pitching headlong into space. These sensations were rendered doubly acute at times by the coach foolishly endeavouring (so it appeared to the occupants) to travel along the side of a house—the road would suddenly slope right away and form a very obtuse angle, along which the conveyance careered at a reckless pace, while its valuable freight looked anxiously into emptiness and pondered on the uncertainty of human life and the particular law of gravitation that kept the machine from rolling wildly into a stream some half-mile below. However, as nothing serious occurred, and as we continued to pass safely over many another murderous stretch of road, we concluded that a kindly Providence had extended us its protection, and therefore we once more turned our attentions to the wondrous beauties of nature. The road we were traversing was simply villainous in midsummer; its state during the winter months would defy adequate description by the most eloquent of writers—it could not be expressed in writing. Fancy that hilly, uneven, and, at places, precipitous surface made soapy by rains, and hundreds of the awful ruts and holes completely lost to view under several feet of water, and the reader may possibly have a faint conception of the difficulties and dangers experienced by those daring spirits who constitute the advance guard of civilisation in a new land. The ranges came to an end at last, and we bowled over pretty, low-lying country, skirting the edge of an extensive kahikatea bush, with the track meandering through a large area of flat, good land. The soil up to this point had been extremely patchy; for several hundred yards the coach had rolled smoothly across rich, black loam, and then churned up a white clayey stuff, this process having been repeated at intervals of longer or less duration. The settlement of Poroti was entered shortly prior to noon, and the Premier met a few representatives of the Uriroroi, a set of intelligent, muscular men. A chief named Hira te Taka greeted the Premier with the usual salutations, and explained that a meeting had been arranged for the afternoon. The notice of the visit had been very short, but a good gathering was expected. This hapu numbers some 108 Natives, who own over 50,000 acres of grand land, at present wasting all its substance in the propagation of fern, tea-tree, bush, and a miscellaneous assortment of weeds. The village differs from the ordinary style, inasmuch that the habitations are of sawn kauri timber, constructed after the European plan. A small cluster of houses is to be found at Poroti, but the Natives are scattered all over the country, and it was owing to this fact that the party of welcome was so meagre. There is one block of land containing 14,000 acres being surveyed, but the title has not yet been obtained.

"As several hours were to intervene before business, it was decided to pay a visit to the Wairau Falls, a natural wonder very little known outside the immediate vicinity. This is all the more surprising when it is considered that the falls rank among the largest in New Zealand so far as volume of water is concerned. The road was a repetition of the latter part of the journey to Poroti, only, if anything, much rougher. We were with the gumdigger all the time. Several whares, the only indication of whose presence was the small line of bluish-grey smoke ascending from the centre of tea-tree clumps, were noted along the track, and whenever the occupants were near a hearty 'Good day!' was exchanged. The last three-quarters of a mile to the water was a case of tramp, and soon, as we followed the track through the high scrub, a dull, sullen roar began to be distinctly heard. Suddenly, and without any warning save the noise of falling water, a most magnificent scene burst into view, and we gazed in rapture on a great sheet of water, churned and angry, descending in white feathery spray to the masses of rock some 80ft. below. The sheet must be nearly 200ft. broad, and when we saw it the volume of water had greatly diminished. In winter, our guides told us, the river is always flooded, and the commotion is truly terrific. The edge of the precipice projects over the base, and through the sheet-falling liquid can be discerned a profusion of beautiful ferns, which add an indescribable tint and charm to the scene. From the falls the river continues a broken course, resembling very much a series of small rapids. Adjacent to the falls, and hid amongst the dense growth of superb bush, are immense blocks of limestone, and several large caves, which were once the Native burial-places. The remains of old-time warriors still lie there in great numbers, but it is said the recesses have been pillaged of everything in the shape of curios, weapons, and implements. It was a hard tussle to tear away from this entrancing spot, but business was business, and the Maoris had to be met, so there was nothing for it but to get back as quickly as possible. During the return the Waitomotomo Block was pointed out. This belongs to the same tribe, and early in the sixties was the scene of a great intertribal battle. Evidences of the old pa still remain, but it has long been deserted. It was due to the efforts of Sir George Grey that peace was restored between these belligerents. Our 'Grand Old Man' visited the place in company with Major Von Sturmer. A peculiar story is related of Te Tirau, the chief of the hapu at that time. One of his men ran amuck and killed a woman. Sir George Grey pointed out to the chief that the unfortunate fellow was not accountable for his action, and extracted a promise from Te Tirau that blood would not be spilt in revenge. Immediately subsequent to the departure of Sir George the chief caused a hole to be dug, and in this the madman was securely buried up to his neck. He provided amusement for the old women of the pa as long as they were in a humorous mood, and then his head was also covered and vigorously stamped

upon. That was his end.

"While retracing our steps an incident occurred which was thoroughly characteristic of the Hon. R. J. Seddon. Crossing a piece of swamp-land, a solitary gumdigger was met, armed with spear and spade, and with a collecting-sack slung across his shoulders. Mr. Seddon did not content himself with merely wishing the toiler 'Good day,' but, dismounting, shook hands with the man and made inquiries as to his luck. The digger was a typical specimen of his kind—intelligent, straightforward, and thoroughly good-natured. He was relieved of his tools, and the Premier was soon busily engaged spearing and turning up the rich black swamp-soil. These exertions were continued for five or ten minutes, but only a few specs of gum were collected. The digger remarked that luck varied greatly, and said it was a hard task to make a living just then. As time pressed, this nobleman of nature, who was immensely pleased at the Premier's geniality and kindly interest, and who said he would never forget the day, was left to pursue his weary labours, and the party returned to the hotel.

"After luncheon a representation of the gumdiggers of the locality interviewed the Premier on the burning topic. It may be as well to state here that this field is leased from the Maoris by Mr. S. Rawnsley, who employs over a hundred diggers. The field is one of the best in the country, and the diggers are a happy family, working for one of the most generous and considerate buyers in the colony. The deputation consisted of intelligent hard-working men who, although buried in an out-of-the-way part of the country, were evidently cognisant of all that was passing in the outside world. The proceedings at the meeting have already been published, and it would be mere recapitulation to give a report of the interview here. The requests were very similar to those put forth at the other centres, and the Premier's scheme for settling the diggers on the land was also propounded. This was very favourably received. Several Councillors interviewed the Premier in connection with local requirements, and the party then walked over to the Native settlement, where a goodly number of the tribe had collected by this time. The proceedings took place in the meeting-house, in which the Premier occupied the position of honour at the end of the building. The Hon. J. Carroll acted as interpreter. The Natives, comprising men and women, were squatted in a semicircle, facing Mr. Seddon, and all the children of the settlement were glued to the windows and door-cracks, watching the deliberations of the pakeha and Maori with all-absorbing interest. The Natives, although numerically weak, were very influential, and large owners of land. In response to the Premier's invitation to state their grievances, several of those present made statements. The first to speak was one of those Natives who have endeavoured by every means in their power to foster and further the estrangement and misunderstanding existing between the Maoris and the Government. He had travelled up from the East Coast to object *in toto* to the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Act. He did not know why he objected, but he did. The others also objected, but admitted that they were entirely ignorant of the measure and its provisions. The Bill was fully explained by Mr. Seddon, who also promised, in reply to a request, that the Native Land Court should go to Poroti to investigate the blocks of land now being surveyed. One or two other local matters were dealt with in a manner satisfactory to the Natives.

"The party then returned to the brake, *en route* to Whangarei, and on leaving Poroti the gumdiggers gave three hearty cheers to Mr. Seddon and his Government. They were evidently very grateful to the honourable gentleman for the trouble he had undergone to visit them and endeavour to better their condition. As the anxiety with regard to accidents had subsided, the drive back in the moonlight was extremely enjoyable. The peaceful valley and quiet bush in the glimmering silver rays lay in calm repose on every side, the intense stillness being occasionally disturbed by the lowing of cattle and crying of night-birds. In the distance, where land was being cleared, several bush-fires relieved the landscape and gave an added charm to the enchanting scene. For miles this soft picture soothed the feelings, and made one think life was worth living after all. Then the evidences of civilisation, imperceptibly at first, changed the aspect and thoughts, and the transformation was completed on arrival at Whangarei, where the residents had made ready a banquet to do honour to the Premier and his colleague, the Hon. J. Carroll. There was a good representation of the townsfolk present, and the proceedings never lacked animation. The usual toasts were honoured, those of 'The Guests' and 'The Government' being enthusiastically received. The Premier, in responding, dwelt on the policy of the Government and the objects of his tour, and Mr. Carroll also spoke, referring in his remarks to the Native difficulty, which, he said, was not to be allowed to remain in its present state much longer. The Government had determined to legislate in this direction, but of course it would be premature to state just then in what precise form they intended to act. The gathering broke up close upon midnight with the general singing of 'Auld Lang Syne.'

"In the morning the Premier was seen by a patriarchal chief named Taurau, who wished the Government to have the Whaititi Block, which is now being surveyed, investigated by the Native Land Court. He wanted the land settled by the Court before he died, and was promised this would be done as soon as the surveys were completed. It seemed there was to be no rest for the travellers, and soon after the morning repast—as soon, in fact, as the Hon. the Premier could satisfy the demands of interviewers, whose numbers were legion—a start was made for the interior proper.

"A special train was in attendance to run over the Hikurangi railway extension, now rapidly nearing

completion. One brief stoppage was made to enable Mr. Dobbie's little children to present Mr. Seddon with a basket of fine oranges, tastefully arranged among the foliage, of the tree, and a lovely boquet. Needless to say this gift, appropriate of the neighbourhood, was highly appreciated by the recipient. On sampling, the oranges were found to be really excellent and very luscious, despite the fact that the season had concluded some time previously. Several small coalpits were passed, and the train then entered another region of loveliness, stretches of virgin bush alternating with long reaches of fern-covered hills, and the contour of the country continually undergoing changes. The land in every stage—clothed in native verdure, partially subdued, and completely cultivated—could be observed during this journey, which drew to an end as Hikurangi was approached. Small clearings and diminutive cottages gave warning of the vicinity of a settlement, but the train continued its course past Hikurangi, an exceedingly prosperous little village laid out in the valley. The passengers on this occasion were the first to pass over the line, and no stoppage was made, in order that the distinguished visitors might proceed to the termination of the rails, where a gang of workmen were discovered busily employed laying down sidings and putting on the finishing touches to that already in position. This line taps a vast extent of coal-land and valuable kauri forest. At present it only reaches the extreme edge of a country rich almost beyond conception in natural wealth. At this spot, and within a stone's throw of the line, we were privileged to witness some very unique phenomena.

"The country here, it should be mentioned, is full of lime deposits, and great masses of stone are everywhere *en evidence*. Well, by some mysterious agency, enormous blocks of this substance, symmetrical and neatly squared as though a small army of masons had been labouring at them, stand one on another to a considerable height, forming a solid tower, and in every case with a large puriri or kahikatea tree rearing heavenward right from the centre. Perhaps in a couple of instances the trunks of the forest giants have subdivided, and, closely embracing the limestone, have entered into each other once more at the top and continued their upward growth as solid trees. These curiosities of nature's providing almost beggar description, and require to be seen to be appreciated and understood. The train then retraced its way to the township, and an adjournment was made to Rolleston's Hotel, where business was at once proceeded with. A large body of settlers and gumdiggers was present, and extended a hearty welcome to the Premier, who gave audience to the deputations in the billiard-room. This was quickly filled with able-bodied men, all evidently hard workers, and not too abundantly possessed of this world's goods. It was also manifest that they were there with a purpose, and not for the mere sake of being present. The settlers interviewed the Premier on local matters, and the gumdiggers' business was almost identical with that of the previous day. One suggestion was made by a digger to the effect that the Government in settling diggers on the land should reserve a piece of gum-country exclusively for those settlers. This would keep the field from ever being flooded, and would enable the settlers to make a little capital when required. Mr. Seddon thought this idea was worth consideration, although it received scanty consideration at the hands of his fellow-diggers.

"The wants of the inner man having once more been satisfied, Mr. Seddon and party bade farewell to Hikurangi, amidst ringing cheers from the settlers and gumdiggers. The conveyance that did duty on the previous day was again utilised, but it proved rather unwieldy and cumbersome. We were traversing the main trunk road of the North Island, and, to use a mild expression, its condition was deplorable.

"Our experience to Poroti had been bad enough in all conscience, but this trip was destined to be worse—very much worse. A slight hill was first ascended, and then the coach travelled through several miles of swamp, which was encompassed as far as the eye could reach by bush-covered ranges. Even at this early stage of the journey ruts and cavities drew attention to their existence in the most forcible manner, tossing one about in every conceivable and inconceivable direction, and causing our staid equipage to cavort and frisk to an unbecoming and painful degree. The surrounding high land gradually converged, and we were soon carefully picking our way through valleys and along mountain-sides in the midst of dense bush. Great boulders were strewn over the track at regular intervals, and always at places where ruts were absent; and, when both these failed, wooden culverts and bridges, rising perpendicularly from the road to a height of a foot or more, served to remind us of the joys of a settler's life in that particular, locality. In crossing a culvert or bridge, the horses unconcernedly banged the front wheels against the wooden wall, then pulled altogether and surmounted the obstruction, walked to the other side, stepped down, and quietly waited while the attachment behind fell with an awful thump on to the road beyond. This exhilarating experience became frequent, then familiar, and finally monotonous, before the drive ended, and set one speculating if any portion of the body would possibly escape dislocation. But this was not the only diversion. In one or two hollows the wheels actually disappeared up to the axle even at that time of the year, and our Jehu entertained us with reminiscences of his experiences in the winter months. At one spot his horse had to swim, while the driver and passengers climbed to the uppermost seat, and prayed that the wheels would not wander from the road into the adjacent swamp-land. Again, a piece of ground some chains from the road would be scanned with interest, because it was there some unfortunate horseman discovered himself, after an ineffectual attempt to guide his steed through the waste of

muddy waters. In the bush the land seemed good enough, but once clear of timber the country looked very barren and desolate. A settler's home with a small cleared plot was met with now and again, but habitations were very sparse. Fern and tea-tree scrub alternated with luxuriant bush growth, and occasionally large clumps of kahikatea would be encountered, keeping the interest ever sustained.

"At Hukuranui a short stoppage was made for refreshments, and we left considerably enlivened by the intelligence that several culverts were perforated with large holes, and an accompanying admonition to the driver to be very careful. Once more the road lay over mountain-ranges, at times winding along the edge of a steep timbered precipice. Some stately kauris were passed on the upper land, but forest quickly disappeared when the descent began. Another tract of uninviting country met the gaze, and continued to Towai, where the Premier was interviewed with regard to some local matters. There were about a dozen houses at this place, and in either direction throad was in as dilapidated a condition as was possible. Yet at the settlement was a carefully laid-out racecourse, with miniature grandstand, judge's box, and saddling-paddock. The anomaly was startling, and could not escape notice. Kawakawa was not very distant now, and soon was passed a cleared knoll, which was the scene of the famous Ruapekapeka fight during the Hone Heke war. A couple of the guns still lie embedded at the place, and there are also the remains of the old pa. The shades of night were rapidly enveloping the road and country by this time, and the uneven state of the track rendered a walking-pace imperative. Very little persuasion was required to induce the horses to adopt this rate of speed, and the drive at once began to get tedious in the extreme. The driver was also a cautious man, and, when informed that the coach *might* arrive at its destination before morning, but not possibly prior to midnight, sagely remarked, 'It is slow, but sure. I don't care how long I take, provided I get there.' We said no more after that, but fervently hoped that the vehicle would not develop a propensity to pick out the deepest ruts or skate down the mountain-sides. Once the coach violently canted to an angle of forty-five degrees from the perpendicular, and its devoted freight thought the end had come. The driver was calmly assuring, but, after getting his charge out of the dangerous predicament, admitted that he thought 'she was going.' She did go, but at something slower than the proverbial snail's pace, and thankful indeed were the passengers when the Native settlement at Waiomio was reached.

"This lies three miles outside of Kawakawa, and as it was late, the Premier, through the Hon. J. Carroll, informed the Maoris that he would come out and hold a meeting the following forenoon. The party then pushed on, arriving at Mr. Stewart's hotel about 8 o'clock. Mr. R. M. Houston, M.H.R. for Bay of Islands, was present to welcome the Premier and his colleague, who immediately proceeded to Stewart's Hall, where a banquet had been prepared in honour of the visit. Over fifty residents attended, and the proceedings were characterized by the greatest good feeling and cordiality. Considering the brief notice given, Mr. Stewart had accomplished wonders in providing good things, and making the table attractive, and, as the honourable guest said, 'If such excellent results attended a short notice, it would be impossible to imagine what kind of a feast would follow an extended intimation.' The healths of the Hon. E. J. Seddon and the Hon. J. Carroll were toasted with great enthusiasm, and 'The Government' was also warmly received. Mr. Seddon, in responding, referred to the objects of the tour, and also gave a concise outline of the Government policy. Mr. Carroll also replied in very felicitous terms, both speeches being loudly applauded. Several vocal selections were admirably rendered, the Premier contributing to the enjoyment with a capital song. The gathering continued to an early hour in the morning, and the Kawakawa people left quite charmed by the geniality of the first man in the land.

"Very few hours were devoted to slumber, and a start was made for Waiomio to meet the Natives as arranged on the previous evening. Accompanying the Premier were Messrs. R. M. Houston, M.H.R., J. S. Clendon, S.M., and Goffe, Native interpreter. A short drive brought the settlement into sight, and as the carriages rounded the bend in the hills the Native *powhiri* of welcome rose in wailing accents from a group of aged women, who could be seen in the distance gesticulating and waving the visitors on. The meeting took place in a fine large hall, and the Premier and guests were accommodated with chairs at the end of the building. An aisle was partitioned off, and on either side reclined the Natives, to the number of fifty, all following the business with the keenest interest. Amongst those present were some very old Maoris, with fine intelligent-looking countenances, despite the close network of tattoo-marks. These men were all warriors who had participated in the battles of the Hone Heke war, and had responded to the wacry in many a fierce fight. The Natives belonged to the Ngatihuui, a subtribe of the Ngapuhi.

"The Premier opened the proceedings by stating he would be willing to listen to any grievances, as he wished to ascertain the Native mind. This invitation was not accepted with such readiness as might have been expected. Two chiefs, Wiremu Pomare and Marsh Brown, expressed great pleasure at the visit of the Premier and the Hon. J. Carroll, but intimated they had nothing to say. They invited the Premier to attend a large meeting which was to be held at Gisborne shortly, and at which representatives from every tribe would take part.

"Mr. Seddon was very pleased and delighted to find the Natives so satisfied with their lot that they had

nothing to say but words of welcome. They must be a contented people, because if they did not complain they must be a well-satisfied and happy community. During this tour he had held many meetings, but they were the first to assure him (the Premier) that there were no grievances to be ventilated. Mr. Seddon urged them to state their complaints, as they could get no redress other than through Parliament. Outside meetings would do no good, and if they hoped to get relief that way they would be relying on a broken reed. The Hon. J. Carroll spoke in a similar strain, good-naturedly chaffing the Natives on the total absence of grievances.

"To use a vulgar expression, this 'fetched' the members of the Ngatihiuis. Wiremu Pomare said the Government was well aware of their grievances. The Native-land laws were too stringent—they wanted something more simple, and less involved. The dog-tax was also pressing heavily upon them. They would discuss the various matters later on, and submit their complaints in writing. The Premier promised to give them careful consideration, and the meeting then terminated.

"On returning to Kawakawa no time was lost, and the Premier was soon *en route* to Waimate, where more Natives were to be met. This settlement lies in an opposite direction to Whangarei, and, once outside the township, the difference in the roads was very remarkable. We were bowling on a fine hard surface, perfectly even, with bridge and culverts in excellent order. This state of affairs was beyond comprehension until some gentle inquiries elicited the significant fact that all the County Councillors lived about that part of the country. All the mystery vanished after that explanation, and attention was directed to the view. The ubiquitous mountain-range bounded the vision on the left, being intersected by numerous ravines, in which dark-green pungas grew in profusion. Away on the other side stretched good valley-country. The range at last crossed the path, and had to be surmounted. Scrubby land, with occasional kahikatea patches, followed, until a sudden bend, like the turn of a kaleidoscope, revealed a beautiful transformation. Away at our feet lay the grand estate of Pakoraka, the home of the Messrs. Williams. Fine grassy paddocks, dotted with hundreds of sheep, a large residence cosily nestling in a clump of familiar English trees, presented a pleasing contrast to the dreary waste. The property is chiefly composed of rich soil, and through this we sped for several miles. The country was more or less cultivated after this, and along the road many evidences of former Maori occupation were visible. Hills, terraced and surrounded by earthen ramparts, were all that remained to bear record of the stirring times of days long past, and of the ingenuity and capabilities of the Maoris when the spade was an unknown implement in the land.

"On arrival at the Courthouse at Waimate no Natives were to be found, the notice of the intended visit having evidently been too short. It had also rained heavily during the morning, and the Natives, not knowing the Hon. R. J. Seddon, had probably thought the inclemency would deter him. Turning back, however, several Maoris were met on horseback, and an adjournment was made to Spencer's Hotel, some two miles distant, where luncheon was served. Some dozen Natives were present, and they spoke to the Premier on personal matters of grievance only, reserving their most important subjects for the big meeting at Waima on the next day. They one and all welcomed the Premier, expressing great pleasure at having him amongst them. Mr. Seddon listened to their lengthy explanations and grievances, and then requested that they should be put in writing, so as to receive careful attention. This the Natives promised to do, well satisfied with the result of the proceedings. They were then addressed by the Hon. J. Carroll in their own tongue, and dispersed after a friendly handshake all round. A return was made to Kawakawa, and preparations completed for a long journey to Taheke on the morrow.

"Sunday, the day usually associated in most minds with quiet repose, was not to be one of rest for the Premier, and soon after breakfast the party started on the forty-mile drive in two conveyances, accompanied by Mr. J. S. Clendon, S.M. The route was the same as on the previous day for the first fifteen miles, and then branched off towards Ohaewai. On approaching Pakaraka we were joined by a very ancient, though pleasant, old Maori, on a staunch black pony. This was Wiripiri Hongo, one of Hone Heke's principal fighting-men, who at seventy-five years of age was starting on a fifty-mile ride, besides having twenty-four hours previously traversed over ten leagues. This venerable warrior had had some stirring experiences. He belonged to the Arawa Tribe, in the Waikato, but when a boy was taken by the Ngapuhis, with whom he advanced to manhood. His prowess at warfare soon became conspicuous, and he acted in the capacity of drill-instructor. He was prominently engaged in all the big battles of the Hone Heke war, taking a leading part at Ruapekapeka, Ohaewai, Kororareka, and several other skirmishes. The fine old fellow fought some of his battles over again, telling us how at Ohaewai 122 British sailors were mowed down in ten minutes while attempting to invade the pa by charging. The Maoris were securely intrenched in earthen pits, removed from all danger of shot and shell, and had every opportunity to indulge in sharp-shooting. This foolish mistake in trying to dislodge the Natives so well protected resulted in awful slaughter to the European forces. The Maoris lost nine men, and the death-roll throughout the whole of the war was only sixty-seven. It may be remembered that a considerable amount of controversy took place over an incident which occurred at Ohaewai. It has been asserted by many that a seaman captured during the fight was subsequently burnt alive in order to propitiate the heathen gods. On

being questioned, our battered companion said he did not remember such an act of barbarism, but admitted that portions of the body of a dead officer were cut off and burnt in the celebrating of some incantations. Another Native, who as a young man had been deputed to collect the dead after the fight, told us that the sailor had not been tortured alive. The gruesome story arose through the remains of the unfortunate fellow having been used as an illumination to enable the Natives to work at night. They discovered the body and piled kauri-gum on the top, thus going through the process of cremation. Many acts of heathenism were perpetrated, however, and it was chiefly owing to this reversion to superstition that Hone Heke abandoned the fight. At the commencement of the war he had emphatically stated that Christianity was to be strictly adhered to, and the many backslidings thoroughly disheartened and discouraged him, and eventually caused him to wash his hands of the whole affair.

"In passing through the district a stop was made to inspect the scene of the great fight. A church is now erected on the spot, but much of the original palisading is still standing. The pa was 200 to 300 yards square, and offered an impenetrable retreat. Mr. Clendon, who as a boy watched the attack from some scrub, pointed out the positions of the troops and the guns, and how the shots and shell passed right over the pa without doing any damage to the inmates. Hone Heke was lying inland, wounded, at that time, and on the second night following the battle the Natives evacuated the pa and proceeded into the interior. The Native preacher showed us a portion of one of the six-pounders. It was left by the Europeans, and when discovered by the Maoris was filled up with powder and pebbles, and burst.

"After dinner at Ohaewai the journey was continued through great tracts of Native lands. Kaikohe, a thriving settlement, was quickly passed, and in the valley we saw thousands of acres of first-class land. This is said to be as good as any in the colony, and is still uncultivated. The road after this began to jolt and threaten destruction to the vehicles, at places being strewn with great masses of rock. It led into another valley, through which ran one of the streams emptying into the Hokianga Harbour. Taheke was reached about 4 o'clock, and a stop was made there for the night. The Maoris' horses, which were to convey the party to Omapere, arrived shortly after, and the little place was soon labouring under quite an unusual amount of excitement. A start was made early on the next morning, the horses travelling over a road that was impassable for wheeled traffic. By the time the head of the valley leading to the settlement at Waima was in the near vicinity the party had swollen into an imposing and picturesque cavalcade.

"Warning of the Premier's approach had been sent ahead, and soon the *powhiri* came floating through the valley. Numerous camp-fires betokened extensive preparations, and men, women, and children were to be seen in great numbers. On dismounting, every Native person, to the number of nearly two hundred, formed in the two sides of a square, and were each shaken by the hand. This duty performed, all adjourned to the large meeting-house. The gathering there was in every way satisfactory, and was the largest and most representative addressed by the Premier since leaving Wellington. The chiefs of every tribe in the North were present, the two principal hapus being the Ngapuhis and Te Rarawa. The initial proceedings were of a very impressive character, and showed how much importance the Natives attached to the *horero*. Re Tetai, the greatest chief of the Te Rarawa Tribe, welcomed the Premier and the Hon. J. Carroll in very poetical metaphor, concluding with a song of welcome. Then was revived one of the ancient incantations, which was sung with tremendous vigour by the older men, and was accompanied by a steady stamp. It was a soul-stirring performance, holding one spell-bound. Words of welcome were spoken by all the leading chiefs, who one and all expressed great delight at the presence of the Premier. The Hon. Mr. Seddon then delivered a very able and forcible speech, which visibly affected his auditors, and which elicited frequent applause. Not a word that fell from the Premier's lips was lost, and subsequent events showed that careful note had been taken of all that had been said.

"An adjournment was then made to a large whare, where a splendid dinner was provided. Over a hundred sat down to a feast that spoke volumes for the culinary abilities of the *wahines* of the pa, and indeed the feast came as a surprise to all the Europeans. An added pleasure was given to the repast by the singing of several young fellows, who rendered several familiar old tunes. There were voices of great promise among the group, and all blended in perfect harmony and time and with an indescribable effect. Bursts of applause arose from the astonished pakehas after each contribution, and needless to say encores were absolutely insisted upon. Business seemed very dry and dull after this unique entertainment, and it lasted all the afternoon and right into the evening. After ascertaining that the Native Land Purchase and Acquisition Bill had become law, one Native rose to his feet with a screed of questions covering several quires of foolscap. The Premier's replies to the first half-dozen questions were so satisfactory and effective that the remainder were abandoned. Several other matters, including the dog-tax, were settled to mutual satisfaction, and Re Tetai then intimated that after serious deliberation the Natives intended to draft a Bill, which would be submitted to Parliament through their member, Hone Heke. He asked the Premier and Hon. J. Carroll to agree to sanction the measure. The Premier explained that the Bill would be presented to Parliament, and if good and wise would be accepted and become law, but if evil would be rejected. Several questions of land-disputes were discussed, and the Natives promised to put their grievances in writing and forward them to Wellington, where, the Premier promised, they would receive careful

consideration. In his address the Premier announced very plainly that the Government was determined that settlement should be no longer blocked by the Native-land difficulty, and he urged the Natives to have the titles ascertained and the land surveyed. The party again partook of the hospitality of the Maoris, and the proceedings then took the form of a musical evening. The gathering was one that would probably never occur in a lifetime again, and it was brought to a conclusion by the combined singing of 'Auld Lang Syne' and the National Anthem. We had been royally entertained, and the Natives only regretted that the Premier could not stop over night at the settlement. At 9 o'clock everybody was in the saddle, and a sixteen-mile ride in the moonlight brought us to Rawene at midnight.

"During the short stay, and before embarking on the river-steamer 'Te Aroha,' a craft formerly well known on the Waitemata, a deputation of the settlers of the district waited on the Premier and petitioned his good services on behalf of the roads of the district. They thought the honourable gentleman was cognisant of their requirements in this respect, having travelled over the roads himself. If the Government could take over the control of the roads and have them metalled the residents would be everlastingly grateful. Mr. Seddon examined several of the balance-sheets, and found that the cost of administering the district was nearly 75 per cent, greater than the expenditure on the roads themselves. The discussion disclosed the fact that settlement and progress were being retarded for want of roads and the miserable condition of those already in existence. Some amusing features were related even in connection with this heartrending state of affairs. One County Councillor, replying to the Premier's advice to take full advantage of the rates and the means of collecting the same, said they had a unique difficulty to contend with. The settler pointed out his crop of, perhaps, pumpkins or melons, and invited the collector to take his rates out in produce. He had raised the stuff off the land and could do nothing with it, and he would like the Council to try their hand at disposing of it. He had no money, and if his offer were not acceptable, well—a shrug of the shoulders was very expressive. Mr. Seddon inquired if the Council wanted a grant for the construction of a storehouse also, but was answered in the negative. The deputation assured the Premier that there were miles of good land which would be quickly settled if roads were only provided. The roads they had were utterly inadequate, and were preventing the settlement of excellent country. The assistance of the Government to improve the roads to several specified townships was asked, and the Premier said he would glean the fullest information of the subject, and see what could be placed on the estimates next session. One or two minor matters were also dealt with.

"The party then left by the 'Te Aroha' for the Hokianga Heads, being accorded a hearty send-off by the Rawene residents, who assembled on the wharf to bid them good-bye. The steam down the river towards the Heads, although very short, was extremely pleasant, and our pleasure was further enhanced by the hearty welcome accorded by Mr. Webster on arrival at the small jetty at Heads Point. Mr. Webster, who is one of the oldest settlers in Hokianga, having been an intimate friend of the great warrior Tamati Waka Nene, and a participator in all the big wars that placed the lives of the hardy pioneers of civilisation in the North in the greatest jeopardy, has a lovely estate in this part of the district, and at his residence the party was very hospitably entertained. A very refreshing luncheon was discussed with great zest, and the fruit at the table was an eloquent unspoken testimony of the capabilities of the country for fruit-producing. Pears, grapes, figs were there in profusion, very luscious, and matured to perfection. A stroll through the fine orchards was also greatly enjoyed. Mr. Webster has several fine clumps of bananas, and the fruit was almost as good as the Island production. The remainder of the stay was devoted to inspecting the treasures and curios which Mr. Webster in the course of his varied exciting peregrinations has collected in great numbers. Some are very rare and valuable. We saw the cup which Her Majesty the Queen presented to Tamati Waka Hene in recognition of his services on behalf of the Europeans during the critical period of their lives, when Hone Heke was on the warpath. The first petition ever framed in North Auckland, with the original signatures attached, is in Mr. Webster's keeping, and several manuscript almanacs and shipping-lists of 1840 and 1841, together with many unique and valuable documents, were spread out for our inspection. A very interesting visit was terminated early in the afternoon, and the journey through the wilds was resumed, the company being mounted on some very fresh steeds. The course lay along the beach for a couple of miles, past Omapere and close to the bar at the Heads, over which the surf was breaking in great masses of white foam, and with a dull thunderous roar. The track then led across a low range of hills, fringed with fern, tea-tree, and native bush, and still skirting the coast-line. The road had the usual clay surface, being rutty at places, and, although affording decent travelling at this time, must be horrible for traffic in the winter months.

"The party was cantering past the Native settlement of Waimamaku, having made no arrangements to call in there, when the ringing of the school-bell gave warning that the Natives were desirous of having an audience with the Prime Minister, who was seen in that region for the first time in the history of the colony. The Premier was received outside by the chiefs, and an adjournment was then made to the schoolroom. The subsequent proceedings were of a gratifying character, and showed that some of the advice tendered by Mr. Seddon on previous occasions had proved acceptable. The object of the gathering was broached by Iraia Toi, Chairman of

the School Committee, who said that the tribes of the district were desirous of having the education extended to the Sixth Standard. At present a child could not advance beyond the Fourth Standard at the school, and the parents would not send them away to Te Aute or St. Stephen's on account of the dangers of sickness and death. Mr. Seddon said he entirely approved of this plan, and would discuss the matter with the Minister of Education. The episode had afforded him much pleasure, even more than had the meeting at Waima. Mr. Seddon concluded his remarks amidst loud applause and cordial smiles. At the Premier's request, the children were marshalled, and rendered several songs very prettily. Two of the female scholars also read passages in capital style, showing how careful and efficient had been the tuition of the head teacher, Mr. Winkelmann. The children were very healthy and intelligent, and appeared to take a great interest in their studies. Some really excellent specimens of drawing were inspected by Mr. Seddon, the maps being especially good. The honourable gentleman again expressed his pleasure at being present, and finished by exhorting the children to resolutely pursue their studies, and attend regularly.

"In the saddle once more, a sharp canter brought the meandering valley-road to an end, and soon a sullen and continuous roar announced the surf-beaten shore to be rapidly drawing near. The outlet of the valley closely resembled an American cañon, the hills being high and precipitous, and almost adjacent. Through this the thunder of the waves reverberated and rolled, making a deafening noise. On emerging, a glorious scene presented itself to our enraptured gaze. Away to the left, and unbroken as far as the eye could discern, lay a magnificent stretch of sand, bounded on the landward side by diminutive cliffs, and receding at an even grade into the wild, surging waters. Up this beach great solid walls of living liquid came charging, curling, and leaping in their potency and strength, and threatening to overwhelm everything within reach, only to be transformed into a white seething cauldron, and repeat the process *ad infinitum*. The moon had ascended over the ranges, and far at sea the cloud-banked horizon was distinctly visible. It was a truly wonderful picture, holding one spellbound and enchanted. Along this sand, accompanied by the angry music of the waves, the travellers rode for a couple of miles, and then, making a detour over a kind of sand-dune, pulled up at Messrs. Jarvie Brothers' Kawerua Hotel, in full view of the vast heaving waters of the Southern Pacific. Here the night's rest was much appreciated, as on the previous evenings business had absorbed the greater portion of the hours usually devoted to slumber. A dip in the 'briny' and a rough-and-tumble in the surf, was extremely exhilarating in the morning, and vastly revived our languishing energies. Several gumdiggers arrived at the stores to transact business before our departure, and a chat with one revealed the fact that men in that locality were in comfortable circumstances. The majority were making between £1 10s. and £2 per week, although many were holding back their gum for an improvement in the market. If a man could not make a living he was, to use the expression of the informant, a 'thorough loafer.' Many of the Austrians, whose influx caused such a stir recently, are camped in this part of the colony, being located about six miles beyond Kawerua. Some little time ago nearly eighty of these aliens were in the district, but now the number has lessened considerably. They live very frugally, work from daylight to dark, and return to the land of their birth as soon as a sum of money is amassed. None are cultivating the soil, but merely extracting the gum-wealth. They always fraternise and partake of one common meal. Several of the men in this district are climbers—they scale the giants of the forest and gather the gum that has exuded from the trunk and branches. A tree that has been untouched will yield a couple of hundredweight of the valuable commodity, and handsomely remunerate the searcher for his day's labour. Such trees are very rare now-a-days.

"To horse yet again, and the first six miles of the journey was over the unrivalled West Coast beach. The sand was perfectly level, and around the horses' legs surged and roared a confused mass of breakers. It was hard to leave this wild solitary grandeur, but the track struck inland and it had to be followed. Through winding scrubby country and along the mountain-path, we at length plunged into a heavily-timbered bush. Just before leaving the open land a Maori funeral *cortege* was passed pursuing its painful way down the steep mountain-side. The remains, which were those of a little boy, were carried on a litter by four stalwart fellows, and the relatives followed behind on horseback. This mournful procession was *en route* from Opunake to Waimamaku—a weary tramp of thirty miles. It showed the tender respect the Maoris have for their dead. The boy belonged to Waimamaku, and he was to be interred there, the trouble and exertion being no consideration. Things were now made somewhat uncomfortable by rain, which started to fall in thick showers. On either side of the track lay dense masses of native vegetation of every description, with here and there great kauris and ratas towering above their lesser brethren. Ferns, with their delicate filagree-work, fringed the path, the whole forming a picture beautiful beyond conception or description. This virgin forest stretched on either side, and it was patent to the most inexperienced eye that the soil was of exceptional quality. The growth was very prolific, and it was an easy task to imagine this country soon thick with happy, prosperous homesteads. Nature has been bountiful indeed, and the soil is wreathed in smiles without the customary tickling by human hands. It only needs a substitution of the vegetable matter to complete the transformation. A strong contrast met the vision on emerging from the region of bush. Fern and scrub once more reigned supreme, although the land was still of a

dark, rich nature. A stop was made at a half-way store until the rain ceased, and here an impromptu deputation of diggers, who had also sought shelter, met the Premier. They were very anxious to know if something could not be done to prevent the 'ring' from depressing the gum trade, and also to stop the influx of Austrians. They said it was very hard to make a living at present. Mr. Seddon spoke of the proposal to settle the gumdigger on the land, so that he might become a useful settler. Mr. Seddon remarked that the guindiggers had been very reckless in the past, and were now commencing to feel the effects of their improvidence. One hardy old man replied that a person working up to his waist in a swamp needed something to keep the cold out. There were very few parts of the world he was not acquainted with, and he had tasted some very decent liquors at Home and in foreign lands. He had never tasted whiskey in New Zealand, however, and he had been in the Auckland Province for many years. He was firmly convinced that the vile concoctions the diggers had to swallow emanated from the druggists' stores of Auckland. He was offered a 'wee drop' of the real stuff by a member of the party, and the happy smile that overspread his countenance betokened peace, perfect peace, at last. He could die happily now, and the other diggers who sampled were also very eulogistic in referring to the 'mountain dew.'

"The sky had cleared by this time, and the party pushed on again. From the brow of the hill the peaceful waters of the Pacific could be discerned, and then a magnificent kauri-forest was entered. Enormous trees, rising perpendicularly to a great height, branchless and flawless, lined the path and mountain-side, and afforded endless interest. Millions of feet of valuable timber were scattered over the country for miles around, and will remain so for years to come. Here and there huge ratas intruded upon the gaze, and numerous rata-vines, clutching with their death-dealing embrace the trunks of other trees preparatory to becoming the tree itself, were to be seen in all stages of development. This vast kauri-forest accompanied us to the head of the Kaihu Valley, which comprises some of the finest land in New Zealand. It runs away inland, and down to Dargaville, and the rich black soil can hardly be bottomed. The railway-line extends to Opanake, where the Premier and the Hon. J. Carroll were welcomed by Mr. Dargaville, and Mr. Harding, Chairman of the County Council. The seventeen miles of railway which traverses this beautiful block of land soon came to an end, and Dargaville, thickly dotted with houses, announced that bush regions, barren lands, and isolated habitations had been left behind. No *kai* had been partaken of since leaving Kawerua, and the evening meal was consequently much appreciated. Immediately afterwards business was proceeded with, the executive committee of the gumdiggers first engaging attention.

"The chairman of this representative committee asked that the Government would employ diggers during the present depression. He suggested that roads should be started to Crown lands, which could then be opened for settlement. Many of the diggers were very willing to settle, and if they had the gum-lands to assist them, that would serve in lieu of capital. They wanted some legislation enacted to prevent the influx of aliens and unemployed from the other colonies. The chairman assured the Premier that the Austrians merely came to the colony to make money. They said themselves that they would not settle here, but meant to return to their own country. He thought a license should be issued, and only to persons who had been in the colony for twelve months. A royalty should also be put on gum, but the digger would be glad to be free to buy and sell where he pleased. He complained bitterly of the truck system, which he said was pressing cruelly on the men. A royalty of 1s. 3d. could go to the County Council (he said) for rates, to give diggers a vote as ratepayers, and a 2s. 3d. rate could go to form a benefit fund for the diggers. He said many men were in a state of destitution on the gumfields, and at present the prospect for the winter looked very black indeed. The highest rate of wages was about £1 5s. a week, and it took an able-bodied man to make that amount.

"Mr. Seddon said he was considering the advisability of opening up the land for settlement and reserving the gum-lands to enable the settlers to procure some capital. (Applause.) If there was any road making that would promote settlement it was desirable that the work should be proceeded with. This would absorb a lot of labour from the gumfields. He referred to the difficulty of dealing with the alien question. Once the men were here we could not control their methods of gaining a livelihood. That would be unconstitutional, and would involve a serious difficulty between England and foreign nations. In connection with Mr. King's remarks on the gum-market, the Agent-General had been instructed to inquire in England, on the Continent, and in America, and to endeavour to ascertain the cause of the present low prices. The Government would then know how to act. (Applause.) The truck system had been already dealt with by the Government, Mr. Seddon remarked, but that carried on in connection with the gumfields was very difficult to deal with. More agreement between employer and employé was necessary.

"The Premier said that as regards the main body of the gumdiggers the only thing the Government can do, as far as he could see at present, was to put in hand the different roads for which money had been voted, and put the married men who are now on the gumfields, as far as practicable, at constructing these roads. He stated that he was communicating with the Agent-General to ascertain the value of gums in the American, British, and Continental markets, and purposes purchasing samples of the different gums and sending them to him so as to

assist him in ascertaining the Home value. This proposal greatly pleased the executive of the Gumdiggers' Association.

"The Premier told them plainly that there is no hope of the Government purchasing the gum, and they admitted it was impracticable. In view of permanently settling the people in the vicinity of the gumfields, the Premier said he intended to consult with the Minister of Lands as to throwing open more good land for settlement near the gumfields, and at the same time reserving a portion of the gum-bearing land for the exclusive use of those settlers, so that a portion of their time would be engaged in improving their land and another portion of their time could be devoted to digging for gum, which would stand to them as capital and would help them to ultimately become independent of the industry. In support of this scheme the Premier found that a large number of the settlers in the several districts he has passed through attribute their success to having been able to go and dig for gum occasionally, and by that means pay for their flour, sugar, and tea.

"The Premier said it was evident the Government would have to consider the advisability of resuming the ownership of all gum-lands, a statement which was received with great favour. The whole question, he promised, would be fully considered by the Cabinet at the conclusion of the tour. It would be premature to say anything at present.

"The deputation thanked Mr. Seddon with acclamation, and wished him every success, and long life to the Government.

"The Chairman of the County Council then saw the Premier in regard to several local matters. He urged the construction of a road to open the two blocks of land lying between the Maunganui Bluff and the Kaihu Valley, now owned by the Crown. This was the best land in the colony, and suitable for small settlements, and would be eagerly taken up if placed on the market. A sum of £2,000 has already been voted by the Government, but this was a mere drop in the bucket. It was explained that some eleven miles of road had already been made, and Mr. Seddon said that land held by the Government and suitable for settlement would be opened up at the earliest opportunity. Mr. Mueller corroborated the Chairman's statement that the block comprised some of the finest land in the colony.

"Business was not concluded until 11 p.m., and then the party—accompanied by Mr. R. Thompson, M.H.R., who rode over from Whangarei—embarked on the steamer 'Durham' for Pahi. The vessel sailed down the Wairoa River, one of the largest in New Zealand, and navigable for nearly a hundred miles, past Aratapu, where several vessels were loading, and into the Kaipara Harbour, where the ocean swell soon made its presence felt. It was just about daylight when the 'Durham' rounded the sandbank which runs to opposite the signal-station, and once more started to thread its way inland in a north-east direction. This estuary is deep and wide, and, with the others in the vicinity, abounds in mullet and fish of every species. The rising sun tinged the cliffs with gold, and up the channel the scene was much prettier than is usual with tidal rivers. The vessel made fast to the Pahi jetty opposite the timber-mill, and during the forenoon the travellers strolled and pulled about, visiting the district.

"Intelligence had arrived that settlers from Matakohe and the neighbourhood were coming down in a launch, and early in the afternoon they had an audience with the Hon. Mr. Seddon in the hotel. The matters touched on were all purely local affairs. The Paparoa settlers drew the Premier's attention to a vote that had been passed for a road between Paparoa and Waikeke. They knew £350 had been passed, but could never get it, and a contract which had been accepted could not be proceeded with. The vote, if not availed of, lapsed at the end of March, and they were very anxious. The Premier pointed out that when the Government had borrowed capital, the money was given immediately after its appropriation, but now they had to wait until the revenue came to hand. He assured the settlers that the vote would not lapse, and was heartily thanked for this good news. They also wished that a policeman might be appointed to the district, as sheep-stealing was very rife, and the settlers were utterly powerless to cope with the nuisance. Mr. Seddon promised to bring the matter under the notice of the proper department, and see what could be done

*From the "West Coast Times."*

As the name of our Association implies, we are united together for the purpose of dealing with an all important industry, which should claim more than ordinary attention owing to its being one of the greatest factors in promoting the welfare of any country and extending its beneficent influences to mankind. The history of only a few years points unmistakably to its great worth and marvellous [unclear: Raising] powers. We have only to contemplate the mighty growth of these favoured lands, raised on the solid and permanent foundation of mining, giving life, strength and wealth, and all that conduces to material prosperity, in support and proof of this contention. Large centres of population, noble cities, vast areas of land snatched from the wilderness, ever increasing industries, trade and commerce stimulated, and, in fact a new world opened up for the advancement of the masses, in its enlightened, progressive and specific development.

The subject in this direction might be enlarged upon and illustrated by [unclear: Bifold] and material facts. It matters not whether we refer to the early days of California, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South

Australia or the more recent developments in South Africa and Western Australia, we are forced to admit the vast civilizing influences that arise from these mining sources forming, as they do, the basis of world wide prosperity, and establishing a bright era in the future of any country, so favoured by nature.

## Take Johannesburg for Example.

Only a few short years ago the lion [unclear: named] at large where now, at least, 100,000 people are engaged in the busy pursuits of life, and where the [unclear: lusy] of the unemployed is unheard—all [unclear: he] to the magic influence of mining. So with Tasmania and its many noble [unclear: nines]—so with New Zealand in a lesser degree, but still with the same [unclear: all] powerful influence for good. And let us not overlook the recent phenomenal development of Western Australla, with its hitherto desert wastes and vast unexplored territory, with thousands and tens of thousands of people, drawn from all parts of the world, now settling on its shores.

It is with this magnificent and wealth producing industry that we, as a league, have been called into existence, in order, if possible, to promote and encourage its development. The questions naturally arise, how can this be best accomplished? How is it possible to accelerate so desirable an object? And what new departure can be suggested in support thereof? It must be admitted that the proposals are confronted with [unclear: direculity,] but not of an insurmountable character.

## The History of Mining

In its many branches is one entirely of chance. The chance circumstances that are familiar as household words to those acquainted with the romance of goldfield's life, and which exist to the present day. All is left to chance, whether it be in the development of gold, silver, tin, or other kindred products. Chance forms the basis of every hope and aim in these matters, and seems ever likely to continue to do so, unless a revolution of ideas obtain, and intelligent and comprehensive reforms are established in promoting the future welfare of these great industries.

Strange, though true, that whilst the whole scientific world is concentrating its ideas on improved mechanisms, new solvents, and modes of economic extraction of the precious metals, the vital and all important questions relating to the great and natural sources of the worlds wealth, comparatively speaking, remain at a stand still, a terra incognita, a mere theoretical problem, and the debating platform for elementary philosophers to advance their learned disquisitions upon.

## So-Called Experts

Whose leading principles and divining powers are as dreary, mystifying, and disheartening as the crude, but certainly emphatic declaration contained in the old and well understood mining axiom of "where she be, there she be." Indeed, it is a reproach to this advancing age that science should be almost groping in the dark on the subject, especially when, its importance is to a certain extent recognised by the State through its costly departments, manned with expert power of formidable character and high sounding appendages, but, probably, lacking the all important essential of practical demonstration in nature's great laboratory.

Now, let us see if a remedy can be suggested in New Zealand, and especially on the West Coast, to which portion of the Colony I desire particularly to direct attention, owing to our better Knowledge of it, and to the unusual conditions and difficulties with which miners are confronted. Who, I ask, would be bold enough to assert that prospecting in our dense forests, on our moss covered mountains, in the luxuriant entanglement of nature, is not of a most arduous and difficult character, unprecedented in the history of gold discoveries in the Australasian group? The chances of the individual miner are remote indeed when such formidable drawbacks to prospecting exist, apart from its costliness. Hence on external aid must the prospector rely if ever our mining interests are to be lifted out of their present almost dormant condition. Now, in contemplating this external aid, very little importance need attach to the subsidies as at present doled out by the State, and that derived from private sources, for it is only an unsound policy of frittering away monies on chance circumstances surrounding old goldfields centres. What is required is that a bolder policy should be initiated by the State, of a practical and permanent character, and such as relates to the peculiar conditions of any particular locality.

# Take This West Coast

For instance. From Cape Farewell to the confines of Otago, and what great lesson presents itself? Why, that there is a stretch of mineral country, hundreds of miles in extent with indications of immense wealth, extending from the sea coast to the dividing ranges; nearly every river and its tributaries bearing evidence of the fact, apart from the gold deposits existing on the ocean beaches held in the black sand in a finely divided state, and always suggestive of the great main sources from whence it is derived. Hence to these main sources of wealth must attention be directed.

The permanency, of mining on the West Coast, for the future, must depend upon a vigorous, comprehensive, and intelligent development of its reefs, for, with the exception of Reefton, they are absolutely and practically unexplored. Not on account of the want of knowledge that they do not exist for there are State records of many valuable discoveries having been made of a promising and important character. These are lying undeveloped, and are likely to remain so to the 'crack of doom' unless some chance circumstance arises (mark—chance circumstance) to facilitate the operation—such for instance, as that which has recently occurred in this district, and at Reefton, by the advent of a wealthy stranger from a far distant land, who recognises the splendid possibilities of our neglected gold-fields, by the introduction of capital for the development of the resources of the country on an intelligent and modern basis, and entirely free from the invariable 'wet blanket' influence of a

## Pessimistic Department

Of mere elementary professions, devoid of any practical illustration of the first principles of comprehensive mining, as demanded by the experiences and requirements of the present day and which is merely imbued with its own importance as a self assertive atom in the smallest world of scientific knowledge, but nevertheless to be regarded as an adjunct (ornamental or otherwise) of State importance.

It is of paramount interest that this game of chance should no longer exist, and that the people should demand from the State a more favorable recognition of its responsibilities to the mining industries of the Colony by at once adopting a vigorous policy of reform, and by such reforms build up a permanent and valuable reputation, unassailable by the doubts and suspicions that generally underly mining undertakings at the present day, Since commencing this paper I have had the opportunity of reading in "The Australian Mining Standard" of August 3rd most important and forcible opinions, in a paper read by Mr Nicol Brown, F. G. S. before the Geologists' Association, London, bearing generally on the chance subject of mining, and the remedy that must be applied in future. The lecturer refers to the remarkable far seeing forecasts of the late Mr Jevous when delivering a lecture in Glasgow, in 1859 entitled the

## Profit and Loss of Goldmining.

Mr Jevons foreshadowed the time when greater experience is attained in quartz mining; when improved machinery is brought into use for the rapid, complete, and cheap extraction of gold; when capital is attracted in great sums to the pursuit and when the search for new auriferous reefs becoming more keen is rewarded by abundant discoveries. He finally drew two conclusions:—"(1) That no great and recurring discoveries of alluvial gold are to be expected, so that the yield of alluvial gold must notably, yet gradually fall off. (2) That the supply of gold from its quartz matrix is subject to entirely different laws, that we at present know no limit to the amount procurable with the aid of capital; and that that amount, whatever it may be, will probably remain constant for a long period of time."

These remarks, written 36 years ago, have almost a prophetic significance, as viewed from our own personal observations and every day experience. Mr Nicol Brown, commenting on the subject, remarks—"At the present time the supply of gold can be drawn, not only from the quartz reefs referred to by Mr Jevons, but from sedimentary rocks, those from which the largest supplies are at present drawn being the Witwatersrand conglomerate. It has, however, taken many years to realise Mr Jevons' forecasts, as the gold industry appears to have been one of the slowest to adopt true scientific methods of working, the neglect of which is so detrimental to any practical undertaking."

Proceeding, he remarks. "That geology in competent hands is the first science for goldmining, and no sure foundation is laid for other sciences to base their work unless the preliminary work of the geologist be well

done—Whether a man goes to seek fossil shells or golden sands, the same qualities are required for success, the same intimate knowledge of nature and nature's laws, without which her thrilling secrets cannot be discovered, From the want of this knowledge, the ordinary uninstructed gold seeker always defeats the end he has in view. He works hastily, and by imperfect methods, and never stops to mark the finger posts or compass points, which might guide him to the object of his search. The finding of gold must no longer be left to chance, but should be the result of well designed and well organised efforts, and the basis of that industry, which is now being built up rests on geological surveys made by qualified men. These are now demanded and must be obtained."

Pseudo geologists have been often employed to survey and report on properties. Incapable persons also have been entrusted with the industrial part of the work of mining, milling, and saving the gold. All this blundering result heavy loss. Proper geological survey only of the gold bearing veins, but at enclosing rocks, must now take the of the old prospectors' empirical who order that miners may proceed in gently with their operations, unfortunately many good mines have been demaned by incompetent men."

After referring to and enlarging [unclear: up] the various aspects and conditions [unclear: o] ducive to successful mining, and various valuable geological reports Australia, Montana, and [unclear: Mashonal] Mr Brown odds, "That it will be [unclear: a] from these various reports, how [unclear: vari,] nature had worked in each case, how [unclear: c] fully and cunningly she has hidden her golden treasures in the folds of [unclear: her] ment, and how these treasures can [unclear: c] be found out by a painstaking [unclear: study] the geology or physical structure [unclear: of] the earth. Such raports, had they [unclear: exi] only only a few years ago, would [unclear: be] saved enormous waste of time, [unclear: labor,] lives." He also refers to many [unclear: valu] authorities published on the subject modern mining, and concludes his [unclear: a] portant and valuable paper in [unclear: the] lowing expressive language. "To [unclear: u] tinue the necessary supply of gold [unclear: a] carry on the ever extending [unclear: common] the world, a vast industry of [unclear: the] importance, aided by many [unclear: sci] needed to gather out the infinitely [unclear: e] portions of gold as they exist in [unclear: a] The product in gold of the [unclear: industry] has recently sprung up will afford to the straitened currency of the [unclear: w] and as it can now be procured with [unclear: a] industrial and scientific certainly [unclear: p] dicted by the late Mr Jevons, the [unclear: r] to the world in the near futures will [unclear: be] great." He further remarks" The [unclear: a] vernor and directors of the [unclear: Bank] land may hold the key of the Bank's [unclear: g] but the geologists hold the golden [unclear: n] of knowledge to the earth's store [unclear: h] of the kingly metal, and although [unclear: it] not be counted up like gold in [unclear: the] they, and they "only, can be relied [unclear: on] survey the new goldfields which [unclear: may] be found. If this be done, [unclear: a] potent survivals of mediæval [unclear: o] superstitions, ever ready to [unclear: delu] and again, a too gullible public [unclear: will] finitely die put. Industry [unclear: must] off against industry, [unclear: cur futura] by well directed industry, will [unclear: re] the result of honest men's toil, [unclear: Gold] tained will reach a steady [unclear: vdik] neither become greatly 'appreciated' 'depreciated' as the supply [unclear: wilier] keep pace with the requirements [unclear: im] merce. It will help to keep the [unclear: c] less mills of many different [unclear: indi] continuous motion, without [unclear: inferna] periods of fluctuating trade, [unclear: and] bring benefits to many people in all of the earth."

I have purposely introduced [unclear: these] tracts to illustrate the full force [unclear: and] viction of trained minds on the, [unclear: b] interesting and absorbing topic, [unclear: and] your indulgence for the digression. [unclear: A] referring to a few of

## The Discoveries

Before alluded to—for instance the [unclear: eryat] at Laugdon's in the Grey dis[unclear: tub] twenty years ago, with its phe[unclear: nal] returns of gold. The su[unclear: n] at the Taipo, rich in the pre[unclear: s] mulal metal The coal deposits at [unclear: tle] Annie' and 'Camel Back.' The [unclear: rich] rich and promising reefs at 'Cedar [unclear: k] The auriferous and argentiferous [unclear: at] Rangitoto.' The argentiferous [unclear: as] found in the Totara and in the labourhood of Mount Bonar. The [unclear: Mid] coal, and rich carbonates of [unclear: paper] found at the Haast, and many [unclear: per] of tin, nickel etc, all ob[unclear: ed] lisias of great value and importance but, unhappily, as far off develop[unclear: ments] as ever but not on account of the [unclear: ut] of enterprise on the part of private [unclear: duals] in dealing with seme of these [unclear: eries] but from sheer want of capital and undoubted skill so requisite the success of such undertakings, the answer.

## The Mines Department

[unclear: lter] under, are—" Why not get Capi[unclear: tal] "From public companies," and [unclear: edite]

the work of development." [unclear: Aye!] There's the rub, and that is where [unclear: ennia] game of chance "most be played [unclear: in] Get capital, yes—enlist the [unclear: entines] of the great army of stock [unclear: ers], lay down nuggets of gold at their [unclear: her] offer "Mount Morgans," Broken hills" "Mount Bischoffs," "Mount [unclear: lyells] [unclear: Londonderrys] "Bayley Re[unclear: bin] and the hundred and one Sensa[unclear: ns] of flotation and then of course the [unclear: saa] is easy, especially if the "little [unclear: ker] scoops the pool. On the other set forth modest proposals, where a big golden blows exist, no pheno[unclear: il] sensations, and then you meet the [unclear: oil] suspicious, company monger, who wants to know the minutest par[unclear: ticulars], more especially at your expense, wants references and guarantees of a few thousands are they can put their precious names before the public, and then [unclear: only] for preliminary outlay. Must have [unclear: expert] reports, must in reality see at least [unclear: 300] percent ahead. And, perhaps as an with precaution, must communicate with to powers that be, who invariably know nothing at all about it, but are ever ready shake their sagacious heads, and, in the [unclear: mtherly] interest they take in the application, deliver themselves of a [unclear: earbd] cautious, non-committal opinion, [unclear: ted to] to destroy rather than to assist be enterprise. Thus damning with faint [unclear: faun] or no praise at all, the very "game chance" they bid you undertake. History, present and past, is not silent on his aspect of affairs, and experience points exclusively to these facts.

## State Assistance.

A wide-spread opinion is daily gaining force amongst those acquainted with the [unclear: exigencies] of modern mining that it is the [unclear: uimt] duty of the State to intervene all doubts, and prove or disprove the value of these [unclear: oft] recurring discoveries thereby putting to practical use the Mines Department for the purpose, and demonstrating to the taxpayer the utility or otherwise of its existence. As an [unclear: illustration] take any of the discoveries referred to, where good surface indications exist. Let 10.0 acres, or more if necessary, be temporarily reserved, a mining camp established with all modern appliances diamond drills, etc. In fact make sample provision for the department to carry out every detail necessary for opening up a payable mine and prove the country by every seientific and practical means, whether it be in deep sinking, driving of adits, or other effectual methods of demonstrating the value of the country to the miner. Should the result justify expectations, let suitable areas be mapped off and thrown open for selection, charging moderate rentals, and, say, a royalty of one per cent on all similar country opened up by these means. The Government to work mines, thus acquired, as State mines, and thereby build up a "National Mining Fund" for the expansion and encouragement of the industry in future.

Were such a course intelligently pursued throughout New Zealand, it would soon emerge from depression, and become one of the most attractive and favoured countries in the Australasian group. In a few years such an accumulation of wealth would result as to settle for ever the cry of the unemployed, the necessity for relief works, and, probably, be the means of lessening the burden of taxation.

No doubt, such a radical proposition for the reform of our Mines Department will meet with determined opposition, but all reforms do, as a rule, until they are properly digested, enforced by public opinion, and common sence brought to bear upon them. The idea of the State embacking in mining enterprise may probably be regarded with holy horror. But has not the country as much right to posses State mines as State water-races, State farms, State railways, State life insurance. State sanatoriums, State money lending bareaux, State schools and extensive estates acquired at enormous cost to to the country? with additional prosoects of State saw mills, and State fire insurance, at no distant period? The unbiassed answer to such a query can only be in the affirmative, for one and all of these undertakings were but experimental at their inception, and it certainly may be conceded, even by the most prejudiced mind, that mining offers greater attractions and prospects of more substantial reward. The experiment never having been tried is no reason why it should not be, for by the judicioas expenditure of a few thousands, a rich harvest of hundreds of thousands may be the result, whilst it would be a poor compliment indeed to pay our staff of experts in anticipating that their labors should end in nothing but failure. The acquisition of one or two good paying mines would soon revolutionise the sentimental idea that it is no part of the duty of the State to embark in such undertakings The apathy and indifference of the State to this noble industry, and the great advantages derived therefrom in opening up and setting the country, is as unpardonable as that large estates should lie unimproved in the hands of private individuals.

The mines department in its present usefulness can only be regarded as

## Merely Ornamental.

A scientific play grounds, so to speak, and the receptacle of dusty, musty, records of no material value beyond the annual flourish of trumpets that announces its existence. What the country wants is an active and not a passive department. It has had tons of theory during the last quarter of a century, and the result is a costly and melancholy blank. After such a dreary experience, common sense demands something more tangible, something worthy of the name, a vital principle, a reality that will accelerate the wheels of progress, and establish the industry on a sound, solid, and permanent basis.

It seems such an anomaly that the mining experts of the Colony should be located in Wellington, whereas they might be actively engaged on goldfield centres. If there is anything at all in expert and scientific knowledge why not employ it where its utility can be put to the test and its cost justified.

One very extraordinary circumstance in connection with mining in this colony is that the State neglects investigation, except of the most superficial character, into great mining possibilities. This was boast forms one of the most interesting and extensive fields of research, for it is rich in the possession of untold wealth, as evinced from its discoveries, and its steady output of gold. It is figuratively and in some places quite an unexplored portion of New Zealand, capable of vast expansion, capable of absorbing an enormous population, and, with its salubrious climatic advantages, worthy the attention of any enlightened policy of progress, of which we make so proud a boast in these days of radical reforms. A great deal more might be written on the possibilities of the future of the West Coast, and the special features of importance appertaining to its wealth of resources, in contrast with other countries. Take for instance the marvellous results obtained from the

## Granite Formations.

In various parts of the world, in which valuable fissure lodes of low grade ores exist. The "Great Granite Mountain mine" of Montana is a case in point, having distributed to its fortunate shareholders, in less than 10 years, fully £3,000,000 sterling. A mine that will last for many years, and now employing thousands of miners. So with the "Alaska Tread well" mine, working in an open quarry face, on ore worth 13s 9d per ton, paying dividends aggregating £80,000 annually, and employing an enormous staff. And, let us not omit the marvellous mines around Johannesburg, with an output of over 200,000 ozs of gold monthly, from a mineralised conglomerate averaging about 7dwts to the ton, and in which a speck of gold is seldom or never seen. I submit, Mr Chairman, a sample of the rock from which these enormous results have been obtained, presented to me by Mr David Ziman, of whom you have all heard, who assures me it was taken from one of the series of mines now in operation, and from a depth of 1200ft. The reefs of the locality being considered especially strong if they average 5ft in thickness. There are numberless other low grade mines, paying well, that could be mentioned in many parts of the world, but let it be understood all worked in the most skilful manner and devoid of any element of chance.

A recent report on the Mount Wills district of Victoria, embracing an area of 40 square miles, forms an interesting chapter, worthy of all attention, because several reefs have been discovered in the main belt of granite, many of them being distinct quartz veins traversing the granite in various directions, others consist of a crushed mass of granite containing fine quartz veins and seams of pyrites. The report recommends in prospecting granite country for auriferous dykes that the pestle and mortar be continually in use, and any rock of a finer texture, having a yellowish green tint, should be carefully examined by mortar and dish. The idea of sending any but well equipped parties is condemned.

Similar granite formations are the leading features observable for hundreds of miles in the great auriferous belts of the West Coast, and although gold has been proved to exist in these formations, scattered over an immense area and obtainable in any of the granitic formations, not one effort has been made by the State to solve the problem of the presence of gold in so finely divided a state, and over such a stretch of country, by exhaustive enquiry or scientific research. No—according to the doctrine which appears to be laid down by the apathetic, and, let us make bold to add, antiquated Mines Department, every novel discovery is to be looked upon with suspicion, a kind of "it has no business there" aspect. And the importance of the discovery or otherwise is to be sampled and judgment pronounced upon it in profound and learned phraseology from a well appointed office in Wellington. The idea of exhaustive enquiry in the field never seems to be considered, and presumably would be repugnant to the spirit of departmental inactivity.

## State Indifference.

This indifference on the part of the State to mining not only applies to the West Coast but to other parts of the Colony as well, and is forcibly brought under notice by recent events in faranaki, which are fraught with

more than ordinary importance. That the valuable petroleum oil deposits, so long known to exist by the Mines Department, should have lain dormant for so many years is almost incredible. To chance circumstances alone is the country again indebted for the knowledge thus far obtained in connection with so promising an enterprise. So with the enormous deposits of valuable iron sand in the same district, No encouragement has been given by the state in promoting its development, The Government might long since, by judicious expenditure, have proved its Commercial value, might have built up an industry of great extent, justifiable in every sense, even if only to supply their own requirements, and as an appendage to their various work shops. It is a sad reflection, indeed, that industries of such a national character, calculated to established the permanency and importance of any country, should be so neglected, and that such a perverse spirit of listlessness should obtain in this so-called progressive age, and especially in a country so heavily protected in every respect, it is impossible to over estimate the advantages unit would ensue were it otherwise. Apparently the advantages of this one particular industry are well understood by those capable of forming correct judgments upon it, for it is gratifying to find a well-known wealthy firm of iron and steel founders in England prepared to set aside capital for the erection of works in New Zealand to treat the ironsand in question, but on the condition that a Government subsidy of £1 per ton be granted up to 20,000 tons of iron produced—enough in reality to modestly start the industry itself upon. At any rate it will be interesting to watch the progress of the negotiations, but it is more than probable the acceptance of the proposition will be strongly advocated and the Government eventually become one of the largest customers. The policy of

## New South Wales

Has certainly been somewhat different to that of New Zealand, for it has, to a certain extent, recognised the importance of the goldfields as one of the solutions of the unemployed difficulty. It is interesting to learn from recent reports that during the last three years over 18,000 men have been sent to the goldfields by the Government of that Colony, many of whom have met with success, others have opened up quite new mining fields, and all have in a greater or lesser degree found means of subsistence. Queensland, South Australia and Victoria have also done likewise.

## Deep Sinking.

Ere I conclude, I desire to direct attention to another important feature of mining of the present day which has been entirely neglected on the West Coast. I refer to deep sinking, the general result of which all over the world is fraught with the most satisfactory results. Take the series of mines at Charters Towers in Queensland, splendid paying mines not one of which is less than 1000ft in depth. In Victoria deep sinking is the rule—the Lansell series being the most conspicuous. Tasmania and South Australia also possess many valuable mines of the same character. No effort, worthy of the name, has been attempted on the West Coast—although surface indications have been most promising in many directions. The result of deep sinking proved successful at Ross in the [unclear: lluv3] deposits, as demonstrated years ago by one of the most enterprising men of the day. I refer to the Cassius claim and the splendid run of gold met with at the lower levels—but there the record under of that mine due entirely to bad management.

Reefton forms an interesting page in the history of reefing on the West Coast. Upper levels exhausted valuable properties sold and abandoned—not a solitary effort made to solve the problem of deeper deposits. The Mines Department looking on with indifference only one or two futile attempts to [unclear: drive] a deep level tunnel and the whole [unclear: affaira] dismat failure. This splendid field, which has turned out hundreds of thousand of ounces of gold in a few short years practically left to struggle along, awaiting some chance circumstance or other to restore it again into activity. Such is in reality the short history of this field which if in any other part of the globe would soon be assessed at its real worth and become a most important, mining centre, capable of employing a large industrial population.

## A Clame for Mining.

It may well be claimed for mining that it is the brightest asset of any country when systematically and intelligently pursued, and possesses the greatest power for good the world has ever known. The illustrations that might be given and the arguments advanced in its favour of beyond the scope of a paper such this, but will be readily recognised by audience familiar with the history of past, and whose interests and welfare and bound

up in its progress. So far as New Zealand is concerned that man will be benefactor to his country who will bold espouse the cause of this great and languishing industry in the councils of the people, and to the people of the country To all true workers, to every association and organisation throughout the land must the appeal go forth for redress, the complaint be heard, and the question fought out at every meeting in the fort coming elections, and let that unity of purpose pronounce the decree on every platform, so that men shall be return to Parliament only who are bound by every pledge to do justice to the country and to one of its best and most neglected sources of prosperity, I trust I have a wearied you with the length of that observations. If I have, the importance of so interesting a subject must plead excuse on this ocasion, but I trust interpret your convictions on this question of mining, and that unitedly shall endeavor by every legitimate mean to emphasise the expediency necessities of the case, so that a [unclear: bright] era of progress may dawn upon to colony ere long, and the happiness welfare of its people be thereby sured.

## National Association of New Zealand

### (Otago Section).

The Objects of the Association are:

- To promote reforms—economic, legislative, and constitutional; to protest against undue interference with the rights and liberties of the subject; and to oppose class legislation.
- To promote such legislation as will encourage *bona fide* settlement of the lands of the Colony under either freehold or leasehold tenure.
- To show the fallacy of the principle that labour and capital are antagonistic.
- To secure prosperity and confidence, by opposing all experimental legislation, which tends to check the legitimate use of capital, causing it to be locked up or withdrawn from the country, to the detriment of employer and employee.
- To promote agricultural, mining, commercial, and manufacturing enterprise, by removing all unnecessary obstacles to their development.
- To show the unfairness of laws so framed that the industrious and thrifty are hampered.
- To promote sound political economy; and to educate public opinion in the right direction, by disseminating literature giving sound reasons and arguments for our beliefs.
- To register all members, and purge the Electoral Roll.
- To return to Parliament Capable and Honorable Men, who will uphold the public credit, and whose aim will not be individual gain, but the welfare of the whole Colony.

## Constitution of the National Association of New Zealand

### (Otago Section).

- The members of the Association shall consist of all those persons who shall assent to the objects of the Association, sign the prescribed form of application, pay an Entrance Fee of one shilling, and an Annual Subscription of one shilling and upwards, and be duly admitted by the Council.
- Candidates for membership shall sign an application form, pay the necessary fees, and shall be elected by the Council at its next meeting after the application.
- The funds of the Association shall consist of—Members' Entrance Fee and Annual Subscription, and Voluntary Donations.
- The business of the Association shall be conducted by a Council consisting of twenty members and the Treasurer, who shall, within 14 days after the Annual General Meeting in October, elect one of their number as President, and two as Vice-Presidents.
- The five members of the Council who shall have been longest in office shall retire annually in rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election. Fourteen days prior to the Annual General Meeting of members a

Ballot of the Council shall be taken to determine the rotation of retirement when length of service is equal as between more than five members. Vacancies caused by annual retirement shall be filled up by the members of the Association at the Annual General Meeting to be held in October each year. Casual vacancies shall be filled up by the Council.

- The Council shall have full power to make provision for carrying out the objects of the Association; to make and alter such rules and regulations for the management of the Association as it may think fit; to arrange for its own meetings and meetings of the Association, and for the conduct of such meetings; and to give such direction, and take such steps as shall be final in all matters connected with the Association and its Branches. Seven members of the Council shall be a quorum.
- The Council shall hold quarterly meetings, to which Delegates, elected by the various branches, shall be invited.
- A meeting of members of the Association shall be held annually in October, and at any other time the Council may determine.
- The Council shall at any time, upon the request of twenty members, call a General Meeting of the Association. Seven days' notice shall be given, by circular or advertisement, to convene any meeting of members.

## **BYE-LAWS RE CONSTITUTION OF BRANCHES.**

- In places where any members of the Association reside, such members shall constitute the members of the local Branch, and shall have power to admit new members who sign the prescribed form of application, pay an Entrance Fee of one shilling and an Annual Subscription of one shilling and upwards.
- In places where no members of the Association at present reside, the Council may take such steps as it may think fit to organise a Branch.
- Branches shall have power to make bye-laws, and shall annually elect their own officers, subject in all cases to confirmation by the Council.
- Branches shall also elect annually a Delegate to represent them at the quarterly meetings of the Council, in accordance with Rule No. 7 of the Constitution.
- Branches shall report to the Council at least once in every three months; and shall transmit copies of all resolutions agreed to by them, and returns of members admitted, and of all resignations and changes of residence.
- Each Branch shall collect the Entrance Fee and Annual Subscription of such of its members as are not members of the Dunedin Branch, and shall transmit half the amount to the Council for the general purposes of the Association.
- Members of Branches shall have the right to vote in the election of the General Council of the Association, and shall be eligible for nomination as members of the Council.
- Nominations for the Council from Branches must be lodged with the Secretary at least 14 days prior to the Annual General Meeting in October, with the signatures of the proposers appended.
- No public announcement shall be made, as in the name of the Association, by any Branch, unless by the authority of the Council.

## **The Westport Harbour Board.**

# **Mr Bell's Report on the Effects of the works on the River And on Further Improvements Required.**

22nd May, 1896.

To the Chairman, Westport Harbour Board.

SIR,—I have made a careful inspection of the works now completed, comprising the breakwaters, the

training walls in the river, the dredging, and the effect of the walls on the navigable channel.

Since the river walls were completed several floods have occurred, that in March last being one of the heaviest ever known. This flood was above the Buller bridge about one foot lower than the great flood of 1877, and below the bridge 1 foot 8 inches lower; at the staitbs it was the same height, and continued at the same height towards the sea. The velocity of the flood was by ships' logs 10 knots or 11¼ miles an hour. At the Inangahua Junction, 25 miles up the river, the flood of last March is said to have been seven feet lower than the flood of 1877.

The effect of this great flood inside the river was less than might be expected, the fact probably being that if it scoured extensively during its height it filled up correspondingly as it subsided; a vast quantity of it poured over the training walls and flowed back into the river through the west lagoon, and it was noticed that all drift timber passed over the walls and did not come among the shipping. It was remarked that the shipping at the wharves had no difficulty in holding, and apparently were in no danger during the height of the flood. No scouring took place along the staitbs, or if it did, it filled up again.

This flood scoured out the channel between the ends of the breakwaters to a depth of over 40 feet, and at the present time there is over 30 feet at low water. It also scoured off the top of the great shingle bank at the end of the east training wall to the extent of 6ft.

The vast quantity of sand and shingle washed out of the river by this flood has accumulated in a bank at sea lying to the east of the direct line of the opening between the breakwaters and extending out to sea for over 2000 feet beyond the end of the east breakwater. The sailing course in the line of the beacons passes over this bank of deposits, and after the flood the depth was much reduced; but the bank is being slowly washed ashore and the water deepening on the sailing course. At present there is about 13 feet at low water spring tides, in line of beacons at 1300 feet outside the tip-head; but westward of this line there is deeper water, In a few months the same change will take place as occurred after previous floods; the depth between the ends of break waters will shoal up to about 13 feet and this outlying bank will be washed ashore.

Inside the river, from the entrance of the west lagoon to 1200 feet below the present end of the west lower training wall, there has been extensive scouring and deepening, so much so that the 9 feet line of soundings has scoured back on the shingle bank an average of 180 feet, and where the 12 feet line was in 1893 at the back of the walls it is now 150 to 200 feet in front of it. From this it is seen that the great shingle bank at this place is scouring away as the training wall advances.

Opposite the opening of the west lagoon is the shoalest water in the fairway, although the depth has improved lately, and as the whole of the tidal and flood water of the lagoon flows down the opening at the land end of the lower west training wall, this probably accounts for the want of efficient scour in the fairway opposite the lagoon.

Opposite Cobden and Bright streets the width of good water remains unchanged, and in fact from the lower end of the staitbs to the base of the lower east training wall is the best water in the river.

Along the training wall opposite Henley street the shoal which occurred during the construction of the wall has been scoured away. The spit opposite Wakefield street has advanced further down the river, and shoaling has taken place at Riley's wharf to the top end of the merchandise wharf.

Above Wakefield street the deep water pool which existed on the present site of the training wall has advanced from opposite the top of Riley's wharf to opposite the bottom of the merchandise wharf, a distance of 900 feet, and it appears to be slowly advancing down stream alongside the training wall.

Along the curve of the training wall below the bridge a shingle bank has accumulated from 6 chains to 20 chains below the bridge; this is as high as the wall and about 100 feet wide; also opposite this accumulation the great shingle bank on the east side of the river has scoured away to about the same extent.

The general effect of the construction of the walls appears to be: That opposite the wharves, from the merchandise wharf to lower end of staitbs, the depth where ships lie is increased, but the width of deep water has contracted; thus from Pakington street to Brougham street the 6 feet line of soundings has changed very little; the 9 feet line has advanced towards the wharves 30 feet at Pakington street, and 60 feet at Brougham street, the 12 feet line 10 feet at Pakington street and 60 feet at Brougham street. Below Pakington street the depths and widths have improved.

It is impossible to say that the present condition of the port as regards depth and width of waterway is permanent; the shingle banks move very slowly; it may still take some years before the waterway assumes a fixed position, as a result of the construction of the training walls, and I am of opinion that improvements in depth and width should be assisted by dredging for some time to come.

Where dredging is desirable or where unnecessary is best decided by observation of the Engineer on the spot, as beneficial or injurious changes which may arise from the construction of the walls are best seen by the Engineer residing in the locality.

In my report of 1892 June., I recommended that the end of the shingle bank opposite Wakefield and

Rintoul streets should be dredged off. It was found that there was considerable difficulty in doing so, from the strength of the current, the shallow depth of water, and the narrowness of the channel to admit dredge and barges.

I have mentioned above that shingle is accumulating in the curve of the wall and that the shingle bank opposite this deposit is showing signs of scouring away. If this deposit of shingle in the curve of the wall increases greatly the opposite shingle bank will be correspondingly scoured; but failing this the shingle bank can be scoured away by making several groins to project out into the river from the curve of the wall below the bridge. This means of straightening the channel, with the object of giving a better run of the river along the upper part of the wharves, would cost about £1400, whereas to dredge right through the shingle bank as proposed by Sir John Coode (even if practicable, which I doubt) would cost over £12,000.

This shingle bank did not exist 30 years ago; at that time, as I am informed by Captain Leech, it commenced to grow in consequence of the wearing away of the banks on M'Padden's side and the great overflow above Martin's Island. Now that the river is confined by the wall, the channel can be pushed back again nearly to its course of 30 years ago, by means of groins built out gradually as the opposite shingle wears away, and I am inclined to believe that if the track of the old channel, which passes through the slipway and extends nearly to the bridge, was cleared out, all the snags taken out of it, and a ditch cut with a plough and horses-shoved through the top end of the shingle to the water under the third pier of the bridge so as to let the tide flow through this old channel, that in a short time a large part of the river would be diverted and flow in a straight course from the east end of the bridge through its old course. There is, however, some risk in thus diverting part of the river water, because for probably many years the river would occupy two channels, one flowing along the training wall, and one down the channel just mentioned; in each channel the current would be more feeble than as at present in one channel, and the result might be the extension of the spit between the two channels to the extent of injuring the depth of water at the upper wharves, I mention this because it has been proposed to clear out the old channel close to the East bank and let the river flow down it, but I think it would be safer to push the channel gradually over by groins, and this method is very commonly employed in Europe for such purposes.

In the same report I indicated a straight channel to be dredged, midway between the east and west lower training walls. Some attempts have been made to cut this channel, but it was found to silt up as fast as it was dredged, and great quantities of snags were found embedded in the shingle. There was also a difficulty in dredging, owing to the waves from outside, which roll in here with a force sufficient to frequently interrupt dredging. I have mentioned above how extensively this shingle bank is scouring away as the training wall advances; it, therefore, appears that the best way of straightening the channel would be to extend the west lower training wall for 700 feet; the scour, assisted by dredging, would keep a deep channel open for the traffic, and the fairway would then lead by the shortest distance to the existing deep water along the east breakwater. The resulting channel would be nearly straight, and would be quite suitable and convenient for navigation. This extension of the wall would cost no more than would dredging the originally proposed channel, which your Engineer considers to be almost impracticable, or, if practicable, tedious and costly.

In the plans I submitted with my report of June, 1892, I showed this west training wall as not connected to the shore at its base, but I showed a channel which was to be dredged to divert the current from the lagoon into the main river. This has not been dredged; consequently the current flows with full force through the opening between the shore and the base of the wall. The flood of March, 1896, piled a great mass of drift timber against the trestle spanning this opening with the result that it was carried away, and the current scoured the opening to a depth of 13 feet below L.W. I find now that all the tidal water of the lagoon, and even some of the water of the main river, flows through this opening, thus doing no good to the navigable channel, as the water all passes behind the wall. I would, therefore, recommend that this opening be closed by the half tide wall, instead of re-erecting the trestle.

During the flood of March the water of the east lagoon overtopped the sea beach, cutting a wide channel into the sea, and the river water rushed through with great force. The tides now regularly flow through the opening thus made, and the sea does not seem to have the power to close it. This passage takes so much water from the bar, and to that extent it is injurious. There is also no telling what damage may be done by this overflow during heavy floods, and, for these reasons, it should be closed by throwing across it a bank of sand high enough to prevent the floods overtopping it.

The east breakwater has suffered some damage: first, during a continuance of northerly seas, the sand was scoured away from the east or seaward side of its outer part, causing the stone to sink down, but this has been made good with more stone. During the last flood the west, or river side, suffered extensive scouring, causing the stone to sink down, and it will take about 5000 tons to make good this damage. With these exceptions, all the works are in good condition.

The breakwaters have now been completed about six years, and, as yet, there is no sign of any change for

the worse in the position of the beaches or the entrance. The beach on each side has not altered since the break-waters were completed, and there is yet no appearance of increased shoaling in the sea bottom outside the breakwaters. The bar varies in depth between dry weather and floods, but the average depth remains the same. After each heavy flood vast quantities of sand are piled in a shoal to the east of the works. Occasionally this deposit encroaches on the depth in the entrance, but, after a month or two, the waves wash the sand ashore and the normal depth is maintained. After a long absence of floods the depth on the bar gradually decreases, but it is again restored after the first floods occur. In 1892 I reported on a progressive shoaling of the bar, which occasioned some uneasiness. I came to the conclusion then that it was due to want of floods, and this has proved to be case, as the bar has, on the average, been deeper since then.

I remarked at that time that the breakwaters do not produce their best effect, from the west one being 400 feet longer than the other; the effect of this in dry weather is that shoals grow between the splayed opening, which would be prevented, and deeper water secured, if the two breakwaters were of the same length, and I again repeat my recommendation to extend the east wall 400 feet, which will certainly give two feet more water on the bar.

I examined the Orowaiti overflow, which has always been a threatening danger to Westport. Since I saw it last a great quantity of stone has been placed, in the form of pitching, on the banks of this low place, and it has every appearance of being perfectly safe. The flood of March last flowed through here, a raging torrent 12 feet deep, carrying vast quantities of sand over the high stone banks, and lodging drift timber among the trees and bushes. The stone pitching, however, stands without damage, and a dense growth of willows and gorse protects and holds together the loose soil behind the banks. There are places where more willows might be planted with advantage, and, before the lease expires of the quarry, it would be advisable to bring down more stone to repair weak places and possible damage.

I was not able to see the relief channel, but I would recommend that some men be sent up to cut away snags which may possibly have lodged in the entrance, and may be doing some damage.

I would call your attention to the Government having declared the west lagoon a sludge channel, and it is already being rapidly silted up by tailings. Any silting up of the tidal area of the harbour is injurious and should be strenuously resisted.

Now that the works are nearly completed and the good effects made evident in increased and permanent depth of water both over the bar and in the river, the subject of increased accommodation for the shipping has become urgent. The coal trade has been steadily growing for years past, but lately the Westport Coal Company has been making every effort to secure other markets outside the colony, and having made a very promising commencement the Company has hopes of securing a largely increased sale.

As yet very little Westport coal has been sold outside New Zealand, but the demand for the coal has risen steadily, as this table will show:—

This shows an increase of 72 per cent. since the bar was deepened.

The Westport Coal Company is opening up the fine seam of coal at Granity Creek and expects in a short time to be able to put out about 1500 tons a day from this mine. The production of the Denniston mine will be maintained as now at 800 tons per day. The Cardiff Company expects to be soon in a position to produce 350 tons per day, and the Mokihinui mine 250 tons per day. The total of these would be 2900 tons a day.

At present the total export is about 750 tons a day, almost the whole of which is consumed in the colony. In 1895 the Westport Coal Company produced 650 tons, the Cardiff 115, and the Mokihinni 22 tons per day. It is therefore seen that there is a great gap to be filled from 790 tons a-day, the product of 1895, and 2900 tons a day which is

## Estimated Revenue Account, 1896.

RECEIPTS. £ s. d. EXPENDITURE,

Taking the coal output as doubled in the next few years, the yearly estimate will be as under:—

RECEIPTS. EXPENDITURE. Railway and wharf 42,500 0 0 Interest and charges on

Westport:

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Cartoon: 'STRANGE BED FELLOWS'

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Clara: "? Do you see how the shape of this gown could be improved?" Maud: "You might get some other girl to wear it." The late Judge Bowen's definition of a search for equity was "a blind man looking in a dark room for a black hat that isn't there."

The barnacles are scraped off British men-of-war twice a year. The cost of scraping and repainting one of the larger ships is £4000. Jones: "?You seem rather amused over the idea of your wife wearing bloomers?" Smith: "You'd be amused yourself if you could have seen her when she tried to find something in her work-basket and emptied it in her lap." Moon hired a house in a village in New York State. Three months thereafter was born to him a son—a The same morning the agent called and collected the rent for the Moon betaking himself to the saloon, celebrated the increase in his family by getting drunk—becoming, in fact, a O. Wanting another glass on credit, he explained to the landlord, "You have just had my." Whereupon the barman chucked him out, and the patrol shortly after wards discovered Moon stationary, at greatest elongation, in inferior conjunction with the earth.

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## Lands Department Administration.

TTTH Hon. John MacKenzie, in his Naseby speech, claimed that his good Government had spent £814,252, «which was mostly taken from revenue,» for roads and bridges. We do not question the amount nor where the money went; but we do question where it came from. The bulk of it came from loan, and a considerable slice of it from people on, what in ordinary life be considered, false pretences. The term may seem harsh, but we have the warrant of no less an authority than Mr. Wm. Hogg late M. H. R. and now candidate for Masterton, for the expression. He. bold man that he was, in May last went even further, and said with respect to some lands which had been allotted and subsequently thrown up that «He considered this was bad and rascally administration, and he had no hesitation in telling the men their pockets had been picked.» A few weeks after this remarkably outspoken outburst the House met, and the member and the much censured minister were on as loving terms as ever.

We have before us a file of papers dealing with the Stirling Block, which had five shilling per acre added to its price for the expressed purpose of making roads. As is usual in such cases, there was no delay on the part of Government as landlord in collecting the interest on the purchase money as well as the five shillings for the roads. The delay was, also as usual, in getting the roads first and any information as to the why and wherefore of their not being made in the second. On July 13th, 1896, a settler's son, acting as secretary for the settlers on the block, wrote to the Surveyor-General asking for an account of the amount allocated and spent, and on the 25th received a reply that the information «would be prepared as soon as possible.» A fortnight later the department discovered that the applicant was not himself a settler, and asked for his authority. He replied giving the names of four resident settlers, and mentioning that there was general dissatisfaction at the way the money had been spent and the work done by co-operative labor.

Then on August 21st the circumlocution office came into play, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands wrote «I cannot give you a detailed account, of the expenditure on the roads on this block partially constructed out of the money raised on this block without instructions from the head office under whose directions the funds have been expended. In any case I do not think you are entitled to the information asked for, unless you are duly appointed in writing by a majority of the settlers in the Stirling Block to represent them in this matter.—John H. Baker.»

An official snub like this ought to have crumpled the young man up. But he appears to have had scant reverence for officialdom and red tape, and replied with an authority from all the settlers, who put the following very plain question in the document.

«¶Has the money impounded by the Government, namely five shillings per acre on 4770 acres, been fully expended on the Stirling Block only?»

No result followed, and the settlers fell back on their member, the Friend-of-the people, Hogg. He replied on September 29th, «I have not kept a copy of my letters to the Survey Department asking to be supplied with an account of the expenditure on the Stirling roads, but I may inform yon that I have written either to the

Minister or the Under-Secretary repeatedly during the last year, and have interviewed Mr. Barron on the subject without result. Yours very truly, A. W. Hogg.»

This remarkable letter is worthy the consideration of all settlers who look to their representative for aid when a «rascally administration», fails to keep to its bargains or give any reason why it does not. Mr. A. W. Hogg Says he wrote «repeatedly,» but forgets who to and that he tried his influence with Mr. Barron «without result.» Truly a lame and impotent conclusion for so extremely intimate a friend of the all-powerful Premier. The Masterton settlers may swallow this, but we confess that we have our doubts about either the letters or the interviews.

The amount which the settlers were «loaded» for the roads was £1193, and they resolved to employ a competent surveyor to value the work. He reported as follows: «The actual length of dray road formed is 158 chains and 76 chains of ditch cut and roughly thrown up. This represents the whole of the expenditure by the Government on the block. The value of the formation is £474. and of the ditching £133, total. £607. These, prices include the bush-felling."

Next comes a letter signed by John McKeuzie, Minister of Lauds, dated October 23rd, to Mr. A. W. Hogg: Sir, referring to your, note of 10th inst., in reference to the expenditure on the Stirling small farm block, near Eketahuna, I have to State that the expenditure on the various roads is £1193.»

And on referring to the official report of the lands Department we find the following—Stirling Block: Payment to co-operative contractors. £660 16s.; cost of inspection. £100 11s.; total. £761 7s.; and the average wages earned 4s. 11d. per day, while the surveyor estimated the value of the work on a basis of good navvies making 10s, per day.

The above requires no comment. The Minister says £1193 has been expended, the return of his own department shows that £761 7s only has been spent, the value of the work is £607; the settlers have to pay on the full amount and put Up with half-finished roads, and the member of the district has the colossal cheek to ask them to show their confidence in him and the Government he worships by again sending him to Parliament. We hardly think they will.

vignette

## Two Liberal Editors.

The political career of Mr. Hornsby, the Government candidate for Wairarapa, has been a chequered one. In Napier he edited the News a radical organ. All went well until the eve of a general election, when the News proprietors found that their editor had arranged to forestall the chosen "Liberal" candidate by taking the field himself, and to secure the I.O.G.T., the Roman Catholic, the Friendly Societies, and one or two other little block votes. This was not in the order of reference, and as he refused to give way, he was "bounced," and his candidature fell through. Straightway he joined the Conservative *Waipara Mall*, which he published a two-Column article, exposing the enormities of the Liberal Party and the tactics of the News, and promising further revelations from one who, having been behind the scenes, knew a thing or two. Meantime, the News imported from Christchurch an alleged journalist who had just come to grief over a "society" sheet of the most scurrilous brand, and whose name had figured in police court assault cases, both as complainant and defendant. This scribe introduced his methods into Napier, and his first selected victim was J. T. Marryat Hornsby. The Napier folk were simply thunderstruck by reading half a-column of doggrel in the News, containing about fifteen libels of the first magnitude, in which not only the late editor, but his immediate ancestors, were assailed in the vilest terms. Three apologies followed, but a cheque from the directors for £100 in addition was necessary to appease Mr. Hornsby's ire. Needless to say, the new Liberal editor was "fired out" with even more celerity than his predecessor, who, by the way, again turning his political coat, was afterwards reinstated in his old place on the News, The other artist now enjoys a well-paid and comfortable billet as a sort of colonial historian to which our present Government appointed him a year ago, and at present shares with Mr. J. T. Marryat Hornsby the honor of forming one of the Seddonosaurian caudal vertebra.

## Romance and Reality.

WHEN Treasurer Seddon seizes hold of a great sheaf of papers carefully prepared by the Colonial historian, or some other equally unreliable authority, he does not allow himself to be hampered by trifles. He just lets himself loose and talks of millions as if they were trifles light as air. He implies that he holds a patent for borrowing money without having to pay any interest on it; in fact that the more he borrows the more the interest charge decreases. He has been extremely busy on many platforms during the past month, and the fable he tells to every audience is this: «I admit that the Seddon Government is responsible for the increase of the public debt by £3,792,000, but of that amount £3,582,565 is remunerative. The interest is paid directly back and is not any

burden on the tax-payers of the Colony. Only £210,000 is not earning interest and the annual charge is only £7350.»

Every one of his nominee candidates throughout the Colony echoes these figures. Mr. Cadiman varied it slightly at the Thames by saying that the unremunerative portion of the loans was £301,000, but that is too trifling a discrepancy to take notice of. The best test of the truth is to take the evidence of the two leading ministers themselves and the official records of their departments, and then see how the electioneering speeches fit in with the truth as told by the cold unsympathetic returns which have undergone the crucial test of the Audit Department.

Or over two-and-a-half millions of a discrepancy, to use a mild term; and this addition of over six-and-a-quarter millions to our debt takes no count or upwards of five-and-a-quarter millions more of liabilities incurred by the Banking legislation. Nearer twelve than eleven millions piled up within six years, and nearly all of it during the three years in which Mr. Seddon has held unbridled sway over the destinies of the people of this Colony.

Next let us test his assertion that the loan money is only a burden to the extent of £7350 per annum. We will take the four chief heads of expenditure, and so that no charge of injustice can be the statements of ministers themselves only will be used as evidence.

(1). The Lands for Settlement Act. In his Naseby speech the Hon. John McKenzie, said he had bought thirty-eight estates at a cost of £872,911 on which 613 people were settled. It must be understood that when Mr. McKenzie uses the term «settler,» he includes the women, children, and babies in arms. Therefore it follows that each of them so far has cost the State £1423. This, of course, is borrowed money, and the real owners of the land are not the people who live on it, or the taxpayers of the Colony, but the «fatmens» of Great Britain. The immediate burden of these expensive settlers is not yet felt, but the debt is there all the same.

Now as to the returns we get from these estates which cost £872,911. The outlay and income is shown in the Lands Report for this year on page 143. and the «rents received and *accrued,*» mark that word occurred to March 31 St, 1896, was £5946 4s. 3d., which amounts to just 14s. 4d. per cent, on the cost stated by Mr. John McKenzie of these investments of borrowed money. It is worthy of remark here that while Mr. McKenzie at Naseby said the Estates cost £872,911, Mr. Seddon at Hastings put the figure at £227,000. This discrepancy of over half a-million in the evidence of these two eminent authorities is too trifling for us to make a fuss about. The State historians have mixed things up a bit, but that is their trouble. However, as the cheapest money we are getting costs 3½ per cent. the annual cost for interest alone under this head is which the taxpayers have to make good.

It will be said that these estates have not yet had time to become self-supporting. To meet that argument we will take as a «shocking example» one of the earliest purchases. Pomahaka was purchased for £18,000 just on the eve of the general elections of 1893, when the Bank refused to hold it any longer as security for a debt of £8000. Its total cost in the last returns is given at £23,344, and last year's income was £192 13s. 1d., or considerably under 1 per cent. The total returns from all the estates since the scheme came into force over three years ago amount to £10,272.

(2). The second head of Loan expenditure is the purchase of Native Lands. Mr. John McKenzie says he has purchased 1,867,946 acres at an average cost of 6s. This amounts to £530,388 Practically these lands are still a wilderness and unremunerative: the total rents received since the inception of the scheme being £125 9s. 5d., and on a 3½ per cent, basis the Colony pays in annual interest £19,514. And in this, as in the Land for Settlement department, no account is taken of the enormous costs of administration.

(3). The Advances to Settlers Department. This State concern showed a loss in its first year's operations of £31,000, and also disclosed the appalling fact that there were already seventy defaulters in payment of their first year's interest. Ministers claim that the department is now paying its way, although half a million of the loan is still in hand. As a matter of fact the £31,000 lost last year is a debt to the Consolidated Fund, and cannot be written off, or expunged, or forgiven. It must be repaid out of future profits if any be made, and if none are made or more losses occur the general taxpayer has to find the interest. No sophistries can evade that issue.

(4). The last of the great spending departments is what Mr. George Hutchison so aptly and happily termed the Bribery Fund, viz.: the Roads and Bridges Account. In round numbers some-thing over two millions has gone in this way to debauch the constituencies of Government supporters chiefly. It says much for the audacity of Mr. Seddon and his obedient followers when they claim that this expenditure is remunerative. There can be no doubt that, had the Local Bodies been allowed to exercise their proper and legitimate functions, and supervised and constructed their own works, the roads and bridges would have been better made at less than half the cost. The interest charge under this head is £70,000.

To summarise the burdens placed on the people by the Seddon loans, and without taking into consideration the awful expenditure for departmental red tape and circumlocution, we find, after deducting what is earned, that the Colony has to pay:—

Or over Is. per head for every man, woman, and child in the Colony, and with a full knowledge of these facts Mr. Seddon and his satellites are roaming the country telling the people that the loans are remunerative.

A few words regarding Cheviot. We are told by ministers and their candidates that this bargain is paying £4500 a year over interest and other charges. There is absolutely no warrant whatever for such a statement. The return published last session shows how unwilling Government is to let the truth be known. It is an alleged statement of Income and Outlay. The income, which includes rents «accrued,» is brought down to June 30, while the outlay for interest &c, is to April 18th, a difference of ten weeks. The Opposition asked for a profit and loss account, and it was flatly refused. Until that is given in a proper business-like form the public have a right to feel dubious regarding the claims of ministers that Cheviot is paying its way. At best it is a questionable good when it is shown that each settler has cost the Colony a thousand pounds.

vignette

## The Liberal Ticket.

The Seddonian Ticket for Wellington is to run a team composed of George Fisher, Charles Wilson, and John Hutcheson in harness together. We don't think any sort of combination of that sort can keep on the road, for Mr. Wilson, who tries to be funny in his "Scrutator" column in *Granny* now and then, wrote to his present comrade, Mr. George Fisher, in a sort of open letter as follows:—

*«Friend George, I would warn thee of the terrible anger of thine old, and once true friend—Mr. Bung. He has money to use at election times, as George should remember, and he uses it for or against those who are with or against him . . . The political rat must pay the penalty of his treachery.»*

And now Mr. Bung's money is being spent on both of them. The Liberty League, a political rat, a literary plagiarist, and a nominee of the Temperance League, all on one ticket. That is called a Liberal solidarity. "Hooray for principles," as Sam Weller said.

vignette

## Quite a New Form of Bribery.

At the Premier's meeting at Oxford, Mr. Seddon collided with a snag in the shape of a settler named Watson, who handed up some questions, and after a good deal of uproar he got answers to some and others were shirked. One of those answered was—

*«Did the Government pay £75 to T. E. Taylor, to be paid to Caygill and Widdowson, for the costs in the Popham-Taylor libel case?»*

Mr. Seddon replied. «Yes; and under the circumstances I would do so again.»

That is to say, that if a man is found to have libelled another, and a jury awards damages, the Government is warranted in stepping in and paying the costs, This is supporting the Prohibition League with public money with a vengeance. "What do Messrs. Fisher, Wilson, Hornsby, Wilford, and the rest of the Liberty Liquor League who are supporting the Government say to this sop to T. E. Taylor, the Firebrand?"

Then a week later, at West port, he denied paying the money, and said Government had never paid a shiling. But the £75 was voted in the Supplementary Estimates, for all that, and went towards the costs in the Sydenham cases.

Mr Seddon's versatility is easily explained. Oxford is a prohibition stronghold, and the renowned Meredith, better known by his classic title of Archie Meeds, is the member. Westport, on the contrary, has a couple of breweries, and half of the houses in the main street are pubs. There are over sixty in the Buller electorate, and it would never have done to show sympathy with Mr. T. E. Taylor there. These tittle traits in the Premier's character exhibit the true greatness of the man.

To verify the report of the Oxford meeting we wired to the Chairman, who replied that it was correct.

## A Coming Man.

MR DOUGLAS MCLEAN, as he stood before the Napier constituency to make his maiden speech on an electioneering platform, showed by his manner and matter that he will be a marked figure in colonial politics. Inheritor of a large landed estate, which places him at the head of A colony of Scotchmen, he is necessarily accustomed to questions of land administration, management of labor, native land laws, live stock, foreign markets, and general trade affecting colonial products. The practical training grafted by these interests on an intelligence naturally thoughtful and considerate, and developed by a University education, give him, as a speaker, advantages of address which are granted to few. The vein of sympathy which permeates his reasonings attracts even opponents. His manner and gesture are totally free from «brummagem» or stagey effort. Speaking

with concentrated thought he constantly varies his attitudes, and at times assumes poses which strike one as peculiar and almost comical in their complete self-abandonment, and at others are as keenly demonstrative as those of the native Maori orators by whom his father Sir Donald McLean was so greatly esteemed. He speaks as man to man, not as a clever politician or special pleader. His thoughts are genuine and strike home. His mind attacks the kernel of any subject in regard to its influence on the whole body politic and throws away the husks of political strife which envelop it, and his habitual attitude of thought has the judicial directness which places the English Bench of Justice before all other legal tribunals for independence and equity, and which is equally due in his case to independence of position and devotion to his duties. For as the «Laird» in his own community, he is accustomed to have all matters submitted to him and to find his dictum held absolute by his Scottish adherents with clannish fidelity. His views are broad and enlightened on political questions, and he draws amply on his experience of travel in other countries to guide his decisions on the burning topics of the day. Douglas McLean will replace the present occupant of the Napier seat in the next New Zealand Parliament, and is bound there to carry weight in the future legislation of New Zealand. He is therefore a figure of interest to political readers, and the above sketch of first impressions at his maiden speech may serve to familiarise him to the public as a non-partisan, yet conservative politician, of whom any constituency might feel proud.

vignette

The Labor Candidate Hutcheson's mental condition is causing his friends anxiety. His policy has now more kinks in it than any coil of rope he ever ran out, and he was discovered the other day endeavoring to sew a seam in a gaff-topsail with the blunt end of a marline-spike. But he still promises to be a dumb-dog, and that covers all deficiencies.

\* \* \*

Somebody or other who calls himself "the Napier Democratic Union" (says the Napier *Telegraph*) has written a letter to Mr. Hornsby, late of Napier, recommending him to the electors of the Wairarapa as a consistent Liberal. This must sound strangely to those who remember how he slanged Mr. Seddon, Mr. Smith, and the late Mr. Ballance during the two or three years he was in charge of the Waipawa *Mail*.

\* \* \*

Mr. Charles Wilson. Seddonite candidate and ex-Conservative journalist, writes locals in Granny of the successful meetings he holds. One of these was at Newtown on Tuesday, «specially for Ladies.» Three females turned up, and then, after a pause, a fourth entered with unsteady gait and a wild look in her eye. The candidate gallantly assisted her to the footpath, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

## Under the Focus-Tube

vignette

THE *Post*, in a pretty strong article about drunkards in Parliament, who are seeking re-election, incidentally notes that these gentlemen are all, or nearly all, candidates approved by the Government, We are not sure that the Government can help itself in the matter.

\* \* \*

When the maiden for the third time brought her inebriated sweetheart to the altar, and the parson for the third time refused to tie the knot, sternly adding, «Come with him when he's sober.» she simply replied, «Please, Sir, when he's sober he won't come.»

\* \* \*

The Seddon Ministry is in the same case. It has so degraded administration that in numerous districts no man of any standing or with any self-respect will consent to figure as the Government candidate.

\* \* \*

Mr. Wilford's supporters charged Mr. Hislop with advocating low wages, and he has disproved the charge. But¶ what have they to say to this advertisement, which appeared in the *Evening Post* of 22nd June, 1895?

WANTED, a Lad able to drive. Low wages, Apply T. M. WILFORD.

\* \* \*

«Our George» is too modest altogether. He compares himself to Napoleon and Lord Gough—dear old Lord Gough. ¶Why not Marlborough and Ithuriel while about it?

\* \* \*

The seddon Government pulled down the wages of the bridge and crossing keepers on the railways to 30s. per week (without house), and where a house is provided this benevolent Government charges 5s. per week for rent. The Opposition endeavored to get the wages altered to 36s. per week, but all the Ministers and their following voted for and carried the 30s. rate, See Hansard, October 9th, page 638.

\* \* \*

The Middle Party's now a Liberal made,  
'Tis merely change of title, not of trade.

\* \* \*

Every public hall at Petone has been engaged for the evening of the 3rd (the night before the election) on behalf of the Government candidate. One is to be used: the others locked up. This precaution was taken some weeks before the campaign began.

\* \* \*

«The Bribery and Corruption Act,» said Mr. Thomas Wilford at Mitcheltown the other night, «limits a candidate to spending £200. I know something about Acts, and there ain't one on the Statute Book but what I can drive a coach and six through.» This is very significant, and the audience whispered among themselves» ¶Who finds the cash?»

\* \* \*

The ancient Cappadocians were Liberals until the taxpayers revolted and became a Greek Colony. The Democrats of a couple of centuries B.C. had much in common with their modern copyists, as the following couplet shows:—

*A viper bit a Cappadocian's hide,  
But 'twas the viper, not the Cappadocian, died.*

\* \* \*

*New Zealand Times* on Mr. Fisher, November 17th, 1893:—«Mr. Fisher is the Pariah of the House of Representatives. Pariah Fisher! That points the moral for all who accept the principles of men in power and oppose their administration.»

\* \* \*

Our George has lost his temper or his head very early in the election. He has written to Sir Robert Stout conveying the pleasing intelligence that he intends going for libel as soon as the elections are over, and finishes up with «I am a man of my word.» We congratulate Mr. Fisher, and experience the utmost gratification in publishing his own statement that he is a man of his word, because some people have been ungenerous enough to say that he is politically unreliable.

\* \* \*

It is said that the Shamocrat Hornsby visited a Wairarapa dairy and asked a female voter if she skimmed the milk at both ends.

\* \* \*

The Only Wilford called on a severe-looking female at Mitcheltown and orated. When he asked for her vote: «Sir.» said she, «you would be no more use in Parliament than an apple-dumpling would be to stop a rat-hole», and Tommy tried the next house.

\* \* \*

Some anxiety has been felt regarding the ex-Seddonite candidate and journalist Haggan, who was last seen on the 9th inst. There is no occasion to worry over him. A man who had such a clear conception of how to make paper money cannot sink. He will bob up serenely with a shin-plaster policy that will create wealth unbounded for all of us, if not in Wellington perhaps in Rarotonga.

\* \* \*

A pewter pot I really do not mind,  
«Long beer»'s a noun I never yet declined.

\* \* \*

Mr. Liberal Hogg is having a bad time with his constituents, and fails to gets votes of confidence where once his name was one to charm by. At Eketahuna a Mr. Neilseu asked him—

«¶ Are you in favor of the Government seizure of the Sinking funds?»

Mr. Hogg: «Yes! I am in favor of the Government seizing whatever it can.»

\* \* \*

Liquor and Liquor's League lay mid in night,  
Dick said, "Trot Wilson out!" and all was right.

Our George is not taking his gruel kindly; and no wonder, poor fellow. He had a right to expect the Mayoralty, seeing that he had the full strength of the Liberal vote, all the Seddonian influence, Brother Bung and his following, Liberty League (now defunct), and the Premier's thoughtful telegram about the Terrace jail, 'Twas a nasty jar, and an indication of worse to come.

\* \* \*

Masterton Hogg failed to get a vote of confidence when he asked for it in Masterton, but a basket of flowers was presented to him by arrangement. A critic in the audience observed that a bar of soap and a pronouncing dictionary would have been more appropriate.

\* \* \*

R. C. Bruce (Manawatu), whose chances looked shady a week or two since, writes that he reckons on hanging his hat up in the Whip's room next session.

\* \* \*

Dr. Newman's supporters have rallied up in a very satisfactory way during the week. He is in the pink of condition, and hardly expects to be asked to gallop for the Otaki Stakes.

vignette

«Oh! stay,» a Seddon dumb-dog said.

«And on my buzzom rest thy head!»

The Social female winked her eye,

And answered with a Lib'ral sigh,

«Skedaddle.»

## Strange Bedfellows.

## The Seddonian Trio for Wellington City.

## The Only Wilford.

## A FAIR CHALLENGE TO HIM.

We published some correspondence between the two candidates for the Suburbs seat a fortnight ago, in which Mr. Thomas Wilford's celebrated threat to expose some vague enormity was shown to be a sort of a Tale of a Tub. Since then the Hon. T. Hislop has shown he has nothing to hide, and is only desirous of meeting any accusation which the eccentric Government nominee has to say about him. He therefore addressed the following letter to Mr. Wilford:—

«The fact of your not replying to my last letter, or not accepting the challenge therein repeated, leaves me free to act as I please, and I intend to publish my letters and such portions of your own as I think fit.

«I have made inquires, and am satisfied that you have no ground of complaint against any one associated with me.

«On the other hand, I find, that notwithstanding your professions that you have made no personal reflections upon me, that your paid canvassers are busily engaged circulating false statements, although one of these at Mitchelltown and another at Berhampore publicly confessed they had been misled into making misstatements, which they were satisfied were incorrect, and announced that they would not make them again.

«During our last conversation you complained of statements made by two gentlemen in regard to your

conduct of certain matters. We agreed that, if untrue, the statements were exceedingly improper; but I stated, and you did not disagree, that, if true, they must affect your fitness. The words were clearly actionable, and you said you were issuing a writ. I have since seen these gentlemen, and they are prepared to meet any action of yours, and they contend that their statements are correct. No writ has been issued,—Yours obediently  
«T. W. HISLOP.»

We offered half-a-column to Mr. Wilford to explain himself in a previous issue. That offer is still open if he has anything to say.

vignette

Rowdy McKenzie could only get ten hands held up for him at a crowded meeting in Motueka, although the consumption of beer has doubled there since canvassing set in. Hops have also advanced in price, and barley has an upward tendency.

\* \* \*

The Government nominee for Rangitikei, Mr. W. Bailey, has been trimming on the question of compensation to publicans, and deserters are going over to Lethtbridge in squadrons. This electorate is being fought out mainly on the Liquor question, and the whole population thinks and talks of nothing else.

\* \* \*

Day by day the sun of Tinsmith Graham is setting, and the latest intelligence front Nelson shows that his supporters are now reduced to the brewers, publicans, and larrikins. The rest of the Sleepy Hollowites are following the music of the modem Pied Piper of Hamelin.

\* \* \*

The Eight Hours' Bill advocate, Tommy Wilford, advertised lately for a man to milk the cows, groom the horses, and fill up his time in the garden. Hours from carlv dawn till Tommy came home at night with the horse. Wages offered to able bodied young man of 22. ten shillings per week at first and refused; then increased to fifteen shillings. The young man asked. «Any Sunday work.» «Of course,» said Tommy. «That's leas than 2s. 2d. a day,» said the applicant, "and you keep such blamed late hours that I think I'll try somewhere else," But Tommy still orates on the eighl hours" diy and the rights of labor in the abstract.

## A Voice from the West Coast.

«Reefer» writes:—«It is commonly reported in Reefton that Ziman made Mrs. Seddon a present of 1000 shares in the Consolidated Company. Mr. Mills (who ought to know) is the author. You are no doubt aware that special amendments to the Mining Act and Mining Company's Act were passed in 1895 to suit Ziman's book; also, a special extra mining report by Gordon for the same purpose. By the Mining Act of 1895, 640 acres can be taken up, and Ziman took up several such areas, but owing to the labor conditions it is impossible for any but capitalists to hold them—twenty-one men must be continuously employed on each. All the other amendments are made for the same purpose, viz., to shut out the working miner. It is also reported that Gordon received a present of 500 Consolidated shares, and that Mrs. Seddon's shares were sold in London at 82s, 6d. each.» [The above information is not-new. In well-informed circles in Wellington it was understood that Gordon got 1000 shares and solf in London at 90s. We wrote to London for a search to be made of the share register, and as yet have no reply. But we invite the parties implicated to clear themselves if they can.]

vignette

## An 18th Century Epigram.

Tho' George, with respect to the wrong and the right,  
Is of twenty opinions twixt morning and night,  
If you call him a Turncoat, you injure the Man;  
He's the pink of consistency on his own plan,  
While to stick to the strongest is always his trim,  
'Tis not he changes sides; 'tis the side changes him.

—*Samuel Bishop.*

vignette

Mr. Alfred Saunders, an aged gentleman, whose veracity has never before been questioned in his fifty years

of public life, is thus spoken of by the Seddonite candidate Hornsby: «A great deal has been made about Mr. Saunders being offered the Colonial Treasurer-ship. I give this a flat contradiction.» Every member of the House and every reporter in the press gallery knew that Mr. Seddon asked Mr. Saunders to accept the portfolio because it would "help him in the elections." Even Mr. Seddon himself has not the cast-iron effrontery to say what his puppets announce as confidential information.

\* \* \*

Mr. Mitchelson's nomination for Auckland makes the result of the elections throughout the Colony a certain win for the Conservatives who will have a majority when the fight is over: but is too much to expect that the Liberals will do what the Conservatives did when beaten in 1890—call Parliament together and hand in their checks. They love place too well for that.

\* \* \*

Our friend the Hon. G. F. Richardson looks like winning the Maitua seat if votes of confidence for him everywhere, and a denial of even a vote of thanks to Mr. McNab at some meetings count for anything.

\* \* \*

Christchurch is going to be one of the surprises of the election. In 1893, eight Government candidates polled 27,499 votes, and one Independent and two oppositioists polled 5,346 votes. The Cathedral City intends to turn over a new leaf.

\* \* \*

All parties agree that Scobie Mackenzie will poll the biggest vote ever cast in Dunedin. Begg is most fancied for second place, and there is a lot of choosing for third man, the mosl likely being either Pinkerton or Millar.

## Over There,

## (And the Order they will Get there in.)

[*x Rays* leaves prophecy to Baxter, Eugene, and Dimblehy, who make it a business. But a contributor has been trying his hand in the line as an amateur, and we publish his first attempt.]

There's a place where they all want to go,  
'Tis the place where they vote and they pair;  
And they sometimes are caucused, you know,  
When King Dick has a bit of a scare.  
Over there, over there,  
All feel sure that they'll get over there.

1 Menteach is the first on the list,  
For his speeches are honest and fair;  
And all parties intend to assist,  
To put him on top over there.  
Over there, over there,  
He will take a front place over there.

2 Sir Robert is also as sure,  
For of votes he can claim a big share—  
The strongest of all on the floor,  
He is sure to be found over there.  
Over there, over there,  
Stout's the watchdog awake over there.

3 A. R. A. is a fighter so strong,  
Like his Uncle, Sir Harry, he'll dare  
To go right, no matter who's "wrong;  
Such as he are required over there.  
Over there, over there,  
You find him in evidence there.

4 And Fraser, who's tried it before,  
With no clothes but blue ribbon to wear;  
He can hardly expect to reach shore,  
And drink tea with a Chinaman there.  
Over there, over there,  
Or a broomstick as mate over there.

5 And Hutcheson, John, of that name,  
Adored by the White Hens so fair,  
Poor devil, he's new to the game,  
And he don't know how he will get there.  
Over there, over there,  
The sailmaker's jib won't set there.

6 And George Fisher, with free, easy style,  
Big voice and his bold jaunty air,  
He has brains 'neath that shiny black tile,  
But no ballast to carry him there.  
Over there, over there,  
He will take a back seat over there.

7 Little Wilson, a Liberal now,  
Who was once a Conservative rare,  
To the Premier's bark he'll bow-wow,  
But it won't be in Bellamy's there.  
Over there, over there,  
Such as he do not suit over there.

vignette

Get place and wealth; if possible, with grace;  
If not, by any means, get wealth and place.

*Pope—Horace.*

**Sacred to the Memory Of Wellington Liberty  
League**

Born October, 1896; Died Novembers 1896

## Ætat Six Weeks,

INTRODUCED into this vale of tears with effusive sympathy by Doctors Kennedy Mac., John Thomas Hornsby, C. Wilson, and Mrs. Schoch, who, finding the infant *deficient in vitality*, called in the services of Professor Menteth. He pronounced it a *lusus natura*, and not possessed of either stamina or brains, advised its extinction, and declined to act further, as the paternity of the monstrosity was more than doubtful.

Granny and the liberal medicos employed all their skill to keep breath in the infant, but in spite of all stimulants it breathed its last at a symposium on Wednesday night, *regretted by few and mourned for by none*.

*Requiescat in Pace.*

vignette

## Confidential Information.

Mr. Theodore Cooper was advocate for the Bank of New Zealand for three or four months in Wellington, and engineered the blockade of any questions likely to elicit the information the Committee was set up to obtain, viz.:—¶ What led to the purchase of the Colonial Bank? He it was who provided all the «Not in the order of references» ammunition which the Premier fired off. He was the power behind the throne. His brief was marked with a fat fee, but there was more in that brief than most people dreamed of at the time.

There was a vacant Judgeship in the gift of the Ministry, and it was no secret that Mr. Theo. Cooper was in the running for it. The daily papers looked on him as a moral, and there was considerable surprise when Mr. Edwards was appointed, The man in the street was puzzled, and asked, «¶What's up?»

The mystery is now solved—the cat is out of the bag—the oracle himself hath spoken. Mr. Theo. Cooper's instructions were to block all inquiry in the Committee, and to do something else as well. He; was to abandon the etiquette of his profession, and stand on a platform side by side with Mr. T. Thompson and tell an Auckland audience that, as the lawyer of the bank, he could assure the electors that his client, the said bank, had done nothing wrong; that Mr. Ward was a martyr; and that he, Mr. Theo. Cooper, knew all about what went on behind the scenes. Which was eminently condescending on the part of Mr. Theo. Cooper; but it would have been more satisfaction to the public if he had helped to get at the truth instead of preventing awkward questions being answered.

The real reason of Mr. Theo. Cooper standing on that platform and abandoning the dignity and reserve which attaches to his profession regarding cases in which he is confidentially engaged—was to barrack for the Government candidate, Mr. T. Thompson, and the public may well ask, «?What price, Cooper?»

November 28, 1896 x RAYS-ADVERTISEMENTS. The Westport Coal Company LIMITED.

PENNY ILLUSTRATED PAPER x RAYS LITERARY, SOCIAL, POLITICAL.

Pat-'Twas the wurst o' the foight ye had this toime, Moike. It was a terrible blow the blagyard giv ye, so it was. Yer was near kilt.. Mike: «Begorra, I wish I had died, that I might see the villyan hung!»

The transposition of a word in a deed was the foundation of the great wealth of the American millionaire. Daniel Clark. He had purchased 1920 square toises—that is, an acre—of land in a part of New Orleens that became the centre of the city. By carelessness in the engrossing of the deed his purchase was changed to «1920 toises square »—in other words, from an acre, worth £10,000 to 3500 acres, worth £5,000,000. Mr. Clark took full advantage of the mistake, and all the law in New Orleans could not prevent him.

R. C. HARDING Printer and Publisher FARISH STREET WELLINGTON.

Are You in Want? OF A PIANO OR ORGAN F. J. PINNY 7 MANNERS ST.

To be had of all Booksellers, Price 12/6. STONE'S WELLINGTON, HAWKE'S BAY AND TARANAKI COMMERCIAL, MUNICIPAL, & GENERAL DIRECTORY PROVINCIAL GAZETTEER, AND NEW ZEALAND ANNUAL 1896-7 PUBLISHERS: STONE SON & Co. Crawf ord - street. Dunedin.

BLOWING Doesn't make a steady Blaze of Business Unless you have something worth blowing about HENRY FIELDER

The Political Budget,

Published Monthly.

No. 3.]

WELLINGTON, JULY 31ST, 1897.

# The Political Budget,

It is a feature of Democratic institutions in whatever country they exist that Ministers have to be extremely wary of offending political supporters by undue parsimony. They exercise economy rigidly where savings can be effected by the retirement of officials believed to be opposed to them, and then they find that some other branch requires a chief clerk, an expert, or a private secretary, not from reasons of nepotism, but because a statesman bent on reform naturally likes to be seconded by officials who agree with him.

It is but charitable to assume that some such motive prompted the following notification in the *Gazette* of May 27th, page 1102:—

*Government Advance to Settlers Office, Wellington,*

*22nd May, 1897.*

*It is hereby notified for general information that His Excellency the Administrator of the Government in Council has been pleased to appoint*

*ANDREW MCKERROW, Esq., of Humpden, and*

*ALBERT BARNS, Esq., of Wanganui,*

*to be Valuers for the business of the Government Advances to Settlers Office. Such appointments to date from the 15th May, 1897.*

*John McKenzie, Minister of Lands.*

Hampden, the residence of A. McKerrow, Esq., is near Shag Point, and both these places are in the Waihemo Electorate, and the beneficiary being a Highlandman there is no need to enquire into his qualifications for preferment. The case of Albert Barns, Esq., of Wanganui, is one deserving of some gentle comment. He has been a strong Party man: to mention this is, perhaps, superfluous—but his energetic canvass on behalf of Mr Willis for the Wanganui seat entitled him to some solatium for the defeat of his champion. Nor were his aspirations received with strait-laced excuses or objections, as the above-quoted *Gazette*, notice testifies. What Parliament has to consider is this: Does Alfred Barns, Esquire, of Wanganui, possess the commercial qualifications to inspire confidence in him as an official holding a position of trust to recommend advances of State funds on mortgage. For testimony as to his eligibility, we will put in evidence the following extracts from a judgment delivered by Judge Kettle in Wanganui on September 17th, 1896, and reported in the local papers, when Alfred Barns, Esquire, applied for his discharge as a bankrupt:—

*"The debtor has been carrying on business as an auctioneer for about 25 years, and has also been carrying on a farm at 'Pukenui.' From 1880 to 1885 the auctioneering business was carried on in partnership with one Higgie. On dissolution on September 12th, 1885, Higgie was indebted to the firm £383. He agreed to go out on getting £300 over and above his indebtedness, and Barns to take over all assets and liabilities. The Bank of N.S.W. overdraft was then £1700 and the firm was evidently in financial difficulties. The only assets were the goodwill and stock at Pukenui. Debtor in his public examination admits that the firm was insolvent, but stated that the Bank induced him to carry on. The Bank manager in an affidavit contradicted this. After the dissolution and up to 1891, the business was carried on under the style of 'Barns & Higgie,' and then changed to 'Barns & Son,' the Bank carrying them on and the overdraft remaining much the same. On February 16th, 1891, the bankrupt gave to one, Mr McGregor, a mortgage over the Pukenui lease and stock to secure £600. On June 1st, 1893, bankrupt sent a statement to the Bank showing assets to the value of £4507, of which £1398 was live stock on Pukenui and goodwill of the lease £500. At that time the Pukenui leasehold and the stock on it was then subject to McGregor's mortgage, but this was concealed from the head office of the Bank. On three subsequent occasions he furnished statements similar to the first, emphasizing the allegation that 'all my assets are free from outside claims.' Between December, 1894, and the date of filing, July 1895, his overdraft was increased from about £1700 to £3800. The Bank proved for £5722. In the public examination of the bankrupt he explained this discrepancy as follows:—' I attribute the increase of my overdraft at the time of my filing, to payment of Trust account, and the discontinuance of the discounting of the bad bills.'*

*"In March, 1895, bankrupt executed an absolute assignment of the Pukenui lease to McGregor without informing the Bank, and shortly afterwards filed. He had been to Wellington and had seen the Inspector, and arranged to come back to Wanganui and file at once. He did not do so, but went up to Pukenui and made some arrangements as to the removal of stock which were claimed by his wife. The stock were ordered by the Court to be sold for the benefit of the estate. His filed statement of liabilities shows £6389, but the proofs put in*

amount to £8074, or £1685 more than he said. The assets are put down at £1568, including Pukenui stock £1000 which, when sold, realised £400 odd only. The debtor explains that the reason he put the stock down as unencumbered was that he had been advised that McGregor's security was invalid."

The Judge went on to say. "He is unable to produce the Fair Cash Book and ledger prior to 1892. I am not at all satisfied with his explanation as to these books being lost. . . . The debtor did not produce any of the rough balance-sheets nor does he seem to have shown them to the Bank. Messrs Liftiton and Rodwell, two accountants, were employed to examine the books. Their reports say:—' As the books of the bankrupt were not posted, and many ledger accounts not opened, it was manifestly impossible to get at anything like an accurate idea of the bankrupt's position from the books. . . . Referring to the books as a whole we may say *that for all practical purposes they are almost useless*. There is no record of any balancing or any attempt to balance, and consequently the bankrupt had nothing to guide him.'

"The debtor kept no separate trust account as required by the Auctioneers' Act, 1891, and section 19 of that act provides a penalty of £100 for such failure. He paid all sale moneys to his ordinary account and thus kept his overdraft much lower than it otherwise would have been.

"McGregor's security was always kept concealed and the stock represented as unencumbered. The bankrupt's assets were always grossly exaggerated. He admits that the statements prepared by him were misleading and intended to mislead the head office of the Bank. His letters to the Bank all go to induce the belief that the whole of the stock was free. The principal wrong was the concealment of McGregor's security, and misleading reports. . . . The bankrupt admits deliberate fraud and deceit in dealing with the head office of the Bank. It is the duty of the Court to punish commercial dishonesty of this kind. This case is not altogether one of a man of over sanguine temperament making exaggerated statements, but one in which by the bankrupt's own admissions he has been guilty of deliberate fraud and deceit. I think the Court would be failing in its duty if it did not suspend the debtor's discharge for a considerable time, and I would point out that section 132 of the Bankruptcy Act, 1892, provides that an order of discharge does not release a debtor from—

- Any debt or liability incurred by means of any fraud or fraudulent breach of trust to which he is a party;
- Any debt or liability whereof he has obtained forbearance by any fraud to which he was a party.

*"The debtor's discharge is suspended for three years.*

*"The only other matter that calls for remark is the statement made by the debtor that Downes, the manager of the Bank, knew his (Barns') exact position, and was aware that the head office was deceived. Mr Downes's health was such at the time that he could not be called as a witness, but a statement in writing by him, denying that he knew of McGregor's security, was put in. Downes has since died, and it is therefore impossible to get any further information from him. I cannot, on the bankrupt's ex parte statement alone, conclude that Downes was aware deception was being practised. The bankrupt sets up a conspiracy between himself and the bank manager to deceive the head office; but, even supposing his statement to be true, I cannot see that it can be pleaded in extenuation or mitigation of his (Barns') conduct. In my opinion it makes his conduct all the more reprehensible. I am not called upon to decide whether the bankrupt's statements as to Mr Downes are true, but I certainly would not condemn a dead man on the ex parte and uncorroborated statement of the bankrupt."*

## The Public Accounts.

The Public Accounts for the June quarter are published in the *Gazette* of July 22nd. Among those worthy of analysis is the one relating to the Lands for Settlement account. The purchase money paid to date is as follows:—

To this must be added accrued interest, cost of management, cutting up and roading not shown in the accounts. Taking, however, the bare cost, the interest charge at 3 ½ per cent, on the purchase is now £22,342 per annum. As against this the State has received the following sums for rents and lease fees:—

Under the conditions lessees pay rents in advance half-yearly, and as several estates have been recently thrown open the large sum received in the June quarter of this year is accounted for. But on the whole it is evident that the Colony is making a huge annual loss, and, until a proper balance-sheet and profit and loss account of each of the estates is published, it will be impossible to arrive at the true stated affairs regarding this experiment in Land Nationalisation. To those who are advocates of the system a genuine statement would provide indisputable facts to argue from, but it must be admitted that the figures in the *Gazette* are meagre and unsatisfactory in the highest degree.

The same remarks apply to the statements of the Cheviot account.

## The Working Railways Account.

The Railway revenue is increasing rapidly, for the annual revenue showed the following expansion:—

While the June quarter's increase was nearly up to the average:—

But on the expenditure side there is an incongruity difficult of explanation. Last year it was £776,747, and in the previous year £743,070. an average of £190,000 per quarter. The expenditure in the March quarter, 1897, was £289,824, in the June period only £97,782. and in the corresponding period of 1896 £135,350. Although some of the discrepancy can be accounted for by the fact that both revenue and expenditure are larger during the summer season than in the winter months, this does not explain why the expenses went down £37,568 while the income increased £21,964 in June. We offer two solutions of the apparent paradox. Parliament votes salaries and wages, repairs and renewals, oil and tallow, compassionate allowances and miscellaneous in the Estimates in a manner which makes it impossible to analyse where or whether maintenance and repairs are paid from railway revenue, or are charged to capital account. By dissecting the figures the following result is arrived at:

Here, then, is a quarterly expenditure of £150,000 in salaries and wages, which cannot vary except as regards casual labour, which does not affect the permanent hands. How then has the Department contrived to make £97,781 perform the functions of £150,000? In all the tables in the Railway Return wages and material are lumped together, and the only information available as to permanent way materials renewed is in Table 16, showing that 16,190 rails were relaid—mostly 53lb. These would be equal to about 3200 tons, of a value of £7 per ton, say £22,400, and 214,474 sleepers, value say 4s. including freight—£42,895: total, £65,295. There are to be provided beside these repairs to bridges, fences, gates, wharves, buildings, drain pipes, damages by floods, &c., to say nothing of coal, oil, renewals of locomotives, &c., and, as traffic increases, it is only natural to suppose that renewals and repairs increase with it. But the statistics of imports show otherwise, as the following extracts prove:—

It is no secret that the Hawke's Bay floods caused such damage to bridges, &c., that the permanent-way officials were at their wits' end for piles and other bridge material. It seems clear that necessary stocks have dwindled till the service is below the standard of efficiency to cope with sudden calls upon it. In fact, both the Traffic and Maintenance Departments are starved. This improvidence and saving at the wrong end is conspicuous in other branches of the service, notably in the defences of the Colony, where trained artillery volunteers have to be disbanded because of having no guns. Indeed, judging by the scanty material being imported for the Telegraph Department and others, it would seem that the present Administration will leave their successors short of even pens and red tape when they vacate the Cabinet-room.

The [*unclear*: other] solution of the paradox is clearer. Although the Treasury accounts published on July 22nd only account for a Railway Expenditure of £97,782 for the quarter, the Railway Returns published in the *Gazette* of May 27th. show that £135,696 had been spent at that date. There must be something lax and deserving of reprobation when moneys expended by so highly officered a department as the Head Office of the Railways, who are paid £40,000 a year by the State, do not furnish the Treasury with their May accounts in time for publication at the end of July, or the fault may rest with the Treasury. Moreover, the June balance-sheets show that officers in the Colony held on Imprest on June 30th no less a sum than £239,138. Can any member conscientiously call this careful administration? The Imprest system may have its advantages, but if a quarter of a million be entrusted to officials, it surely ought to be accounted for once a quarter at any rate. There is a further sum of £55,321 shown to be held by officers of the Government in London, altogether £294,459 drawn by Imprest by officials. That the power to draw money by Imprest from the Treasury is not confined to heads of departments or permanent officials was instanced recently by the finding of a telegram in a place of public resort, worded as follows:—

June 30th.

*"Place £100 to credit of my imprest account at Wellington on Thursday, July 1st. J. C. McKerrow, Pahiatua."*

*This was countersigned, "Refer to Lands and Survey Department, R. J. Collins, June 30th," and stamped, "Received for audit, July 1st." The finder, through his solicitor, wrote to the departmental head of each Department and to the Acting-Premier, asking to be relieved of the possession of a State document, and it was claimed by the Hon. Mr McKenzie. How official documents come to be so far astray from proper custody is as curious as the fact that the sender of the telegram should be permitted to draw on the Treasury in such a peremptory fashion.*

*Another item in the quarterly accounts requires looking into. The Civil List for the quarter just ended shows an expenditure of £5446, as against £5308 for the same period last year. The difference is only £138, but is accentuated by the fact that during the 1897 period we had no Governor, and the Administrator only draws half the Governor's salary of £5000 and half his own of £1500. Naturally there ought to have been a saving of*

£812 in place of an excess of £138.

*It is only just: to the Audit Department to state that the following memo is attached to the Public Accounts:—"The foregoing accounts have been examined and found correct, except as regards Customs, Railways and Territorial revenue, receipts which are not examined by the Audit Office. J. K. Warburton, Auditor and Controller-General."*

## The Awarua Election.

The Colony has to bear the expense, and the Southland electors the turmoil, of a bye-election, because the Hon. J. G. Ward desires to remain in politics even if an uncertificated bankrupt. The mere fact of his becoming a candidate in December last, knowing at the time what was impending, was injudicious and something worse, but his announcement of again seeking the suffrages of the electors because of the prominence he had brought Southland into smacks of impertinence when read beside the sensational evidence in the Supreme Court. As a matter of expediency it might be well for the future of New Zealand if he were returned. Our reputation as a Democracy has been so smirched that a few more splashes will hardly affect us, and his return will bring the inevitable end nearer. But with a view of keeping up the spoils to the victors policy, Mr Ward and his supporters are promising the Awarua electors that £1500 will be found for re-metalling a road near Invercargill which the County has kept in repair for 30 years. The Boss Platt ring of New York might study the methods of the Democracy in this Colony and pick up a few wrinkles. It is only just and proper to point out here that, although the Hon. Hall-Jones has denied that corruption has had any part in the administration of State affairs, that the following persons have benefited materially:—W. Lee Smith, who cost the Colony £1100 as Commissioner to Canada, and who subsequently stood in the breach as a friend desirous of purchasing the Ward liabilities, which offer Judge Williams refused; Mr Carswell, whose business was absorbed by the Ward Association on representations made by Mr Watson then Inspector of the Colonial Bank, Mr Carswell was soon after appointed Valuer under the Advances to Settlers Act at a salary of £500 with the usual perquisites; Mr Hayes, who was a manager of the ill-starred Hokonui Coal Mine, has been made a Government Inspector of Mines; Mr McKeown, another Association employee, is now Inspector of Labour. We see also the *Southland News* advocating Mr Ward's candidature on the grounds of "morality." One of the proprietors, the Hon. H. Feldwick, M.L.C., owes his appointment, with its pay and privileges and State advertising on a liberal scale, to the present Government. The Hon. Hall-Jones' views on "corruption" might be modified were he to consult a dictionary giving the root or derivative meaning of English words.

## Ministerial.

The Right Hon. Dr. Seddon, L.L.D.'s, utterances at Home are not likely to modify the contempt New Zealand politicians have been held in of late years by the commercial magnates. One instance is enough. Dr. Seddon was interviewed in a cab by the reporter of the *London Evening News*, a halfpenny sheet mainly devoted to

chronicling the side-lights of the Police Courts, and he is reported as follows by the scribe who accompanied him in the cab: "That," pointing to the roof of the vehicle, "would not do for us. *We* ride in landaus in New Zealand." When asked what sort of a field New Zealand is for emigration he assured the reporter emphatically, "There is not a pauper in the Colony."

It is also reported that the Minister of Lands will probably resign after the session. In the light of the figures given elsewhere as to the total breakdown of his land experiments, and the fact that he and others have *acquired* during their terms of office what would have been considered wealth by many worthy colonists, it is highly probable that not only Mr McKenzie, but others as well, will gladly abandon the fort, and leave others to reap the whirlwind they have sown.

Then the Hon. Hall-Jones, acting apparently on orders from headquarters, has started another borrowing campaign, and, if the newspaper reports of his speeches are not altogether at fault, he must have been sadly led astray by the Customs authorities when he said that, although the Customs receipts had increased, that this was through luxuries such as apparel to order, beer and spirits. The duties collected on the first-named item was about £700 in 1890; although the duty on English beer was a trifle more the quantity was less, and spirits remained about stationary. But apparel and slops, used entirely by the workers, increased by 225 per cent., and it is very clear that the colonial manufacturers and tailors are chiefly supported by the intermediate classes between the grades of Cabinet Ministers and *bona fide* workers too poor to wear Tailor-made suits.

With respect to this Minister's instability of mind a striking instance has recently occurred in connection

with the shelter sheds at Wellington. A few months ago the Premier announced his intention of pulling them down, having been urged to that by the Carriers' Union. The Corporation stood its ground and gained its case in the Supreme Court. More recently Ministers have announced that they intended to take the site for a Railway Station, but as the site is at the end of the Queen's Wharf there were grave objections to this. The Hon. Hall-Jones, being more desirous of pleasing the carriers than the City Council, announced his determination to get rid of the sheds and put, up a station. Last week the carriers and cabmen altered their minds, as they found the sheds were a great convenience to them, and a telegram to that, effect was sent to the Minister in Auckland, who immediately gave orders to stay any action regarding the acquisition of the site. It does not require the gift of prophecy to predict that no railway station will be erected there.

The Hon. Thos. Thompson has courteously received a deputation during the month whose business was to alter the law with respect to the collection of debts, by which persons owing sums under £20 would be virtually relieved of further trouble. The urbane Minister replied he would take the request into his favourable consideration. Curiously enough, the chief spokesman in this connection is notorious in the facility with which he obtains interviews with Ministers, and with the operation of judgment summonses as well. It must be highly gratifying to the Minister of Justice: to be able to obtain expert evidence outside the legal profession on matters pertinent to his department.

Printed by W. H. Stewart & Co., Willis, Street, Wellington.

The Union Jack and New Zealand flags  
Soldier on his horse A SOUVENIR OF NEW ZEALANDS  
RESPONSE TO THE EMPIRE'S CALL

PRICE ONE SHILLING

BY MALCOLM ROSS

M'CKEE & CO. PUBLISHERS, WELLINGTON

## ***The Call of Mother England.***

Listen! Across the languor of our peace  
There breaks a sudden voice—'tis England calls:  
"Come to my help, O stalwart sons of mine!  
When ye were weaklings, I protected ye,  
And now I ask for hearts and nerves of steel  
To guard my Empire from th' insolent foe."

\* \* \* \*

O, Mother England, we are mothers too,  
But, though our heart-strings break to let them go—  
The lads that climbed our knees and kissed our lips—  
We send our sons to aid thee. We must needs  
Hold back our tears and hush the choking sob,  
As tenderly we gaze upon our boys  
Who, but a year ago, at desk or farm,  
Knew not the thrill of Mother England's call.  
Sure in our women lives the Spartan still,  
For with wet eyes, yet hearts aflame with pride,  
They bid their men go forth to distant lands  
To fight for honour, justice, and the right.

FORREST ROSS.

## **New Zealand's Response . . . to . . . *The Empire's Call.***

ON the 28th day of September, 1899, the New Zealand House of Representatives amid a thrilling scene of loyalty and patriotism that will long be remembered by those who witnessed it, resolved to offer to the Imperial Government a Contingent of Mounted Infantry, fully equipped for service in South Africa. On the following day the Legislative Council passed a similar resolution, and His Excellency the Governor, the Earl of Ranfurly, at once transmitted the offer by telegram to the Home authorities. On the 30th September a reply was received from the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, accepting the offer should occasion arise for the use of such a Contingent. At the same time, the Home Government expressed their appreciation of New Zealand's loyal and patriotic offer—the first to be received from any of the Colonies. Eleven days later Great Britain was at war with the Boers, and our first Contingent, which was got together with remarkable promptness, left Wellington in the s.s. Waiwera.

## ***Sir Arthor Douglas (Under-Secretary for Defence and Lady Douglas at the Camp.***

### **General View of the Camp at Newtown Park.—Showing Maxim Guns at the Orderly Tent.**

There Was a vast crowd in the streets, who cheered and cheered again as our boys in khaki marched through the throng. The hurrahs sometimes drowned the music of the bands. A man in the crowd would wave his hat or handkerchief in the air and cheer. Immediately those near him would take it up, and the effect became electrical: cheer after cheer thundered along the street on either side, only to die away for a moment, and be renewed again and again. In the intervals, spontaneously from a thousand throats would come the chorus of "Soldiers of the Queen," or the refrain of the National Anthem. The scene was both impressive and pathetic. Every now and then some friend or relative would break from the crowd and grasp the bronzed hand of a trooper as he strode alone, and the eyes that guided the band were not always dry. The formal leave-taking was witnessed by the latest crowd ever assembled in Wellington. The march to the troopship was in the nature of a triumphal procession. Then, with the words of "Auld Lang Syne" still ringing in our ears, the last farewells were said. By this time there was, wistful, somewhat sad looks on the faces of many of the men, and now, with their approaching departure, the tension increased.

### ***A Juvenile Contingent—"Down with Kruger,"***

***[unclear: 1]—Hay for the Horses.***

**2—A Case for "the Vet."**

**3—Waiting for Despatches.**

**4—A Chat with a Wounded Soldier.**

To remain unmoved was difficult for the most disinterested onlooker. When the Contingent halted, a young woman—sister or lover—rushed up to one of the men, and throwing her arms around him, kissed him fervently. No word was said. She went hurriedly away, and her tears fell like summer rain as she waited, alone,

to see the last of her hero. There were fathers and mothers, too, whose eyes were dimmed with tears that day. As the Waiwera steamed slowly down the harbour, convoyed by two lines of all the steamers in port, thronged with their thousands of loyal colonists, the scene was, if anything, even more impressive. The bands played, the people sang, and cheer after cheer was sent across the water. Women were weeping now, and there were even sober-sided business men whose eyes were just a trifle dim. On the Tutanekai was His Excellency the Governor, waving farewell. It was all magnificently fine. The heart of a young nation was going out in throbbing farewell to the flower of its youth, banded together at duty's call to fight for the Mother Land. The sloping sun gleamed on the waters, lit up the streaming flags, and fell upon the thousands of faces that watched as the two lines of steamers, with the troopship in the centre, went slow ahead down the harbor.

## ***"Our Boys" at Netown Park discussing the latest news from the front.***

## ***Captain Hayhurst, Mrs. Hayhurst, and a civilian friend.***

The send-off was a touching and magnificent one, though the prevailing note was one of sadness, as the stately ship steamed through the Heads while the sun sank behind the town, leaving the hills a sombre gray and green in the waning light. There were doubts in the minds of many when the Waiwera set sail that Major Robin and his men would see fighting.

**1—The Premier with Major Cradock and Mr. T. K. Macdonald watching an evolution. 2—The "Flag-waggers." 3—A wounded trooper helped by his comrades.**

## ***Crater of Nganhoe.***

FROM the Camp at Karori to the tented field of South Africa occupied but a brief space. The men and their horses landed in fine trim, and were at once ordered to the front. From time to time we hear briefly of their doings. They have borne themselves bravely, and already have been of some assistance to the British Army. New Zealanders need have little fear that their volunteers, who were the first of all the Colonials to take the field, will do anything but honour to their native land. From the start Fortune did not favour the British Army in South Africa. Defeat stared us in the face when we looked for victory. The foe proved to be brave, and the position was completely changed, owing to the fact that the burghers of the Orange Free-State, and many of the Cape Dutch allied themselves to the Transvaal Army.

## ***Major Cradock, Colonel Penton, and Lieut.-Col. Sommerville.***

***An Imperial Drill Instructor and a boy in kharki.***

## **One of the First Drills.—Showing the Men in Different Uniforms and Plain Clothes.**

MORE men, especially mounted men, were wanted to ensure success, and the British plan of campaign had to be altered. The Colonies once more proved that their loyalty was not mere lip-service, and New Zealand promptly offered a second Contingent. The offer was accepted. There was no lack of Volunteers. The first Contingent had barely smelt powder before preparations for a Second Contingent were well under way. From one end of the Colony to the other there was a renewed outburst of patriotism, and now the Second Contingent is on its way to South Africa. Major Cradock, an ex-Imperial officer, has been placed in command, and he has under him men who will not stick at anything that may be required of them.

## **His Excellency the Governor and Bishop Wallis in Camp.**

Even as we write men are volunteering for a Third Contingent, and, from one end of the Colony to the other, money is pouring in for "The Absent minded beggar" and the various Patriotic Funds.

## **Fair Visitors in front of the Telephone Tent.**

It is a glorious page in our history. The whole nation is aroused, and the Imperial spirit has taken firm hold. If the War does nothing else than foster this feeling, it will not have been in vain. The little-Englanders have hidden their diminished heads, party differences have been sunk in the common weal, and the united action of our vast Empire has been an object lesson to the world. The old spirit of the mother is not lacking in the sons:—

*"Go to your work and be strong, halting not in your ways,  
Baulking the end half won for an instant dole of praise.  
Stand to your work and be wise—certain of sword and pen,  
Who are neither children nor gods, but men in a world of men!"*

## **Sham Fight at Wellington, 13th January, 1900.**

### ***The Wellington Guards, after storming the heights at the Sham Fight.***

### ***The Contingent ready to leave Camp for the Sham Fight.***

### ***Capture of the Maxim Gun by the Civil Service Rifles—Desperate effort by the Hotchkiss men***

***to save the gun by dragging it away. Col.  
Penton watching the capture.***

***In the firing line—The enemy firing on the  
Contingent.***

## **The Boer.**

Too long they cumbered lands that should be free,  
A lustful breed, intolerant and bold,  
Guarding with jealous guard the gates of gold—  
The treasures of a dead Enternity.

Too long with insult and with treachery  
They paid her sons who succoured them of old,  
Till Freedom groaned, and the loud echo rolled  
Appealing to the Empire over-sea.

Now Britain calls, shall not her children arm,  
And bid the tyrant from oppression cease?  
Surely the God of Battles is with us!  
Fenn not, the bullet bite and sabre harm,  
From the warashes there shall come forth Peace,  
As morning from the womb of Hesperus.

—D.M.R.

***Members of the Contigent receiving their  
leggings.***

***A letter from home.***

**"Each of 'em doing his country's  
work."—KIPLING.**

**1—HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF RANFURLY, Governor of New Zealand 2—MAJOR CRADOCK., in command of the second New Zealand Contingent 3—COLONEL, PENTON, Commander of the New Zealand Forces 4—THE RIGHT HON R. J. SEDDON, P.C., L.L.D., Premier of New Zealand 5—MAJOR ROBIN, Commander of the first New Zealand Contingent.**

## **AN APPEAL!**

### **An Appeal!**

"When you've shouted 'Rule Britannia'—when you've sing 'God save the Queen'—  
When you've finished killing Kruger with your mouth—  
Will you kindly drop a shilling in my little tambourine  
For a gentleman in kharki ordered South?  
He's an absent-minded beggar and his weaknesses are great—  
But we and Paul must take him as we find him—  
He is out on active service, wiping something off a slate—  
And he's left a lot o' little things behind him!

Duke's son—cook's son—son of a hundred kings—  
(Fifty thousand horse and foot going to Table Bay!)  
Each of 'em doing his country's work (and who's to look after their things?)  
Pass the hat for your credit's sake, and pay—pay—pay!"

—RUDYARD KIPLING.

***"The little things he's left behind him."***

***Giving [unclear: cut] Boats.***

***The Hotchkiss Battery in action.***

## ***The Order of the Bath.***

**At Signalling Practice-Waiting for an Answer.**

***1—A knotty point—Major Cradock discussing the Maori War Cry with a Reteran.***

***2—The Second Contingent leaving camp.***

***3—The Troopship Waiwera.***

***4—Shipping the Horses on the Waivera.***

**Ready to Embark.—*The last horse of the First Contigent to leave the Karori Camp.***

**The Second Contingent's Church Parade, Sunday, Jan. 14, 1900.—*Ten Thousand Visitors in Camp.***

(Photo, From Study, Wellington).

**The Farriers at Wok. FARRIER MANN. FARRIER MCGREGOR.**

**"Polishing Up!"—(not forgetting the dog).**

**TROOPER HILLE TROOPER KING. TROOPER MARTIN. TROOPER HENDERSON.**

**1—"How happy could I be with either!"-Off-saddle after a Skirmish. 3—Ready to March. 4—On the Parade 5—The Horses' Hospital.**

**The Hotchkiss Battery.—*Drilling with Maxim Guns.***

**1—A picket of horses at Miramar during firing practice. 2—At the Miramar Range-preparing for Kruger!—*Colonel Penton, on the left, watching the shooting.***

***Soldiers of the Southern Cross.***

*"Kia kaha tonu ai te taua tuarua"—(That the second war-party may be strong).*

'Tis not the lust of Empire, nor the little lust of Gold,  
That lures you where the war-drums loudly beat,  
But your hearts that beat for Freedom, as your fathers' beat of old,  
And the spirit of the foeman in your feet.  
Ye who braved the bush a-burning, ye who swam the ford a-flood,  
Ye who pillowed on the saddle and the belt,  
When the bugle calls to battle, you will prove your breed and blood  
In the rattle of the rifles on the veldt.

Though you never saw the heavens raining shrapnel hot and dry,  
Though you never felt the stinging drill of lead,  
We know—who know your fathers—you will know the way to die,  
Or take a soldier's vengeance for the dead.  
Spare no horn nor hoof of theirs, traitor head nor traitor pelt,  
Though the kopjes mutter thunder every one,  
Remember, through the rattle of the rifles on the veldt,  
The Empire calls you each a soldier-son.

Ten thousand hearts behind you, and ten thousand throats before,  
Will cheer you for your love to Mother land;

You, the guardians of the Empire; you, the keepers of the door  
That never shall be shut by traitor hand.  
You, who rounded up the cattle underneath the blazing day,  
Riding hard and riding fearlessly and well,  
Remember *you're* the Empire, and the debt you have to pay  
When the cannon on the kopjes waken hell.

Go forth! the God of Battles through the thunder will be nigh;  
He captains Freedom's army in the fight;  
Go forth as men to conquer, or go forth as friends to die,  
For the Empire, for your Islands, and the Right.  
You have shared our joys and sorrows, you have shared our bed and board,  
Our hands in fight and friendship you have felt;  
Good-bye! Good luck be with you, and the glory of the Lord,  
Through the rattle of the rifles on the veldt.

D. MACDONALD Ross.  
Australasian Statistics, 1899-1900.  
Issued from the Office of the  
Registrar-General,  
At  
Wellington, New Zealand. 12th December, 1900.

## **Births, Deaths, And Marriages, 1899.**

Births. Illegitimate Births. Deaths. Marriages. Colonies. Number. Rate per 1,000 of Mean Number.  
Proportion to every Number. Rate per 1,000 of Mean Number. Rate per 1,000 of Mean Population. 100 Births.  
Population. Population.

## **Meteorology (Capital Cities). 1899.**

Capital City. Mean Temperature. Rainfall. Barometric Pressure. Mean. Maximum. Minimum. Days. Inches.

## **Trade, 1899.**

## **IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, 1899.**

Value of Imports from Colonies. United Kingdom. Australasian Colonies. Other British Colonies. Foreign  
Countries. All Countries. Value of Imports per Head of Mean Population. Queensland New South Wales  
Victoria South Australia South Australia (Northern Territory) Western Australia Tasmania New Zealand £  
Value of Exports to Value of Exports the Produce and Manufacture of the Colony per Head of Mean  
Population. Colonies. United Kingdom. Australasian Colonies. Other British Colonies. Foreign Countries. All  
Countries. Value of Exports the Produce of the Colony. Queensland New South Wales Victoria South Australia  
South Australia (Northern Territory) Western Australia Tasmania New Zealand £

## **IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF WOOL, 1899.**

Total Imports. Total Exports. Exports the Produce of the Colony. Colonies. Washed. Greasy. Total.

Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Quantity. Value. Queensland.. New South Wales Victoria South Australia Do. North'n Territory Western Australia Tasmania New Zealand Lb.

## **NET REVENUE COLLECTED BY CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT DURING 1899 (AFTER DEDUCTING DRAWBACKS, ETC.).**

Colonies. Import Duties. Excise. Other Sources. Total.

## **Railways—state Only.**

No. of Number of Colonies. Year ended No. of Miles of Line open. Miles of Line in course of Train Miles Run. Cost of Construction of Open Lines. Gross Receipts. Working Percentage of Not Revenue to Cost. Locomotives. Vehicles. Construction. Expenses. Assenger. Goods and Live-stock. Queensland 31 Dec., 1899 2,800 . .

## **Finance.**

## **PUBLIC REVENUE, 1899-1900.**

**NOTE.—Except for New Zealand, the figures are taken from Mr. Coghlan's Australasian Statistics.**

Taxation. Railways Post and Telegraphs. Public All other Sources. Total Revenue. Colonies. Import and Excise Duties. Other. and Tramways. Lands.

## **TAXATION AND PUBLIC REVENUE, 1899-1900, PER HEAD OF POPULATION.**

**NOTE.—Except for New Zealand, the figures are taken from Mr. Coghlan's Australasian Statistics.**

Colonies. Taxation. Total Revenue. Import and Excise Duties. other. Total. Queensland New South Wales Victoria South Australia South Australia (Northern Territory) Western Australia Tasmania New Zealand £s. d. £s. d.

## **PUBLIC EXPENDITURE, 1899-1900.**

## **NOTE.—Except for New Zealand, the figures are taken from Mr. Coghlan's Australasian Statistics.**

Railways Interest and Colonies. and Tramways Post and Public Charges on Debt Alt other Total Working Telegraphs. Instruction. (including Services. Expenditure. Expenses. Sinking Funds). Queensland £ £ £

## **LOAN EXPENDITURE AND PUBLIC DEBT, 1899-1900.**

## **NOTE.—Except for New Zealand, the figures are taken from Mr. Coghlan's Australasian Statistics.**

Loan Expenditure Public Debt, 1900. Interest Debt per Head Colonies. on Public Works during 1899-1900. Fixed Debt. Floating Debt. Total.\* cnarge of Debt.† of Population. £ £ £! £ £ £ s. d.

## **Lands Alienated and Unalienated as at End of 1899.**

Area of Colony Area alienated or Area neither Colonics. in process Area leased. alienated nor In Square Miles. In Acres. of Alienation. leased.

## **Land in Cultivation, 1899-1900.**

Colonies. Land in Crop. Land broken up but not under Crop. Land in Sown Grasses. Total Land in Cultivation (including Sown Grasses).

## **AGRICULTURE.**

Colonies. In Wheat. In Oats. In Barley. In Maize. Land. Produce. Yield per Acre. Land. Produce. Yield per Acre. Land. Produce. Yield per Acre. Land. Produce Yield per Acre. Queensland Acres. Bushels. Bushels. Acres. Bushels. Bushels. Acres. Bushels. Bushels. Acres. Bushels. Bushels. Acres. Bushels. Bushels.

## **Live-Stock, 1899-1900.**

Colonics. Sheep. Cattle. Dairy Milch Cows (included in foregoing Column). Horses. Pigs.

## **Mineral Production, 1899.**

Colonics. Gold. Silver and Silver-lead. Copper. Coal. Other Minerals. Total. Quantity. Value. Value. Value. Quantity. Value. Value. Value.

By Authority: JOHN MACKAY, Government Printer, Wellington.—1900.

Front Cover

DONT WAIT! UNTIL YOU ARE CRIPPLED With RHEUMATISM or GOUT, TAKE THE GREAT

Canadian Seaweed Cure, And escape the Clutches of Disease. Sold toy Chemists Everywhere.  
WHOLESALE FROM- GEO, W. WILTON, Wellington, Agent for Australasia.  
A SKIT BY E.F. HISCOCKS AND W. REUBEN, WATTS. TO THE LAND OF THE MOA, THE MAORI,  
AND THE MINER".

# **Prospectus—of the— Just for Luck Quartz mining Company,**

## **(To be incorporated under "The Companies Act, 1882," and its Amendments) Limited.**

### **Capital, £24,000 (in 24,000 Shares of £1 each).**

Of which 18,000 Shares are offered to the public on the following terms: One shilling per share on application, one shilling per share on allotment, and the balance in calls not exceeding sixpence per share, at intervals of not less than one month.

The Vendors receive 6000 fully paid Shares in payment of their interest in the Special Claim which the Company is being formed to acquire.

The Company will not go to allotment until 6000 Contributing Shares have been applied for.

Dividends will be paid on Shares irrespective of the amounts paid up.

Shares will be allotted according to priority of application.

No application for less than 20 Shares will be received.

The subscribers to the Memorandum and Articles of Association shall be Provisional Directors.

### **Bankers—**

- THE NATIONAL BANK OF NEW ZEALAND, LIMITED, WELLINGTON.

### **Solicitors—**

- MESSRS. MOORHOUSE & HADFIELD, WELLINGTON.

### **Broker—**

- HENRY A. EVANS, M.E., 4, HUNTER STREET, WELLINGTON.

### **Interim Secretary—**

- G. C. Carter, Lambton Quay, Wellington.

THE Company is being formed to acquire and work a Special Claim of eighty-two (82) acres Top Valley Creek, Marlborough, under a license for a Special Quartz Claim, dated the 30th day of December, 1899, issued under "The Mining Act, 1898." The land affected is part of Block XVI. in the Pine Valley Survey District. Negotiations are in progress for acquiring rights over 100 acres adjoining the above lands which would, if acquired, further assist the convenience of working the above claim.

The expenses incidental to the flotation and incorporation of the Company will be borne by the Company.

The Vendors' agreement is dated the 15th day of April, 1901, and is made between Thomas Palmer Coveney, of Wellington, Grocer, and John Wright, of Wellington, Accountant, of the one part, and George Charles Carter, of Wellington, Mining Agent and Broker, on behalf of the Company, of the other part, which may be seen, together with the report quoted below, at the offices of the Company's Solicitors.

The Claim is only 34 miles from Blenheim, and can be reached by buggy. For the first 24 miles the road is excellent, the remaining portion being through river fiat and creek bed.

The Jubilee Company's Claim on the south side is an established

fact. Crushings have gone (boxes only) about 8dwts. to the ton, and from the blanketings more than another 8dwts. to the ton have been taken. This total of 16dwts., or £3 to the ton, shows that this belt of country is one of the richest in New Zealand. The treatment of the tailings by the cyanide process would give a further yield.

On the Just for Luck claim are three distinct lodes of varying dimensions, and all show good prospects.

Particulars are given in the subjoined report of James H. Evans, M.I.M.E.

The Claim has been well prospected, driving and sinking to the amount of 281 feet having been done. The mine is now in a perfect state for the erection of machinery necessary to work the vast amount of quartz contained in the Claim.

There is on the Claim abundance of timber of all descriptions both for firewood and milling purposes, and a large stream of water runs through the property in the driest of summers.

The value of the property is undoubted, and must prove an extremely valuable investment for money.

The confidence of the Vendors is shown by the fact that they are willing to accept in payment fully paid shares alone.

The expenditure on the Claim has been over £20 a month for two years.

It is estimated that with £6000 of capital subscribed work could be advantageously started within six months of the formation of the Company, and that the yield of gold would begin immediately.

From the subjoined report it will be seen that on estimate is formed of a yield of the enormous sum of £264,000 from one lode in the Claim alone, at the moderate return of 8dwts. to the ton.

## Report of "the Just for Luck" Claim.

Top Valley,

4th April, 1901.

To the Provisional Directors of The Just for Luck Gold Mining Company, Limited, Wellington.

Dear Sirs,—

On the property are three distinct lodes of variable dimensions, and all carry good prospects. The first one met with is a small one of 18 inches to 2 feet thick, with gold interspersed through it. The other, which runs along the surface for a distance of 30 chains, is struck by a crosscut at a depth of 80 feet, and the lode is 20 feet wide, carrying gold evenly distributed from foot to hanging wall, which, *by tests*, has been proved to yield 8dwts. to 10dwts. to the ton, and the enormous quantity of quartz in sight is a sufficient guarantee of the success of the mine.

In this one lode alone, assuming the average width of the lode to be 10 feet, the quantity available would reach the enormous total of 176,000 tons, and taking this at the lowest percentage quoted (8dwts.) it would mean a yield of the colossal sum of £264,000 from this lode alone.

Then again a short distance further up the hill there is another lode whose outcrop runs along the surface for 200 feet, and has an average width of 3 feet, the quartz from wall to wall being worth £3 per ton.

The three lodes can be worked from one adit, and the considerable amount of backs for stopeing and the friable nature of the stone are some of the greatest factors contributing to the success of the mine, as the cost of driving and of breaking the ore would not be more than 10s. per ton. Allowing, therefore, 5s. per ton for milling and supervision expenses, the whole would not cost more than 4dwts., or 15s., to the ton.

It is probable that cyaniding the tailings will be found advantageous after milling operations are started.

The Jubilee Company's Claim on the south side is an established fact, their several crushings going about 8dwts. (boxes only) to the ton, and from the blanketings (taking it on the small side) another 8dwts., making a total of 16dwts., or £3 per ton, which shows that this belt of country is one of the richest in the colony.

The cost of an aerial tramway would be something like £350, and a quartz battery of 20 head of stampers would cost a little under £3,000, including all necessary gold-saving apparatus.

The value of this property is undoubted, and will prove to be one of the best investments for capital in New Zealand.

The main drive is in a distance of 149 feet, but will require to be continued 159 feet further to cut the 3-foot lode, which would give 200 feet of backs, the course of the reef being north-west by south and east.

(Signed) James H. Evans, M.I.M.E.

Dated this

17th day of April, 1901.

# The "Dook's" Visit.

## The "Dook's" Visit

It chanced upon an even in 1901, "Annfe Dominoe," that Romulus, a wielder of the pencil, and Remus, a scribe and pusher of the pen, did foregather at the sign of the "Maori and Pakeha," and, being a-thirst, did demand liquid sustenance, even mugs o' ale, the which they did quaff with exceeding gusto, and as the dreamsome sense of coma did entwine itself among their cerebral anatomy visions of exceeding magnitude did emanate therefrom. Again did they call the waiting-man, and demand more Chateau de Bass, upon which Romulus of the pencil did strike himself upon the brow, and spake words, yea, words of great portent, while the beer was yet upon him—

*"Lo, doth not the heart's desire of his grandmother, even George of York, visit the great land nigh us, that of Kangaroos and Cornstalks, and do honour unto the Parliament which is Federal. Doth it not behove us to beseech him and his lady in comely speech to come unto our shores, and tarry for the space of a moon. Inasmuch as the wine will flow and the welkin will be made to ring and Maoriland be gladsome and gay like unto the lambkin frisking upon the green-sward."*

Then spake Remus the Scribe, saying—

*"Yea, brother, and thou hast struck a lead of the stuff. Hie us quickly unto Dick the Miner and his Pharisees, and lay bare to them our noble thought, that they may make ready the wine-bibbing and banner-bearing. What time we evolve plans and pageantry, whereby the Dook and his lady may be made to take enjoyment by the hand and wax glad in their idleness."*

The spirits of the twain, even Romulus and Remus, were now so much in the state that is elated that they considered and parleyed with themselves: "Yea, will not another mug give us a steadying of the nerve ere we incline our speech to the ear of one Dick the Miner?" Rightso, and they gat them outside yet another mug of ye goode olde barley mow and departed.

So travelled they apace coming unto the dwelling of Dick the Miner, and, clamouring loudly upon the door, in the road of Molesworth, did in good and knightly fashion demand speech therewith. Then came unto them with thun-

Cartoon of two men at table. Has heading: Dramatic boom. The Federal dramatic coy will produce on an unparalleled and unlavished scale of magnificence. Chas. Reade's powerful dramatic story. It's never too late to parch. 'And space words, yea, words of Great Portent'.

derous tread a mass of mighty magnitude, even Dick the Major Miner as it were, crying unto them, "What would ye with me?"

Then up spake he of the long jaw, even Remus the Scribe, "We have that for thine ear which must come to no other man. Invite us within thy dwelling, and over a cup of wine right merrily will we impart knowledge of great worth."

Then passed they within, and glasses clinked and the welkin was made to ring with the boisterousness of their mirth and the laying forth of their projects. Loudly did they extol their scheme, the pomp and splendour of which was to be as no man hath gazed upon.

Now, Romulus, sitting nigh unto the ale-mug of Dick, did fall into a reverie, and whilst in the reverie did quaff even his host's beer. And Remus, fearing the spoiling of good drink, did even drain the jug, at which did Dick wax wroth, for is it not a saying of despisery in the province of Lancashire, "Sup his ale."

Right, so Dick did call his valets and henchmen, who with great vehemence laid hands upon the twain, and upon the shortest tarrying on record did fling them through the gateway of the dwelling into the pavement of the byways.

Thereat did the Scribe and he of the pencil gather up filth and hurl it at the portal, "For," said they one to the other, "Hath he not our secret? And, verily, will he not take the kudos of the invitation and the merry-making unto himself? and do we not get left every time?"

And they smote themselves sore, and lifted up their voices in great anger—"Marry come up by hilt and point and Gadzooks!"

Quoth Romulus, "Hie us to the printer, yea, he of ink and press, and set forth unto him our despite, that the populace may know who hath of a verity invited George of York to our shores, and reading, may, of their own wit, judge who is deserving of the just reward, which is to the man of intellect as the tail is to the ass."

Hereinbelow followeth not only the true setting of the mighty project, but the doings, comings, and junketing of He and his Lady of York, as advised and set forth by Romulus and Remus, for the one of us are

both alike, even as the rose is to the stalk.

## **Exit from the House of Seddon**

**Then came into them with thunderous tread a mass of mighty magnitude even dick the major miner as it were saying "what would ye with me?"**

## **The Royal Tar.**

A jolly sea-dog is the Duke,  
An Admiral bold and free,  
With a six-foot sword  
And the air of a Lord  
A-cruising about at sea.

He's a skipper of great renown,  
And a sailor you'd agree  
If you saw on the "Ophir"  
How he sits on a sofa  
While plunging along at sea.

A laugh, a quip, and a joke  
He sends to the gales a-lee,  
As down in the hold  
Where he won't catch cold  
He weathers the rolling sea.

Scampering round the decks  
There's none so quick as he—  
In big cocked hats  
And patent leather spats  
Roving around at sea.

To the gallant and jovial tar  
Let's drink in Barley Bree  
As in uniform bright  
As the stars of night  
He roves away over the sea.

## **What Savages We Are.**

Notwithstanding the lurid light which has been thrown over the "blawsted kawlinies" by the recent alleged services to the Empire, there seems still to exist a sort of lurking idea at Home that the inhabitants of the Australias are a savage and uncouth people who requiae placating with gifts of glass beads and coloured

blankets. At least that is a fair inference to be made out of the following paragraph which appeared recently in the London press "Among the most interesting of the details to receive attention prior to the departure of the Ophir was the embarkation of the quantity of orders and of jewellery selected by the Duke and Duchess for bestowal on colonial dignitaries in the course of the voyage. Cigar and cigarette cases and other articles of a similar character suitable for royal presents are included in the large collection. Each of them is engraved with a 'G.,' with the crown, which is the badge worn by all the personal attendants of their Royal Highnesses on board the steamer."

With his trinkets and his Jew's harps comes His Highness to these shores,  
With his beads and coloured blankets, his nick-nacks and gewgaws;  
For he must placate the nigger, the white man and his squaw, Dick Seddon, and George Fisher, and half a hundred more.  
He's going to bring Tom Wilford a modesty pilule;  
He's going to get all Cuba-street to keep the Golden Rule;  
He's going to find Mayor Aitken with a mug to hold his beer in;  
And a toy to help James Ashcroft to devote his life to rearin'.  
He'll buy a book of proverbs for John Hutcheson to read in;  
And a pen of Cochon-Brahmas for Bob Bannister to breed in; He'll bring a cheque to pay Ogg for his share of Byko corner; And a coffin for the comet with Hudson as chief mourner.  
He'll bring another billet for our Allan Orr to play with;  
A cart he'll buy McGill to cart all Walter-street away with;  
Judge Edwards he will furnish with a Court that isn't draughty;  
And he'll hand back all donations of the opulent McCarthy.  
He'll present with deepest gratefulness P. Harry with a sausage;  
Give back to Bodley and T. K. their profit and their lossage;  
To T. C. Williams he'll return his vacant corner sections;  
And furnish Townsend with a seat at the next town elections.  
He'll bring a patent pencil for Gres. Lukin to curse Dick with;  
And Dr. Chappie an emetic for making people sick with;  
A bottle full of anti-fat for making Levers thin with;  
And Jimmy Coates a register for counting up his tin with.  
In fact, to each and every one he'll bring a little present;  
And all they'll have to do is to simper and look pleasant;  
And if your cigarettes are strong, just take a mild cigar, ()!  
He's brought me so much champagne that I don't know were I are, O!

THE DOOK'S VISIT. CITIZENS' LIFE ASSURANCE CO., LIMITED. (

**THE DOOK:—**" *I think this get up ought to fetch 'em, Dad?*"

*TAM:—*" *S'pose I'll hare tu go in native costume? "*

*HE OF EDUCATION:—**I think no, hut I must sag you don't look at your lest in ballet skirts."*

## **Skeletonia.**

The arches are strange weird structures of timber, ruberoid or fibrous plaster of fantastical shape and design, showing bare poles and unfinished patches interspersed amongst a lot of gilt and finery, and as yet they bear very little trace of the elegant and artistic form which they will assume as the finished article. It is interesting to see the men at work. Admiring crowds stand around until late into the night. There is no scarcity of labour. Competent workmen seek employment in vain, and a deputation of what Mr. O'Sullivan would call the "workless workers," which waited upon the Trades Hall Council in Melbourne a couple of nights ago to ask for its co-operation in certain representations to be made to the Government, threatened "to follow the trades procession when the Duke was here so that his Royal Highnesses could see some of the poverty and wretchedness which exist at the present time.'—

*Melbourne Daily Paper.*

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Write that large upon the scroll,  
Welcome bells still stop to toll;  
Waste and want they oft have tolled.

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Here, too, hides a skeleton,  
Bid the nightmare crowd: "Begone! "  
Hunt them ere they wax too bold.

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Fibrous plaster, paint and patch  
In each arch there stands a match  
For the crowd whose rags behold!

" All that glitters is not gold."  
Kings still ride in cars of steel,  
While the brave who lack a meal  
Perish in the winter's cold.

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Pride, and pomp and circumstance,  
Piled-up wealth, do but enhance  
Kingdoms for a few to hold.

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Skeletons sustain each arch;  
Skeletons with lips a-parch—  
Must they leave thee unextolled?

"All that glitters is not gold."  
Workmen seek for work in vain,  
Yet they must not show disdain  
For a man of kingly mould.

"All that glitters is not gold."  
"Welcome! welcome son and heir!  
We thy subjects gaunt and bare  
Hope thee blessings manifold."

King were born to love and hold,  
Common men to dearth and care,  
Lay the ghoulish secret bare—  
"All that glitters is not gold."

## Tommy on Strike.

MELBOURNE.

According to the "Argus," there is something approaching a strike likely to take place among the troops ordered to parade in connection with the Royal visit. The pay has been fixed at 4s. 6d. a day, with 2s. allowance for lunch. The men claim the full rate which is usually allowed for parades—8s. a day—and two battalions of infantry and two of artillery are arranging not to parade unless that rate is given them.—*Daily Paper.*

"We re as loyal as can be,  
But we never will agree  
To four-and-six a day—  
A Chinkee's rate of pay!

"But if you'll make it eight,  
Then we'll not hesitate,  
Without the least rebuke,  
To wait upon the Duke.

"But if you cannot fix  
Up more than four-and-six  
We'll straightway get the spike  
And go out on the strike.

"As soldiers of the King  
We'll graft like anything—  
If you will make it eight—  
A sum what's adequate.

"But if you cut up rough.  
Call four-and-six enough,  
Then you can take the tip,  
We're going to let him rip.

"Of course the Son and Heir  
Will curse and he will swear

To think lie's miss'd the 'bus  
And Us, Us, Us, Us, Us!"

"We are Britons to the core,  
As, p'rhaps, you knew before,  
But, by the great De Wet,  
We're not the sorts to sweat!

"We want our pound of flesh  
To join in that procesh.  
If you won't give it—Well,  
You can go to—Cape Farewell!"

Says Handrew to Dave Fisher,  
"'Ave yer 'card the latest noos?  
We'll 'ave to break it gently  
To Flockton, Field, and Crewes.  
They're wanting Us in Melbourne,  
'Cause there's going ter be a strike  
Among the milingtary,  
What's got the bloomin' spike!

"Can't yer 'ear old 'Opetown callin'  
Across the Tasman Sea?  
It's 'David!' and it's 'Handrew!'  
Why, that's just You and Me!  
So th' Court of Harbetrashun  
Will have ter pack an' fly;  
We'll leave the Napier painter blokes  
Till the sweet by-am-bye."

"Can't yer 'ear old 'Opetown callin'  
Across th' bloomin' Straits?  
'E knows We patches up deesputes  
W'ile hall th' parties waits.  
Hi think th' trip 'II do Us good—  
What's this 'ere cable say?  
'You've been too late in starling.  
We've fixed them up. Hooray!'"

\* \* \* \* \*

Then Handrew says to David,  
"Oh! G—H—I—J—K."

## **The Escort's Farewell.**

*"I hope to survive the festive engagements, mid win my Mabuel!"*

Don't let your "angry passions rise" because your Liver is out of order. A BOTTLE or Two OF IMPEY'S MAY APPLE Will soon put that right, and restore your GOOD HEALTH and your GOOD HUMOUR. 2/- per Bottle at all Chemists and Stores. SOLE WHOLESALERS-AGENTS-SHARLAND & CO, LTD., WELLINGTON and AUCKLAND.

It is the intention of the Government to form a corps as guard of honour to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall.—Newspaper Item. Applicant:—"Sense me, Sir, interruptin' you, but fact ish (hie) I consider myself duly qualified to accept position as Colonel in the Guard (hie) Honour. Commanding Officer:—"H'm, what are your qualifications?" Applicant:—"Last Mafeking Day arrived home (hie), after heavy day, sober as a judge"

## **The Arrival.**

The sun shone high in the heavens and the lark trilled its blithesome carol on high as a trim galleon "The Saucy Jane," with her precious burden of Yorky and suite, did skip and merrily glide o'er the foam-crested breakers adown the harbour to the wharf of Ferguson, Wellington's man of deep cult and great learning—for had he not clothed the wharf in a garb of iron, yea, a monkey cage, lest it chance upon some morn the citizens should wake to find the wharf stolen away by base poltroons of the night.

Blithe and gay was the quay with bunting and banners like unto cloth of gold, and gladsome to the eye were the preparations for the pageant, for was it not a generation since the uncle of his nephew, even he of Edinbrough and a prince of the blood, graced our shores with his knightly presence?

Scarce had the prow of the vessel touched the side when the Dook leaped lightly ashore, and in courtly fashion did waltz him into Dick the Miner and fling him upon the portly stomach thereof and weep tears of joy; and Dick with mighty power lifted up his voice and trolled forth a merry lilt, even "Whack-fol-the-diddle-lol-the-day."

And the crowd witnessing rejoiced thereat and were exceeding glad, even as 'twere a race meeting or a dog fight.

"Come," spake Dick the Miner, "an' thy fair lady pleaseth, get we unto the tavern, for verily would we shout thee wine, even to overflowing." And he of York replied, "Whithersoever thou goest, I'm with yer." And time and again would Dick with lusty voice cry mystic words, "Tak baud and sup, lad."

And so, with many a quip and crank from Dooky and a measure of cajolery from Dicky, moistened with frequent potations, time flew on apace, when George of York, with much ceremony and more pulling together of erstwhile woolgathering wits, did produce him from the inner sanctuary of his nether vestments a voluminous and scrip-like scroll of parchment with the regal seal attached thereto. Of a verity, 'twas a letter from King Edward VII. to Richard of the House of Seddon. Hereunder we append the mystic missive, that the gentle reader may witness how the most high do pen their epistolary presentments to the most high:—

*"To*

*"RICHARD of the House of Seddon, Emperor of Stewart Island, King of the Fijis, and Vice-Regal Representative of Kaiwarra and New Zealand—Greeting:*

*"Our beloved son cometh unto thy shores for a sojourn amongst our subjects of the Cross that is Southern:*

*"NOW THEREFORE KNOWEST THOU THAT WE BY THESE PRESENTS do hasten to inscribe this greeting unto thee, Oh, uncrowned one, for that thou didst give us much pleasure in the portliness of thy bearing, the stature of thy anecdotes, and the heart of gold hidden behind thy capacious waistcoat:*

*"We pray thee to keep watch over our well-beloved son, keep him not out after the hour of evensong, as the night wind is chill, and perchance he may contract an ague from damp socks. See that he tarry not too long in any of the provinces of thy dominion, for methinks the maidens of the colony are comely and fair of speech, and sons of England have ever an eye for a beauteous maid.*

*"We must now conclude. Hoping thou art well, as this leaves us at present. Greeting to thy lady and all the little Seddons.*

*"Given under our hand and seal.*

*"EDWARD REX.*

*"P.S.—Any time thou mayst be passing, drop in and have a cup of tea and a muffin."*

*And here the People's Dick did burst him into tears and wept copiously, which was nigh unto causing a drought in the tavern.*

*"Prithee, Oh, Seddon," cried George, "buck up, pull down thy vest and gird up thy loins and get we to our loving spouses, and the Lord of Ranfurly, whom we have not yet gazed upon nor even embraced."*

*And so with deep sobs of joy Richard of Seddon and George of York, with true maritime roll and longshoreman lurch, did traverse the byways, exchanging many glances of cunning import, until came they unto the mansion of the Lord of Ranfurly, where all was turmoil at the long tarrying of the Prince and the people's Dick.*

*Right glad were the greetings and merry was the laughter, e'en till the rafters rang, as we (for there were two of me) eyed askance the scene of junketings and festivity.*

*Here, and it please the reader, we will digress yet a space, and speak of ourselves insomuch as necessity demandeth the same.*

*In the search of copy and information of the Dook's household and appurtenances, Romulus and Remus proceeded with much preparation to take by storm the hearts of two of the handmaidens of the Dook's lady. Approaching with stealthy and panther-like tread, he of the pencil, yea, Romulus, spake fair words to one Abigail, a sweet demoiselle of some twenty summers (and a few odd winters)—*

*"Marry come up, sweet wench, what ho! Prithee, is thy father in work, and how doth thy sweet mother for soap? "*

*The wench replied with rippling accents, like unto pearls falling from a coral cave—*

*"Ods life, good sir, an' thou makest too free with a lady, and thy familiarity may breed distemper. Out upon thee!"*

*And he proceeded to out upon himself, and with so much success that ere they had spoken each other the space of ten minutes he gleaned all her primaeval history and the untoward reasons for her mother's dismissal from the laundry; after which little pleasantries they meandered them adown the Quay in search of the festive pie shop. Meanwhile Remus the Scribe, with many a courtly bow and obeisance, did waft him into close proximity to Susan Jane, and with unctuous suavity did deliver himself thus—*

*"Tut! Tut! Pretty one! Methinks a sweeter maid ne'er ate pipis, nor footed with such merry grace the blithesome jig. Art here with thy mother's pleasure, or dost come a husband-seeking? An' thou wilt, we'll tread a measure down the Quay, where mine host Palmer, the Oyster King, will make a pretty feast of flounder and vin de Speight!"*

THE DOOK'S VISIT. 13 HARCOURT & CO.,

## **THE DOOK:—" Oh, May there's Dick!"**

### **"Just the Thing."**

During those enthusiastic days when the Empire spoke of a settlement of the Transvaal War, and began preparations for a Peace Celebration Day, the New Zealand Government made elaborate plans. These included the employment of an artist to paint a series of patriotic transparencies. The protraction of the war put the pictures on the shelves. Some of them have now been taken down and dusted, having been found "just the thing" for use in the illuminations on the occasion of the Koval visit.—*Daily Paper.*

O, take 'em down and dust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing;  
Be sure and do not bust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing.  
They're dusty waiting for De Wet  
To chuck the blooming game, and get  
Captured. Still they'll come in yet—  
They'll be just the thing.

O take 'em down and dust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing.

We have often cussed 'em,  
Yet, they'll be just the thing.  
For true economists are we,  
And wasted they will never be,  
That's a clear transparency—  
Why, they're just the thing.

O take 'em down and dust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing;  
Time will never rust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing.  
They would all have gone to waste—  
A shocking waste of paint and paste—  
But, thank the Lord, we've got good taste—  
They'll be just the thing.

O take 'em down and dust 'em,  
They'll be just the thing.  
Careful, do not bust 'em!  
They'll be just the thing!  
Bang went saxpence in their making,  
Yet, now, with judicious faking.  
E'en these stale meats will stand baking  
For our future King.  
They'll be just the thing!!

## Chose Good Old pays at Kumara.

Those good old days! At Hokitika Mr. Seddon, referring to the approaching visit of Royalty, remarked: "Already I believe, the question has been raised that no one will be permitted to enter their presence unless attired in evening dress. On the West Coast the interpretation of evening dress by many of our housewives would be such that it would not permit them to enter the Royal presence. Looking back at the good old days, I can speak personally, and say that I enjoyed a social evening and dance much better in my moleskins, Crimean shirt, and nugget boots than ever I have done in Windsor uniform or dress suit."—*Dailu Paper*.

Those giddy good old days  
At Kumara;  
Those free and frantic ways  
At Kumara;  
When we wore nugget boots,  
Pranced in our moleskin suits,  
To the music of the flutes,  
At Kumara.

In a simple Crimee shirt,  
At Kumara;  
I dug up tons of dirt,

At Kumara;  
'Twas "waste of time" to change;  
Your toilet to arrange,  
Or shift your duds, was strange  
At Kumara.

I worked a beer pump then,  
At Kumara;  
And called out: "Now, say when!"  
At Kumara;  
In simple moles arrayed,  
I purchased them all afraid,  
But I didn't put on braid  
At Kumara.

The girls they didn't mind,  
At Kumara;  
If your shirt bulged out behind,  
At Kumara;  
They'd waltz and polka, too,  
And would no man eschew,  
You could dance and smoke—and chew  
At Kumara.  
'Twas "Dick, do this or that!"  
At Kumara;  
They ne'er e'en melt a rat  
At Kumara;  
But now if honest sweat,  
Your ballroom brow does jet,  
They say, "Go to—De Wet!"  
At Kumara.

For in these later days,  
At Kumara;  
They have very different ways,  
At Kumara;  
Wear patent leather shoes,  
And don't require booze,  
Why they cultivate the muse,  
At Kumara!

They've seen my Windsor rig,  
At Kumara;  
They say it makes me big,  
At Kumara;  
But if they had to sit  
A day or two in it,

They'd know about the fit,  
At Kumara.

Now, if I had the Dook  
At Kumara;  
Just round to have a look  
At Kumara;  
I'd trouser him in sack,  
Shove a moleskin on his back,  
He'd do his blooming whack  
At Kumara!

## **"Gentlemen! The King!"**

*New National Anthem:—" For He's a Jolly Good Fellow!"*

DEFIANCE BUTTER WELLINGTONS FAVORITE BRAND BEATS THEM ALL AS SUPPLIED TO  
ALL THE NEW ZEALAND CONTINENTS EXCEPT THOSE CONVEYED BY S.S.WAIMATE  
THE BEST BEER IN THE COLONY MANNING'S XXXX

***A well-known Wellington ole-clo' shop proprietor having vast-off clothing of every description invites inspection of gentlemen of distinction. He is driving a roaring trade.***

## **What the Lady from Glasgow thought of it.**

Margot stood on the edge of the footpath at the corner of Willis Street and Lambton Quay, with her skirt tucked under one arm and her umbrella atilt over the other. She was a perfectly honest old lady, and the police passed and repassed without suspicion.

"A think there's ower mony o' thae sojers," she said; "whatna' way can he on gang about himsel' wi' his leddy and nane o' thae sojers an' trappin's aboot him. A thocht A would be the on'y party dist here aboots, an' A'd hae a guid keek at him an' mebbe boo till him: an' then Ad gang awa' hame tae the hills and dee as happy as a cook, a' wi' seein' the King's laddie. Ay, there's ower mony o' thae guns whatever. A never seen siccan a pile o' them in a peacefu' country. It's a' the consequence o' that war, A ken weel. A'd hae them Boers a' rooted outen the country. A'm thinkin' a muckle the noo about the kin' o' non he'll turn out. A've never seen him, ye ken. Bit A'm on sae bad sequent wi' thae Dooks at a'. Ance A recollect Lang Syne, the Dook o' Buccleuch cam doon tae Gamrie. Siccan a day that wis! An' the muckle erood that cam doon frae the hills! Dod, aye! an' it wis Donald MacLachlan, ma cousin, took the Dook's horse till the byre: sae A'm no sae bad acquaint wi' Dooks. Bit wae's me, thae Georges! A never trustit thae Georges. A no ken, but it wisna' the last George that didna' ken an apple frae a dumplin,' dod aye. Sic frightfu' bigotry A never could trust! And there thae Edwards!—A sorra lot they were! Bit A'm no sae certain oor present ane is ca'd richt. Ye ken he wis always ca'd Albert, an' A no see what way he's Edward the noo. Dod! there's ower mony o' thae sojers! Bit A'm aye wunnerin' whatna' kind O' mon he'll turn out. Siccan a crood o' sojers, an' ad mirals, an' preences A never saw! Ma certes! Look at thae uniforms! Donald said A would easy ken the Dook, gin he wore spurs, bit a'body wears spurs. There no a' dooks that hae spurs. Oor Airchie had bunnies o' them, bit he wisna a dook, wis oor Airchie." (Loud cheers in the offing.) "Wae's me! that the Dook! A aye thocht he were a bigger mon nor that. Siccan a flashin' o' spurs an' preences A'm fair dumfooned. Ah! there a bonnie big fellie, wi' a' the flamerin' on his breest. Von big yin's a hantle mail like to be the Dook. Weel, weel, we maun gie'm a cheer. An, his leddy's a bonnie woman. Oh! here the Dook! Hip, hip, hoo\_\_\_\_\_ Whisht, whatna' way can ye no gie 'on a cheer? An' there his big sword as lang nebbuts himsel', hip, hip, hoo—an' there his medals an' his spurs flamerin' on his breast—hip, hip, hoorar. Dod, aye, bit he's a bonnie laddie! Whatna' way do ye no cheer for, pleeceman; staunin' there glowerin'? Bit there's ower mony o' thae sojers for ma likin'. It's a' thae Boers' fau'ts. Bit ta Dook's on siccan a bonnie fellie

as A thocht. A aye thocht a' dooks were braw big. Dod, aye! bit he's fine dressed. A'rn aye wunnerin' what kin' o' a king lie'll be. Hip, hip, hooray! bit A dearly love preences and a' thae cattle. Ye ken ma faither wis descendit frae Robert Bruce. Weel, weel, a' this exhibeetion's ower, an' the crood's gangin' awa' doon the street. A'll dist saunter alang an' hae a keek at the airches. Dod, ave! Here an airch a' ae '00, an' yon's a graun' airch o' sheep's legs! Bit A no like a' thae sojers tranipin, and drillin' about. A've been wunnerin' a muckle what kin' o' king he'll make. I wis aye of the opeenion preences were bigger nor that. Sin he's sae sma' whatna' way can we no hae ane for oorsel's—a dook or a preence. A'm sair disappointit wi'm."

And Margot took the train to the Wairarapa, and went to bed.

"There ower mony o' thae sojers," she mumbled in soliloquy as she fell asleep. And she awoke a socialist and a democrat.

WARDELL BROS. & CO., Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.

## FRIVOLITIES AT DAYS BAY

"BULWARKS OF THE EMPIRE." H.M.S. "OCEAN."

**COACHMAN:—** ***Shure, Mum, an' it's meself that turns up the job if yez insist upon me wearin' this blamed Hottentot overcoat, Dook or no Dook.***

## Ye Old Age Pensioners.

The man who has an old age pension  
Only needs that fact to mention,  
And straightway the Government build him a stand  
From which to view the visitors grand  
And attract the Duke's attention.

But what do they do for the man in the street,  
Who provides the pensioners' bread and meat?  
Will they rope him off in a crushing throng  
While the Heir Apparent goes along,  
Surrounded by his suite?

If you have on pension you get on view,  
Unless of dollars you've got a few,  
To purchase a place on a balcony,  
And struggle, and crush, and strive to see  
All that the Big Wigs do

The real reason for the Duke's visit to Rotorua is that he may be able to undergo a course of massage and "waters," in order to restore his brave right hand to its normal condition after having been compelled to shake hands with about twenty thousand people in the cities of Australia.

The recent serious affection of the throat from which the Hon. James Carroll suffered was brought about by that distinguished administrator of Native affairs having taken lessons in elocution, for the purpose of reciting "The White Man's Burden."

When the Royal tourists have left Wellington it is the intention of the foreign Consuls to present their arch in Willis Street to the Consul for Italy, in order that he may have a permanent and recognised location and a point of vantage from which to address his devoted constituents during the next Parliamentary election. An arch crowned by the dignified Signor Fishorto, posing in declamatory wrath at his exclusion from the Cabinet,

would, it is thought, form a lifting memento of the Great Days of June.

## Chapter II.

On the morning of the morrow George of York rose betimes, ere the household of the Governor had yet bestirred them, and peregrinated round and about the precincts of the domiciliary residence of His Grace of Ran-furly.

Whilst taking pleasure in a meandering jaunt came he upon one seated upon a slip-rail, with a halo of the latest pattern and No. 12 size disseminated about his being.

On closer examination his quick perception descried that the right hand of the man was bound and bandaged with the finest silk and wadding of wool. Approaching him with something of hauteur in his stride and laughter in his eye, he spake:—

Man sitting on fence in the countryside with broken arm talking to another man

"Give thee good morrow, sir, an' I pry not unseemingly into thy affairs, what sore travail art in, and what ails thy dexter hand?"

He of the hand (Roderick, the son of Strandbottle, to wit) up and spake with great vehemence:—

*"My service to you, sir, truly, an' thou mayst enquire concerning the hand, but touch it not, it hath shaken the hand of the erstwhile Prince of Wales (and now King Edward VII.), and lest it be sullied with a plebian touch, I have taken these precautions."*

"And that be so, verily will I shake thee by the other hand, and thou mayst then carry the twain in slings, for am I not George, Duke of York, and the son of my father, even he of whom you spake." And with hearty enthusiasm shook he the hand of the man and kissed him upon the lower jaw, the which great dignity necessitated the slinging of the left hand and the binding up of the jaw. (Nota Bene.—It has been rumoured that the poor mortal is sore distraught, nigh unto starvation, in that he may not use either hand, nor masticate with the sacred jaw, to kiss which is the ambition of many of the maids of the province.)

Having completed these momentous salutations braced he up his vest and departed.

\* \* \* \* \*

A levee and reception of great importance had been arranged in the forenoon and eftsoons. The richly emblazoned equipages of Wellington's nobility and most high did majestically sweep unto the portals of the Governmental residence.

First came Dick the Great. Of a truth he had risen him ere breakfast was served on this morning of great promise, and spruce and gay was he in his Court dress and ample trunk hose.

With elephantine tread did the people's Dick bestride him into the Royal presence, approaching which, in stentorian tones, quoth he:—

*"The top of the morning to your Highness; hast, slept well, and doth thy chapeau fit thine august head beseemingly?"*

*"I' faith, time was when all the merry bouts would ne'er give me a head i' the morn."*

*"Nature gave me a head," quoth the Dook, "of which the wit is ne'er befool'd by sweet speech, nor driven to barm by carousing. How goes it with thee. O Seddon the Politic?"*

*"Merry, and craving your Grace's pardon. It goes more quickly than it comes, hence the necessity of the additional salary which we deemed deserving of our Ministers and welcomely besuited to ourselves."*

*"Troth, and in time we shall perforce be put to it sore, that we must verily start a pie-shop or an oystersaloon to make ends meet, tho' t'would give us much pleasure to make them overlap some."*

The men of letters and Senators now began to arrive, and were brought, before the Royal notice by Dick O'Seddon.

First of whom came George, the son of Fisher (better known as "The People's George"). "An', if your Royal Highness will permit us, we will present to thee our true and trusty lieutenant and well-tried henohman. Were it not for his timely and judicious forethought, during mine absence on a little business concerning a dog the great colony of New Zealand might now figure on the terrestrial sphere. We commend him to thy notice and good pleasure.

"And here comes another of our tried and trusty ones, Hall, the son of Jones, what, tho' he be slim of dial and slender of shank, and the winter wind blow thro' his nether vestments, still he loves us for the measures we have passed, and we love him that he doth worship us. It gives us pleasure to drive him in our carriage on our many jauntings, and for these many good and excellent qualities we do commend him to your Highness's loving notice.

"And here cometh another, what tho' he be not quite of our thinking (Parani, to wit), still methinks he may incline more thereunto when he has the wit to imbibe somewhat of our character and life essence. Still, for his many qualities, which are that he is like unto a bird or a fish, inasmuch as he can be in two places at the one

time, and that he hath ever an answer ready ere the ques-  
Man with broken arm bowing to man walking away

**Sir Harthor (to deputation of cadets) "Want to assist in the celebrations do you? Im sorry, but there's not going to be any fighting; so I don't see where you would come in." Cadet: "Oh, don't you. Well you should just see us EAT!"**

tion be put, and his repartee, his pungency and point, is like unto the festive wasp. But we commend him to thy fellowship.

"And here, again, cometh one of right and merry case, even Tommy, the son of Wilford. Even tho' his worst fault be his maidenly reserve and shyness, withal he knoweth the best trout streams in the province, and hath ever a good tip for tho Walkover Stakes. He can also spin a roguish yarn, I wot, as occasion may require. We would request thee to take no umbrage, and thou see'st many and various presentments of expression ever and anon flit o'er his Napoleonic visage, insomuch as his face hath been known to slip, so to speak, before the eyes of the judicial bench. But for his jovial fellowship and extreme youth we commend him to thee.

"Here we have James, the son of Carroll. We love him for his size, for a great man, even as we are, doth ever command respect, and for his love of ourself, which doth show his bettor judgment. He hath also a great and watchful interest over the great tribes of the Maori. Were we not Dick (the Alexander), we would Carroll (the Diogenes).

"Here we have our other self, Jay Gee, the son of Ward, for manipulation of Finance and management of Post and Telegraph wo know not his equal. But now he hath ousted and worsted the stewards of the Racing Club, in a merry bout, single-handed, and come out of it seathless and with much praise, even as the battle royal with the monkey in the dusthole."

And so were the Ministers and men of learning presented with much decorum and ceremony, after which the talking, barracking, and speechifying became general, when up and spake Tom, the son of Wilford:—"An' it please your Highness, any fine afternoon when thou hath a spare day, we will a-fishing go (an' we have no great case in the Courts), or a-potting of the frisky rabbit."

"A plague upon thy backward and retiring nature, O Wilford," quoth Dick; "when that, we have finished with the Dook's pleasure, then mayst thou chip in and amuse the remnants thereof."

"Hast ever heard of our Great Grand Trunk Railway, O Prince?" cried a Minister whose name we disremember.

"Peradventure, an' thy wit can find no better theme of conversation," roared Dick. "Thou hadst liefer put a muzzle upon thy rat-trap."

"'Tis regrettable that our esteemed friend and brother, George, the son of Hutchison, be not here to welcome thee, O Duke," put in one, Russell, a Captain and leader of men. "'Twas he unearthed the Bun Tuck, of which".

"A murrain upon thy plaguey tongue wagging, thou slip-rail on toast," whispered Dick in a voice trembling with passion.

Then cried Tom, the son of Wilford—"Aye, Captain, that same Bun Tuck was a merry bit of chatter, but for my fancy the Marine of the Rigg seemed." Then up and spake Dick with mighty wrath:—

"Spare-me-days, and must thou put in thy spoke, thou interfering blatherskite; out upon thee for a dodgasted nincompoop."

"Up against yer duck-house, Tommy," cried a voice.

"Methinks 'twould interest His Highness more," quoth Jay Gee, "to know that an' we please wo can show them of the Old Country something in Budgets and Surplusses."

"It was our intention, O Prince, to build a Town Hall wherein to receive your noble person, but that no man would undertake to build it within the month."

"Oh, Jay Gee," moaned Dick in piteous accents, "doth not thy better wit counsel thee to keep thy oxygen-box closed, lest thou steppest into it with thy hoof. (And a tear glistened in his eye.) We had thought better things of thee, and now hast thou chilled our hopes, ever as the snows of Egmont."

"The frost of the Grand Trunk methinks were a better simile," spake up Parani.

"By the Holy Piper! Gadsooks! Contamination! and fishhooks, an' thou closest not thy smoke-funnel, thou spontaneous gas-bottle. I'll trounce thy addle-pate with my trusty quarterstaff. By hilt and point, I'll no more of it. Hist, O Dook, an' we'll tell thee of ourselves, and

HAIR TONIC Makes the Hair Grow Soft, Glossy, and Luxuriantly. Removes Dandruff. Stops the Hair

Falling Out. To be had at all Chemists. Price 2/6 per bottle; by post, 3/-

It has been suggested that the recently-organised Khaki Girls' Corps should be utilised as Vivandi ores to see to the wants of the thirsty during the advent of the Dook. THE GIRL-IN KHAKI:—" I really do not see any harm in toning the water down a trifle, Mr., providing, of course, that it is done in moderation."

these meddling poltroons give us a show. What, ho! *with* out there, bring forth the harp, we would sing a roundelay."

We are Dick, the emphatic,  
And sometimes dramatic,  
Tho' always unbending,  
We're never erratic.

Our land laws are powerful,  
Old-age Pension dowerful,  
What tho' anti-Federal  
Of strength we've a towerful.

We've Ministers mystic,  
And doctors artistic,  
We've a list never ending  
Of satellites fistic.

We've Justices stout,  
And Justices slender,  
And some who are shook  
On the feminine gender.

We've a Chancellor's Ward,  
And for wr-angling a Fisher,  
Tho' Wilford, as senior  
Wr-angler 's a swisher.

We've Magistrates racy,  
And a barrister poloist,  
A Field for a member,  
And a Premier soloist.

We're great at road-making,  
And most all-round faking,  
With manners so taking  
We're up to the "Times."

Some are all fuss and bustle,  
And great at a tussle,  
Hut that ain't Captain Russell,  
That mild-mannered man.

We could Carroll you lays,  
Till you're Aitken for days,  
On the sweet winning ways  
Of our Chief Magistrate.

We've Joes, but not Brummagem,  
Sawyers of bones,  
And one or two Smiths, Ha Hem—  
The rest are (H)all Jones'.

Thereupon, it grieveth us sore to relate, the Dook was smitten as 'twere with an ague, inasmuch as the pretty wit of the roundelay did permeate his internal anatomy, seeing which, did Dick announce in lion-like tones, that there were yet another score verses, and his hearers had peradventure got to have 'em, for that he would stop for no man. Continue we the song:—

*We've a Podgy Librarian,  
Late Parliamentarian,  
Whose jokes antiquarian  
Would raise Cæsar's ghost.*

*We have old, dried, and crusty,  
And otherwise dusty,  
Tam mas Duncan, the musty  
Might hand of the State:*

*McGowan will surprise you,  
His laws paralyse you—  
Wo strongly advise you  
To see Garvey's Pub.*

*What price Education,  
For civilisation,  
Success of the nation—  
Why, Walker's the man.*

*We've a Monk, minus gown,  
Full of fluency pills,*

*And the man who got loft,  
For the Lauds, worthy Mills.*

*Then our Harbour Board scheme  
Is a beautiful theme,  
And its working supreme,  
Honest John has passed out.*

*Then Ferguson, too,  
Is the right man to  
Just what best suits his view,  
For lie's cock o' the wharf.*

*Now till up your tankards,  
For thirsty you look,  
And join us in toasting  
The health of the Dook.*

## **Chapter III.**

The great City of Wellington wore its gayest and most festive garb, for the Dook and his fair lady were to exhibit themselves unto the populace. Bunting and banners waved from every window; yea, from the very telegraph poles and wires did urchins fling nosegays and garlands into the lap of the Lady York.

The Dook (scarce visible and o'ershadowed in the carriage by the huge bulk of Dick) did ever and anon, as did also his Lady, bow their august heads in acknowledgement of the clamorous ovation accorded unto them by the good citizens of the town. Here, too, were con-gregated in most glorious and motley disarray, the City would-be's and local try-to-shines, each and every one earnest in their endeavours to outvie the other in the carrying of favour with the mighty.

Hereabouts it befel there was much quibble between one Aitken, a Mayor, and the Lord of Ranfurly, in that the Mayor did demand the procession to peregrine along Cuba Strasse. "For," quoth he, "as our scribes have laid forth elsewhere, does not the street of Cuba lend itself peculiarly (for shent per shent) to effective decoration, and have not the shekels and pieces of silver of the Cuban Straters helped largely the success of the show that is 'bloomin'?' And may not the Dook behold the Arch of Triumph erected in this street of peculiarly effective decoration by the Companies of Meat, with all their Gear?" the description is here appended:—Upon bastions and buttresses of rump steak did arise columns of mutton, surmounted by gargoyls of pork chops and liver and bacon, on the summit of which, in all the fullness of their sumely magnificence, were two heads of pigs of huge immensity smiling down benignly upon the populace. From either column (of England's Greatness Illustrate) swung with graceful sweep festoons of saveloys and sausages, with an artistically wrought design, thereon inscribed the words—

### **"Beef is England's Glory!"**

the colouring and design of the structure and the appetising appearance of the chops lending a charm to the surroundings most peculiarly their own.

In close proximity to the before-mentioned arch was a marvel of the draper's skill, wherein hung gay-coloured ribbons, box pleats, and coiffures of chiffoneer, intermingled with pique, muslins, fichu, nuns, crepon, bombazine, and alpacas and silks as various and kaleidoscopic in colouring as they were disastrous and diapostrous in pronunciation.

Reclining against a snowy background of underwear were wrought in letters of moonlight trimming—

## **"The Beauty of a Woman is Her Wearing Apparel," and etceteras.**

Somewheres about here came dyers and cleaners, various coats, waistcoats, and wot-cher bills, waving in the sunny breeze, with lettering appended thereto—" Before and after our marvellous resuscitation," and the inscription "We die to live," "Clothing cleaned on the slightest provocation," "Families renovated "and" Consciences cleaned by the day, month, or year." And many and motley were the illuminations and bedeckings which adorned the streets, the descriptions of which baffleth man and passeth understanding.

## **Chapter IV.**

In search of pastime for the Dook a fishing and shooting excursion was formed by Thomas, the son of Wilford, and the rendezvous was the Hutt Valley.

Many and various were the choice of arms, from the hammerless double-barrel to the juvenile shanghai or catapult, and for the snaring of the silvery-scaled denizens of the stream rods and lines, flies and minnows, nets and multifarious other saturnalian devices, were crowded into the homely furniture van for transportation to the scene of action. We may here state that during an interview with the Dook (he called around to borrow our bell-topper, having had his own shot away inadvertently on the shooting trip). He assured us that some of his most weighty and successful baskets had been obtained with a worm and bent pin.

A knowledgeable man, whose face resembled a patch of waste land, had been subsidised as guide to the shooting location, and so well did he perform his office that the

Tailor and large soldier looking into mirror

Dook, in a moment of forgetfulness, did compress the trigger of his gun, and the guide received the charge full in the location—i.e., slightly below the seat of the waistcoat. It befel that whilst the guide was extracting the pellets from his person the Dook and party roved deeper into the recesses of the what surname. And what time they ruy a ponderous thought did strike the people's Dick, and with such full force that he fell, yea, deep down—into a reverie, and whilst in the reverie mistook the bell-topper of the Dook for a King Fisher, and being himself the only King in these parts, did essay to rob the King Fisher of his crown, and pass the aforementioned offensive object into space, and so accurate was the aim and so well-timed the shot, that the hat was wafted hence, and the Dook's hair was combed from stem to stern with pellets and without damage to a hair, thereby instituting a new and German-like style of brushing, straight up on end like quills on the fretful porcupine. Some disparagers might say that this was caused thro' fear, but 'tis not so (we have it from the Dook himself). After all explanation and apologies had been exchanged, the guide (who had by this extracted all the shot from his anatomy, save and except one which had lodged in the region of the bracebutton and necessitated his walking in a sort of horizontindicular fashion) led the way to the aboding place of a very fierce and savage rabbit, whose depredations had been the talk of all the "giddy rabbits" of the Hutt Valley.

Dick, as the pre-eminent and par excellentissimo engineer of all great things, proceeded alone, and with one fell swoop to surround the jungle on all sides wherein lay the fearsome rodent.

***The police have received information that at midnight upon the evenings of the 18th, 19th and 20th of June a seemingly antediluvian monster of gigantic proportions was seen roving about the vicinity of Molesworth Street.***

***" You must forgive me dropping in so often, my dear Mrs. Brown, but I simply cannot resist your afternoon cup of Empire Tea."***

**The Court of Last Appeal.**

To the place of little deemers  
Came a herald of the King,  
And he cried: Awake, ye dreamers,  
For good news to you I bring:  
Come his Yorkship to your Worship—  
(Seize your drums and bash away!)—  
And—at peril of your Sirship—  
Let there be a grand levee.

So his Worship and his spritelies  
Held a solemn conclave then—  
And they tallied all the "might-be's "  
And the "really couldn't" men;  
Voted for or 'gainst the motions  
As their inclinations lay—  
Then they drank their Souchong potions  
And they took themselves away.

When the ukase had been sounded,  
Who should go and who should not,  
From all quarters up there bounded  
Men with lust of turmoil hot;  
And in tripping accents swore they—  
Primed with slighted honour's hate—  
That they'd "burst the show" before they  
Would such insults tolerate.

So his Wash up called a meeting.  
The big question to perpend:  
And he said, "The time is fleeting,  
"How shall I this trouble end?"  
So they sought an inspiration  
How to save the threatened weal—  
And their fruit of cogitation  
Was a Court of Last Appeal.

\* \* \* \* \*

The malcontents came forward with wild looks and swinging gait—  
With cries of righteous anger they upon his Worship wait:

*The men who wield the facile pick,  
The Civ's, who never write too quick,  
The maids who scrub the House of Dick,*

Were there their claims to state.  
And foremost in the rampant throng a wild-eyed being flew,  
Who glared relentless at his Wash, and raised his hand to view':

*"Grasped by King Ed. in warm embrace  
This hand shook not. And it shall grace  
The levee in a foremost place  
Among your special crew."*

Then Wullie Wut, came Courtward with a Reel-o'-Tulloch stride—  
If He got no invitation woe the function would betide!

HE ran a bank when York was not!  
HE danced old-times with Alfred's lot!  
While Count de George an invite got

Should Wullie be denied?  
An Ancient Mariner next, joined the ever-swelling throne;—Once he drove cetacean monsters with a  
sting-ray's lash along.

(See Bracken.) He'd a fine address:  
He'd wed a Maori chieftainess.  
He spake: "Come gladness or distress,

"I'll be of the Bon Ton!"  
A lawyer spruce came proxy for a lady rather famed—  
He had to earn his guinea, though This task his feelings pained:

*"Although the lady had a 'past '  
That stigma should not ever last!  
Her wealth should mend her shattered caste*

By prudes deemed overstrained!"  
Hop Sing, the Chinese brandy man, in yellow robes arrayed,  
Obsequiously kotowed to his rival in the trade.

"P'laps though now sellum blandy me,  
Yet Mandalin in far Chinee!  
Whaffor no catchum ticket, see?

Me leplesent our glade!"  
Three Peters come from Cuba, bearing oysters as a crest, Swore by the great fried flounder they'd be three  
among the rest.

Sam Ballance said his little say:  
The statue was His right-of-way—  
And he'd be present on the day

And strut it with the best.  
Five ladies of the scrubbing brush upon their knees sought grace,  
And proffered their petition for a start in honour's race:

*"We form our country's final hope—*

*With flux of Members' slang we cope,  
And cleanse with brush and carbol soap*

The precincts of The Place."  
\* \* \* \* \*

His Wash, rose up in wild dismay  
And to a tea-hell hied his way.

Cartoon of a soldier holding a cigarette  
Cartoon of a soldier holding a cigarette

## **Vice-Regal Reveries.**

Now, at this midnight hour,  
Why do I backward cower?  
What is it haunts me still?  
Where is my strength of will?

"Tis the echo of those heavy feet,  
Hurrying up from Cuba-street,  
Come once more to stir my sleep  
With reproaches loud and deep.

"And their voices high and clear  
Once more I can plainly hear—  
' Pray reward our personal loyalty  
By just a fleeting glimpse of Royalty.'

"Like some dream of the horrid past  
It all conies back to me thick and fast—  
But, thank the Duke! I'll never harbour  
The least ill-will of Councillor Barber!"

(Retires hurt.)

## **Thankfulness of King.**

Edward, King of Great Britain and New Zealand.

Whereas our good son hath escaped the perils and importunities of his voyage, fulfilling thereby a great Imperial duty know ye all men this:

**O Yes! O Yes! O Yes!**

In the matter of the Colony of New Zealand, and of all the lands thereby—Forasmuch as it hath appeared to His Royal Highness our good son George that in the said colony is sold, in earthenware pots at a florin, a half-crown, and three and sixpence per pot, the best brands of patriotism and jingoistic slush, for the good and improvement of our cause, We have been pleased to appoint—

Richard John, surnamed Meself, surnamed Digger Dick, to have and to hold, to be and to continue to be, until a general election shall him put out, Emperor of all the Zealandias and of the lands thereby, and generalissimo of the army thereof, and of all the commandants of the forces. His Arms (in leather): A spade buried; his pedigree buried; his past buried. Supporters: Right supporter, a private secretary, bored ad mortem; left supporter, an auditor-general, defunct. Crest: Trimmed and polished. Motto: "Meself."

In the matter of the Walter Street Slum (O yes! O yes! O yes!)—Thomas Mason Wilford to be elected a King's, or in default a City, Councillor. His motto (in brass): "Nothing venture, nothing win."

In the matter of the Wellington Mayoralty—John Guthrie Wood Aitken, to be reduced from the knighthood whereto he was inadvertently raised, for that he spake treasonous words from the "Times" verandah what night he was elected, and to trap again. His motto (in wood): "Its dogged as does it." His crest (or figurehead) to be: Shaved in approved style. His arms: "A rat's head erased, and charged argent 3d." Supporters: "A page, upright," bearing Willis street burden; a small boy, bearing a rat."

Thomas Kennedy Macdonald, for that he caught the eye of the Royal party, to be suppressed. His motto: "Alone I done it!"

The Hon. Colonel John Holmes, our good servant, for that he was cruelly mistreated by an advance agent, one Ranfurly, to be recouped his expenses from the public purse, and to be protected from further execution of the drudgery of a Commissioner.

In the matter of Otago, and of Southland moreover, G. L. Denniston, for his public-spirited patriotism, to be a Knight Companion of the Order of the Bath-towel, and Mayor of Dunedin whatever.

His Majesty also would presume to suggest to the Emperor of the Zealandias that the following loyal and faithful servants be raised to orders of distinction in his realm:—Hall-Johnny (who appeared a most worthy butler), Charles Mills (an honest and subservient personage), Thomas Duncan (of a retiring disposition and of no appearance, but obedient and carrying out his orders with certainty), James Carroll (obedient and fat), W. C. Walker (obedient), and others.

SAVE THE KING!

An' Meself.

Visit the Showrooms EDWARD REECE & SONS, CHRISTCHURCH,

***"Having finished the turtle and pheasant, come, gentlemen, drink to the health of each one who's received a Knighthood, a snub, or a present."***

PITCAITHLY & GO. ROBT. PITCAITHLY] [WM. PITCAITHLY Christchurch and Lyttelton, SHIP AND INSURANCE BROKERS,

Procession of old soldiers, religious men and gentlemen walking on street

## **Private and Confidential Letters to Edward Rex.**

### **Impressions of Persons and Places.**

STEAMSHIP "OPHTR," Tasman Sea,

14/6/01.

DEAR FATHER,—

Filial devotion and the necessity for finding some means of passing the time prompt me to-day to continue my narrative. My last letter told you all about our stay in Sydney, which you may be sure I was very glad came to an end so quickly. There was much to interest us, of course. The way some of the carpet-bag politicians who infest that portion of your dominions smooched round for presents was the funniest thing I can remember; in fact, I sometimes wake up in the night to laugh at the efforts made by one portly individual to impress your daughter-in-law with a sense of his importance. But, father, I remembered your sage counsel, and preserved an equable, and, I trust, suave demeanour during all these trials. The result must be for the good of the Empire. But a cold shudder seizes me sometimes now, and I am full of strange misgivings at the prospects of landing in New Zealand. My stock is getting low, and as I fear that some of these windy Maorilanders will cut the painter unless I do something for them, it will be necessary for me to replenish the gift boxes immediately on arrival. Luckily, my pocket-money has not suffered any serious drain. I have had free lunches ever since leaving home, and your loyal subjects resent my suggestion of paying for the liquor. From what I can hear, it will be the same in New Zealand, but the demand for presents will be tremendous. While in Melbourne we met Joseph of

Awarua, sometimes known as Joe of the Waxed Mo. A very pushful Joe, this, indeed; something like our orchid-growing friend from Birmingham. Well, Joe gave me a list of those who "must receive something." It is of great length—there is Dick, Tom Wilford, Andrew Collins, Aitken, Witheford, George Fisher, Councillor McGill, Jack Hutcheson, Tom Duncan, Jerry Twomey, Tommy Taylor, the "City Engineer," and scores of others. It will, of course, be a severe strain on my resources to give something to each and every one, but by telling a few tales and trusting in Providence, I hope to pull through in a solvent condition. I will write you again after we have had a look at the blessed place to which I am going in much tribulation and warm socks, because it is very wintry. I am obliged to take this precaution, as Royalty with a cold in its head might not evoke that reverence which should be looked for among the islanders.

Mind you look after the kids, and don't forget to cable the result of the Derby.

Your . . .

GEORUE CORNWALL.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.,

June 20th, 1901.

DEAR FATHER,—

This is all right. Everything has gone off splendidly, including the rockets and that job lot of watch chains from Chicago. My welcome in New Zealand has been akin to that accorded Cæsar by the Romans—cheering crowds, arches, fireworks, streamers, bands and politicians have prevailed everywhere. Even Cuba Street rose to the occasion, and entered into the proceedings as one shop—thanks to the liberal supply of oil poured on agitated waters by Johnny Holmes, who is one of the best. He seems to know just about as much as most of your subjects, and has a taste in cigars which does him credit. From the moment of our arrival in Auckland Dick seized hold of things in two large hands, and has conducted himself with a loyalty and devotion which can only be repaid by allowing him to add V.C. to the P.C. he already appends to his signature. The light honourable and learned digger permitted no dog to bark when he spoke, and were it not that he breaks forth with orations of an hour's duration on the slightest provocation, I would be almost sorry to part from him. As it is, he is rather overpowering to one of my weak nerves. If anyone makes a suggestion, Richard simply demands to know, "Who's Boss here?"—and the free and independent elector meekly subsides; he seems to have the whole community up his sleeve.

I have been particularly struck while in Wellington with the extraordinary manner in which the wind blows—always round the corner; in fact it has been blowing ever since we came here. Of course I never mention the fact that it is disagreeable, lest your loyal subjects should think I was casting an unworthy slur upon the place; but I can mention it to you, of course, in strict confidence. Yesterday morning Ranfurly and myself got up before daybreak to go for a bike ride as far as Ngahauranga and have a bathe in the creek. It was blowing hard enough to take your hair off, but we started. "Pretty windy," T remarked. "Think so?" replied his Ex., as he plugged along into the teeth of it. I said no more till we reached Kaiwarra. "Pretty road!" I ventured. "Think so?" panted Ranfurly. Anyhow I could stand it no longer, and suggested turning back, but I'm blest if it wasn't a head wind home! Luckily, your Majesty's rep keeps pretty good liquid on the premises, and we soon recovered. But the state of that road settled the City Engineer's chance of a medal.

Your ....

GEORGE CORNWALL.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS "AMICUS" WELLINGTON JOHN HOLMES AND CO CENERAL  
MERCHANTS INDENT AGENTS ETC CODES IN USE A.D ABC 4THED INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE  
BUTTER WOOL HEMP

D.&W.GIBBS' L ESTABLISHED IN LONDON 1712 K..D. Gibbs' Poisonous Powder Dip at . . 56/= per  
cwt. Gibbs' Poisonous Fluid Dip at . . 5/= per gallon Gibbs' Non=Poisonous Fluid Dip at . . 5/= per gallon In  
101b. Packets and Five and Ten Gallon Bucket Handle Drums. ONCE USED ALWAYS USED.

Richmond's Ltd Bringing his Goose TO Be COOKED ADDRESS NATIONAL 'MUTUAL BUÍLDÍNCS  
Custom HOUSE QUAY WELLINGTON.

**"Yer Excellency, we represents the residents of Polhill Gully, an' what we wants to say is unless you sends the Dook along our way we all of us herby solemnly pledge that on the day of the procession of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to**

**keep our shops open as usual, and upon no consideration dispaly any bunting."**

Persistence brings Success! Telephone 343. P.O. Box 412.

## **The Country Children's Share.**

There was a stir around the sofa, from the kitchen came a yell,  
As father brought the paper from the train,  
And read of how the "Ophir" was in port, all safe and well,  
And His Highness had recovered from the strain.

All the smartest Police Court writers in the district near and far  
Had been hovering in the city for a week,  
For the writers love a pageant and their ears are all ajar  
When any one stands up to preach or speak.

And the photo-man and artist had been pressed into the service  
For to take a lasting picture of the scene,  
As the throng passed on its way into the quay called Jervois,  
Where the presentation ceremony should have been.

And as father read that paper his very eyes grew dim—  
He looked beyond the youngsters into space;  
For the language was a mystery—yes, even unto him—  
They could see it in the lines upon his face.

But on he went again at last, and plodded to the end,  
To let them know how tears of joy were shed  
In the city where "money is no object" yet—to spend,  
And where the streets are like a river bed.

He read of how the Duke was slowly driven  
Through gaping crowds that gathered on the way,  
Till little Billy sobbed, "He thought they might have given  
The country boys a chance to see the play!"

But father went on reading in slow and solemn tone,  
Where the paper told a very moving yarn,  
And the disappointed youngster, with sundry howls and groans,  
Was conducted by his mother to the barn.

When father turned the paper up unto the kids were shown  
Some pictures of their Royal Mightinesses—  
And they gazed with awe on one of the Duke standing quite alone  
Contemplating his numerous addresses.

There were pictures of the Royal heir in all his naval glory  
Being cheered throughout the dusty windy city;  
And another—'twas a vision of a block and headsman gory,  
Ending the story of the Citizens' Committee!

## The Advent of the Dook

Being the lament of the Hon. Simon Snooks, a colonial "personage" and a Justice of the Peace, but nevertheless an honest man. Herein are clearly defined the three most important stages of man.

Wot makes the people look so keen a-gatherin' in the street?  
An' w'y is all their pinnies clean and the shoes upon their feet?  
I thought as them Contingents we was sendin' off so fast  
Was over an' forgotten like the voices of the past.  
But as I comes to 'ear the noos, w'y, wot is this I see?  
A harch of children and a harch of mutton on the Quay.  
O the Dook! O the Dook! O the Duchess an' the Dook!  
Now, w'y 'ave they come 'ere to-day with all their bloomin' suite?  
I thought us democratic from the 'ead down to the feet,  
An' now the town is upside down an' work is all forsook,  
For a Dook,  
I thought as we were democrats, but I was Quite mistook.

Wot is this sentiment I feel a-takin' 'old o' me?  
I cannot eat a decent meal or drink a cup o' tea.  
The good old days 'as gone away; I feel dumstundered quite,  
An' I long to be a-movin', in the Royal Party's sight.  
See 'em walking in their feathers for 'Is 'Ighness to deceive!  
O' course we're gentry every time—that's wot 'e will believe.  
I long to build a harch on 'igh emblazoned with my name:  
An' then 'E'll arst me 'ow I do, an' then—if That ain't fame!  
O the Dook! O the Dook! O the Duchess an' the Dook!  
We might ha' bin a noosboy or we might ha' bin a lag,  
We came out 'ere a tinsmith, but now we're carpet-bag.  
I'll build a harch o' potted meat an' then E'll be quite took,  
Will the Dook!  
We thought as we were democrats. We Must ha' bin mistook.

Now wot's the matter with the world It ain't as it should be.  
I see 'Is 'Ighness' lip is curled, an' 'e passes you an' me  
As though we was a stranger. That's a most uncommon thing,  
A-seein' as we're both as good as Jones an' 'Arry King.

I never used to 'awk them trinkets as the wimmin wore.  
 I never cheated laborin' folk. I kep' an honest store.  
 It's all them spiteful Joneses, them as used to fleece the blacks,  
 Tellin' 'Is Lady an' the Dook as we ain't up to scratch.  
 O' course 'E can't say yea or nay: 'E's got 'Is dignity;  
 An' that's the very reason w'y 'e's snubbin' you an' mo.  
 O the Dook! O the Dook! O the Duchess and the [*unclear*: Dok!]  
 We thought as we were democrats. We Must ha' bin mistook.  
 W'en the people go so crazy on the visit of a Dook!  
 Himperial Dook!  
 W'en the country's topsy-turvy an' the work is all forsook,  
 My hook;  
 We thought as we were gentry, but we're mighty well mistook,  
 For 'E seems to 'ave our pedigrees all written ina book.

By this time all the minor sports had been left behind, and all that were left to do battle with the rabbit were Richard Rex and the Dook. With Indian-like cunning and noiseless glide did the twain stalk around the jungle with the hope of taking the beast in the act of worrying the Royal dog, when, lo!—a rift in the clouds disclosed their prey indulging in his last kick, and the faithful cur curiously watching events.

"Now," said Dick, "are we indeed undid, for will not our prowess be doubted as sports, even as the dog has outwitted us and killed him first? Yet will we not be outdone. Take you the rabbit and place it on yonder bush, what time I insert a few pellets into his carcase, and none may know that we did not shoot him in fair fight."

"Nay," replied George, "an' you blaze away at such close range there will be no pieces of sufficient largeness to take home as evidence of our valour. Prithee, stand at least live yards away; and, now that we have reflected some, 'twere well to place him with his head towards us, that it may appear we shot him in the act of attacking us—what think ye? "

"Aye," replied Dick, "I thinkest let it be even as thou hast spoken."

These secret performances being over, the two searched around for the highly susceptible Wilford, for the purpose of slating over the venture—most shooting and fishing enthusiasts skite over their experiences. (We never do; although we say it as shouldn't, we once took first prize at a pigeon-shooting competition, but we were observed, and had to put it back after a slight controversy with the constable; and, as for fishing, we always got the biggest catch in the country-side—jacksharps and sticklebacks—and even in later years we have caught sardines and things, and just a while ago we caught a snag. This, of course, is by the way, but we only mention it to show that we never skite about our doings).

We might relate a little instance which here befel, showing the remarkable forethought possessed by our only Digger. Everybody knows the Tai Tai bull and his ferocity. Dick learnt it in an unexpected and feeling manner. In crawling through the barbed-wire fence which surrounds the paddock in which the bull is kept, Dick was somewhat too leisurely in his actions, and the bull arrived just in time to lift him through willy-nilly. Here Dick showed his keen wit and generalship. Passing along to another paddock, in which was a calf, he proceeded to belabour the animal merrily, and finished by saying: "Now, go and tell thy father." We consider this to be a rather smart way of giving a Roland Boot for his Oliver Wendell Holmes, so to speak, if that is the correct saying. Many other strange things took place during this trip, more marvellous and humorously interesting than any of the foregoing, but Dick particularly requested us not to use them for publication; but, as a guarantee of good faith, we intend to publish further doings during the visit, but the necessity of giving a thoroughly veracious statement only prevents us from publishing many of the garbled accounts which are continually acknowledged by the faculty and recommended by the Press.

It has only just been made public that the Duke's visit to New Zealand would have been abandoned had not the Premier promised to abstain from singing "The Wearing of the Green." He did so on the understanding that he would be at liberty to carol "Lest We Forget—our promises."

## Woes of the Commissioner.

For windy talk and inflated Jingoism, Mr. John Holmes, "Government Commissioner," is developing powers that bid fair to better the example of his master. On Wednesday a meeting of Mayors of the suburban boroughs was called to consider matters relating to the erection in the city of an arch by the suburban local bodies. Only two of the summoned municipal functionaries attended; the others, probably hearing that they

would have to endure the loyal oratory of Mr. Holmes, stayed away. These facts having transpired at this meeting of three, "Mr. Holmes rose up," says the report, "and smote the delinquent boroughs hip and thigh."—*Evening Post*.

Here am I, Great Cæsar's Ghost!  
Held up to ridicule by the Post,  
Charged with being a blatherskite windy,  
Just because I kicked up a shindy  
In order to get from the Suburbs an arch  
Under which the Duke might march.

I certainly smote them hip and thigh,  
And figuratively blacked their eye,  
For hanging back when the moment came  
And putting forward excuses lame  
As pretexts for their lack of loyalty—  
Under the very nose of Royalty.

See how they treat your servant, Master,  
When he tries to avert disaster  
In this city, where every wind  
Changes the state of the public mind,  
And editors are trying, it seems to me,  
To bring the Crown into jeopardy.

Did I not get by appointing warrant  
The right to jaw like a raging torrent  
All sorts of high-falutin' and bosh  
Whenever I saw the chance to squash  
Persons who say it's a criminal waste  
Of money to spend it in tinsel and paste?

Surely your chosen Commission Agent,  
Who's helpin' to shove along the pageant,  
Should be protected from such abuse,  
Expressions so vulgar, offensive, and loose,  
So tell me, pray, what you intend to do  
To squelch this unpatriotic crew.

J. H.

You're raising too much noise,  
And making all the boys  
Shake with laughter from the north unto the south.  
So I only wish you'd learn  
The best way your screw to earn  
Is to keep a tighter hold upon your mouth.

R. J. S.

## Wellington's Welcome.

A blanket arch has been raised on high,  
And butter boxes toward the sky  
Are built, to arrest the Royal eye—  
The Royal eye of the Duke.

Streamers there are from every fence;  
Flags fluttering forth in masses dense  
Will appeal at once to the loyal sense—  
The loyal sense of the Duke.

Banners composed of tinsel and paste;  
E'en though they were made in fiery baste,  
Must strike—and strike bard—the critical taste—  
The critical taste of the Duke.

From Canton too there are heathen here,  
With instruments drawn from far and near,  
Their bandsmen playing to charm the ear—  
The musical ear of the Duke.

The city lie'll traverse mile by mile;  
His loyal subjects await meanwhile  
For a glimpse of that happy, charming smile—  
The charming smile of the Duke.

Each schoolgirl and each little boy,  
A medal, a Hag, and perhaps a toy,  
Will be given, to add to the innocent joy—  
The innocent joy of the Duke.

The sight of soldiers with glittering steel  
(Each having finished a thorough good meal)  
Can surely not fail to fire the zeal—  
The military zeal of the Duke.

A mighty arch towering high above—  
Some mighty impulse appears to shove

The Consuls thus to display their love—  
The foreigners' love of the Duke.

The ladies clad in red and gold—  
What odds if, their dresses are six months old  
And the weavers long since grown *passe* and cold?—  
Why, nothing's too old for a Duke.

Big and little bells are ringing;  
Everyone on earth seems singing,  
"Look at what the 'Ophir's bringing—  
She's bringing ashore a Duke! "

A Duke? He's a Prince—the son of our King!  
Now let your cheers have a stronger ring,  
That the recollection will ever bring  
Tears to the eyes of the Duke!

***Old Watyback, who had not hem to town for the last fifty years, decided to come down upon this auspicious occasion, and see the Dook for himself. He has gone back quite happy.***

**Given to me by myself for the general & all-round merit I know that I possess.**

## **The Royal Salute.**

"It is recorded that as the Duke drives through the crowded streets he acknowledges the cheers of the people by touching his hat."

I read the papers through and through  
With all-absorbed attention—  
There's nothing has escaped my view  
That you, I think, can mention.  
I've seen bow he blithely stepped ashore,  
Acknowledged the cheers and looked for more,  
Remarked, "Well, this is a deuce of a bore! "  
—Then touched his Royal hat.

I hear of how he bowed and smiled,  
Both morning, noon, and night,  
And even the weary time beguiled

Watching a bull-dog fight.  
These things we know, both you and I:  
How he looked so glad (and perhaps felt sad),  
And whispered, "This is not half so bad! "  
—Then touched his Royal hat.

THAT MAME IS SUFFICIENT Mollisons Mollison's Everything for Ladies' and Gents' Wear.  
INSPECTION "INVITED.

## ***The Governor, the Premier, the Postmaster-General, and the Member for the Suburbs take the Dook out for a little fishing.***

*[With apologies to C.D Gibson.*

## **What Goes to England.**

### **Published and Unpublished Cables.**

#### **Auckland to Wellington.**

It was announced in the reliable daily Press that two representatives of Reuter's Cable Agency accompany the "Ophir" in order to keep the Great British Public informed of the Royal progress. The messages despatched by these gentlemen are eagerly looked for in England. By special arrangement, and at enormous expenditure, the privilege has been extended to the publishers of this historic work to reproduce a few samples. Here they are:—

Auckland,

June 16.

The "Ophir" arrived to-day, after a beautiful passage. Their Royal Highnesses landed shortly after noon. They were welcomed by the Right Honourable Richard John Seddon, who made a spirited and loyal oration, which has so far occupied two hours and a half in delivery. The hon gent, expressed the pleasure he felt at the advent of such distinguished visitors. They would, on reference to the New Zealand Year Book, find that the colony was in a most prosperous condition. The dairying industry had made most wonderful strides under the fostering care of the late Minister for Lands and his vigilant successor. Mr. Seddon defended the action of the Government in regard to the marine scandal, and eulogised the services to the State of the Hon. W. Hall-Jones, under whose administration the Makohine viaduct would be completed if the Government remained in office sufficiently long. He spoke hopefully of the colony's future, but took a pessimistic view of the state of trade in the Mother Country, which, he asseverated in trumpet tones, should have long ago followed up the lead of New Zealand in social legislation. He read a number of extracts from letters from New Zealanders on active service in South Africa, showing that the Colonials had seen more fighting—and written more letters—than any other troops. He accounted for this by the fact that they had been reared on New Zealand mutton and attended the State schools. Mr. Seddon had not concluded his address of welcome when the hour came for the Telegraph Office to close. He was still going strong on the frozen meat question. The remainder of his remarks will be telegraphed to-morrow.

AUCKLAND

June 17.

The reception here has been a truly brilliant one, and their Highnesses are delighted with the nature of the greeting. After Mr. Seddon's speech had concluded (it took four hours), His Royal Highness the Duke of

Cornwall and York said—" Mr. Seddon: I have to thank you for the warmth of your welcome, which will never fade from my memory." A procession was then formed, and marched through the city to the accompaniment of cheers and songs of welcome. A short divergence from the route originally fixed had to be made, as the dairymen's arch had commenced to drip; otherwise all went well. The procession was personally conducted by Mr. Witheford, whose diamond scarf-pin gleamed like a meteor afar.

To-morrow the party goes to Rotorua, where they will meet Jimmy Carroll. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cornwall and York is particularly desirous of seeing Jimmy, whose silver-tongued advocacy of Women's Rights and Temperance has made him a conspicuous figure among Colonial statesmen. It is said that he always wears a feather in his hat like a talisman borne by the Crusaders of old. The Duchess is very anxious to learn the mystery of that feather. The Duke has expressed pleasure at the prospect of meeting the wahines. Their half shy, engaging manner and the amplitude of their attire render them much sought after by tourists. No wahines have been seen within the pale of civilisation before, and they are quite free from any of those modern customs which detract from aboriginals. Jimmy Carroll organised a special party of explorers to obtain them. This was only accomplished after much danger had been faced.

**"Say, Kruger, what's this yere Dook o' Cornwall cum out here fur?"**

**"Dunno', 'Spose it's to crown Dick King of Noo Zealand."**

(REJECTED BY THE CENSOR, EXCEPT FOUR LAST WORDS.)

WELLINGTON,

June 20.

I learn on the best authority that a serious difficulty arose here yesterday in connection with the landing of the Royal party, and that the tour of New Zealand was very nearly brought to an abrupt conclusion. It appears that when the "Opliiir" left Auckland the Right Hon. Richard John Seddon was in the northern city. The Duke and Duchess, in bidding him good-bye, were under the impression that they would not see him again. It transpires, however, that no sooner had the "Ophir" cast off from the wharf than Mr. Seddon hied to Onehunga, where his private yacht the "Tutanekai" (maintained at the grateful taxpayers' expense) was awaiting him. He immediately set off along the other coast for New Plymouth, and, catching a special train, sped down to Wellington as fast as the railway regulations permit. Yesterday morning when the "Ophir" steamed up to the Queen's Wharf, the Royalties and suite were carelessly viewing the water front through binoculars, when suddenly a monumental figure, waving a belltopper of welcome, arrested the attention of the Duke. He paused, looked again, and blurted out, "Good heavens, look at Dick!" There was no doubt about it; there he was. The Duke turned on his heel, took a few hurried steps, then, summoning his staff, said, "Follow me, gents." They noticed as they followed him to the bar that he was more than usually pale, that his eyes burned with a deep and gloomy fire, and that stern resolve was for once written on the corners of his mouth. Hastily biting the end of a cigar, he exclaimed, "No; I'll not go! I've made sacrifices enough already for the Empire! This was the aftermath of that four hours' crucifixion in Auckland. He would not undergo such an experience again. Entreaties were in vain. The Duke remained obdurate. What was to be done? At last some forgotten genius said, "Signal for J. Holmes." The suggestion was immediately acted upon, and the flags soon fluttered up, "Send us J. Holmes." Holmes was sent in a dingy. He clambered up to the deck in a breathless state, and the situation was explained to him thus: "Unless he cuts it short the Duke won't land." It was observed by the watchful auditors that J. Holmes grew pensive; he bit his nails, mopped his brow, fidgetted with his Royal warrant of appointment (he always carries it), and otherwise looked perturbed in spirit. However, he finally agreed to see what he could do, and went ashore. He was observed to go towards the Emperor and beckon him aside. Then a spirited dialogue took place, the Duke anxiously looking on from a convenient porthole with the captain's telescope. What took place in the brief moments that the Premier and his official were together no living soul knows. It was a strenuous period, but J. Holmes prevailed. Richard was at the parting of two ways—he chose the one of loyalty, rejected the one of revolution and anarchy. The signal came back to the "Ophir"—"Come 011; lie'll cut it;" and the Duke landed in an Admiral's uniform and a smile. The Premier condensed himself, and all passed off well.

**The Dove of Peace.**

The news came through the cable,  
Across the Tasman Sea,  
That Cornwall's Duke to Wellington  
Was speeding merrilee.

Then Richard called a meeting  
Of all who there belonged,  
He formed them up before him,  
And thus the crowd harangued:

"When royalty its presence lends  
To grace our land so dear,  
Our grievances should be wiped out,  
Our spites all disappear.

"So now, to honour do the Duke,  
All old-time troubles cease;  
Let enemies in friendship join,  
And all be perfect peace."

Soon in pursuance of the plan,  
His Dickship, in his chaise,  
With wee Pirani on his knee,  
Appeared before their gaze.

Count George paired off with little At.,  
And well did they agree,  
Though At, was drinking whisky neat  
And George was drinking tea.

Then editors of "Times" and "Post"  
A solemn paction swore  
That, till the "Ophir" left the coast,  
They'd quarrel nevermore.

Dour Hazelnut and Tommy Wilf.  
A give-and-take oath swore,  
That one would study manners  
And the other study law.

\* \* \*

Count Booby swore to Edmund Courte  
He'd change his disposition,  
And letters write to expedite  
The course of extradition.

Then Courte perforce must "set a main,  
Lest folk should hold him ill:  
He rushed to Wilf, and paid forthwith  
Count Booby's lawyer's bill.

Don Juthie with bold Hal Enaw  
And Charlie Piccolo,  
As triple seekers after Truth,  
Swore hand-in-hand they'd go.

Crossey and Tommy Taylor  
Came back across the sea,  
Linked arm in arm, to Wellington  
To preach sobriety.

Hot Coffee and the bad Brass Bands  
That once aroused his ire  
Made peace, and Sunday concerts gave  
Up in St. Mark's high spire.

In short, all strife has ceased *pro tem.*,  
And mild-eyed Peace holds sway  
Until the bitter day when George  
To Christchurch takes his way.

### ***"The Robin's Return; or, Survival of the Fittest."***

FENCE IN YOUR SHEEP WITH LYSAGHT'S NETTING. ORB, REDCLIFFE, AND QUEEN'S HEAD BRANDS OF GALVANISED IRON ARE THE WORLD'S STANDARDS, AND EVERYBODY SELLS THEM. JOHN LYSAGHT, LTD WELLINGTON.

NEW ZEALAND CAN ALWAYS SHOW A GOOD FRONT ZEALANDIA SHIRTS ARE THE BEST OBTAINABLE

***Consul Italiano, resplendent, grave, and staid, Walked into the city, in his robes arrayed; While from him fled, in wild dismay, Each girl he passed upon the way.***

ALE. INVALID STOUT Braches' Australian Wines SOLE AGENTS FOR NEW ZEALAND-ROBINSON & PERRIN, HUNTER STREET, WELLINGTON. TELEPHONE 449.

# The Tortures of King (In Embryo).

Sydney,

May 29.

About two thousand attended the levee.

With a rest of a few minutes, during which he tenderly felt his squeezed fingers and swung his arm, as though to relieve the muscles, the Duke went steadily through the tedious process of hand-shaking.

O! once upon a time  
It was the way of kings,  
Outside the pantomime,  
To do all sorts of things  
To keep their subjects loyal  
And well within the law;  
They'd flay them, or they'd boil,  
They'd rack them, or they'd saw  
A little nose off here,  
A little ear off there,  
Or p'r'aps they'd stop their beer,  
Or throw them to a bear,  
Or get them torn in twain,  
Or rid them of their teeth,  
And, just to ease their pain,  
Would lay them underneath  
Their chariot wheels, and crack  
Their bones and crush their flesh,  
Or lacerate their back,  
Or squeeze them through a mesh,  
Or poke out both their eyes,  
Or banquet them to death,  
Or poison their meat pies—  
At least, so hist'ry saith.

\* \* \*

And merry England then  
Just took the cake for fun—  
It took the cake, and then  
It fairly took the bun;  
To-day Jack took his gruel,  
Another day old Gill  
Provided kings with fuel  
And brought grist to the mill;  
For kings were not content,  
In days that have gone by,  
To make you penitent  
By gouging out an eye;  
They stole your land as well,  
And mopped up all your spoil,  
And played up general h—,  
To be considered "Royal."

\* \* \*

But those bad days are past;  
Democracy's on top.  
At last! At last! At last!  
We've got it on the top!  
We cage them up, and make  
Them bow, and scrape, and cringe,  
And eat that we do bake,  
And their Royal selves unhinge.  
We torture them with noise,  
And keep them out of bed,  
And load them up with toys,  
And nearly kill them dead

By pressing them to read  
The rot we write about  
Their dignity and breed And, tendency to gout,  
And, last of all, we grip  
Their flippers, and we wring—!  
Until, for "Idylls" read  
"The Tortures of a King."

## **RESPECTABLE CITIZEN:— "'Say, 'Dolphus, where's the public house?'"**

After the departure of the "Ophir" from New Zealand waters it is the intention of Lord Ranfurly to spend several weeks at the most isolated lighthouse on the coast, in order that he may obtain restoration from the nervous apprehension which has afflicted him during the last few months. The kindly, good-natured Governor has been worked into a state bordering on prostration, and it is safe to say that if the Royal tour lasted much longer he would collapse. The Cuba-Manners street feud, the perusal of addresses, and the pertinacity of "oldest inhabitants" seemed to have weighed heavily on his soul.

Among the transparencies to be erected at the Departmental Buildings will be an enlarged Financial Statement. The lighting is to be particularly brilliant, so that all its details will be brought into bold relief.

There is every reason to believe that the Duke's gift to the Mayor of Wellington will be a "suitably engraved" pocket flask. Exactly what a suitable inscription is under such circumstances remains a subject for conjecture.

PATTY-PAN BAKING POWDER The Novelty of the Century! When this Tin is empty, take off Top and Bottom, and you have , TWO IMPROVED PATTY-PANS. ASK YOUR GROCER FOR . . . PATTY-PAN BAKING POWDER In 11b. Tins, and see that you get it.

## ***The Maori Haka (composed by Hon. J. Carroll).***

*The Great Maoriland Chiefs provide a novel entertainment for Their Highnesses.*  
THE DOOK "Oh, May, What a beautiful ballet!"

## **A farewell Symposium.**

Although the fact is not set forth in the sixpenny programme of the proceedings issued by the Government, it has been definitely arranged that on the evening prior to His Royal Highness's departure from these hospitable shores a gathering of a more or less convivial nature will be held to celebrate the event. It will be a gathering at which all personal differences will be forgotten; where the feast of reason will be conspicuously absent as befits such an occasion, but where the flow of soul will hold continual sway; where the niceties of court etiquette will be dispensed with: and each, guest will be viewed as a man and a brother. Invitations to this

momentous "night off" have already been issued, and the speeches which are to be made by various speakers have been prepared, carefully type-written, and as carefully committed to memory. What the daily papers call the "usual loyal toasts" will find no part on the programme of liquids, and there will be a maximum of sack to a minimum of bread. Of music there will be none, and any man attempting to sing the National Anthem will immediately be ejected with all possible violence.

The first toast on this joyful occasion will be that of "The Premier"—or King Dick, as he loves to be called. This will be proposed by Mr. F. Pirani, M.H.R. for Palmerston North, whom it is well known is more closely acquainted with Richard's good qualities and benevolence than any other resident in the colony. For cannot the little man toll strange, yet fascinating, stories of how loan moneys are spent in his electorate with astounding prodigality, simply because of the Mighty One's solicitude for the welfare of his miniature friend's constituents? These and similar kindred topics will form the thread of Mr. Pirani's discourse, and it has been arranged that he will, inter alia, speak as follows:—

*"Yes, gentlemen, you may applaud such attributes to any man's character; but when to all these heroic virtues is added the fact that as a matter of principle he never does anything with his right hand in case his left hand should get to hear about it—then I say that we have an object lesson always before us which it would be well for all smaller men to emulate. You all know as I do how he would resent any attempt to set up in our midst any gilded falsity; how he has ever kept the well of our national aspirations free from the contaminating influences of sycophancy and grovel; how he has steadfastly [unclear: urged] on the younger generation the wisdom and morality of earnest endeavour in the home of their birth instead of seeking fresh fields and pastures new; how his voice has ever been lifted in condemnation of those excesses of public and private expenditure which do so much to impoverish other nations and peoples; and how any life which has its foundation in the world, the flesh, and the devil meets in him a powerful and determined enemy. I can undertake no flight into oratory owing to my wing, the left, having lately been damaged, but can with confidence ask you to give three times three in drinking the health of my learned, honourable, and esteemed friend."*

For whom the Royal visit has no charm

Royal visit is amorous

The applause at this point will be "loud and prolonged," and after its cessation the Premier, overcome with emotion though he be, will respond in a brief speech of seventy-five minutes' duration. Only portion of the reply can here be reproduced:—"A serpent's tooth is not so sharp as the gratitude of so esteemed and valuable an ally as he who has just spoken—I mean it is more sharp. I—er—er—yes—hum—feel that nothing could be more appropriate to the occasion than this voluntary declaration, which having been made in the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke cannot fail to be a splendid advertisement to the colony and of its resources—and of the resources of its politicians. I have naturally during His Royal Highness's tour of the colony kept in the background, and have been busily engaged in departmental matters, knowing as I did that it was the will of my people that my illustrious guest should not be—as it were—or—yes—hum—overshadowed by—er—any one else. He has moved freely among my people—while they they were roped off—and has been impressed by the manner in which they showed their love, affection, and loyalty to him and the institution he represents. This will also be a good advertisement for the colony, and when the whole story is published in the English papers I believe that the people will immediately show a desire to know the colony better, and will develop a frightful appetite for frozen meat and chilled butter. This will be a good thing for the farmers—and for me, because I'll be able to get a bit more out of them. His Highness has been fed exclusively on frozen meat since coming here, and I am informed has put on several stone in weight. This also will be a good ad . . . . . I'm sorry he is is going, for money is no object just now, and I could have kept on at this game for a long time Next election? . . . . I'll have something else on then. The bill doesn't count. I don't have to pay it. The result will be to solidify the Empire and extend its boundaries . . . Flag . . . Never shall be slaves . . . Duke . . . Patriotism . . . Khaki . . . British Constitution . . . Lest we forget ... To drink his health, do it now!"

## **Suggestion for new Statue to Commemorate the Visitation.**

The Duke will of course reply, and without any of that prince-like grace and hauteur that had been observed when acknowledging the printed addresses of "oldest inhabitants," etc. His Highness's speech for the occasion reads:—"From the somewhat incoherent remarks that have lately been uttered, I think it is just about time I took myself off. There appears to be an ill-founded idea that I am something of a Royal bagman who has conic here to boom frozen meat and khaki. This is altogether wrong. I made the voyage to Australia for certain well-founded reasons of State, and thought it would be as well to give New Zealand a look in at the same time. The people of this part of my father's dominions have received me with an enthusiasm and devotion that has completely taken my breath away. They have spent their spondoolix in regal style, and if they would only

impose upon themselves fresh taxation to help pay for the maintenance of the army and navy they would set an example to other parts of the Empire which would be very valuable. I'm not going to kid to you in the way that I have been doing lately any more, and will, therefore, not tell you with 'how much regret' I leave New Zealand. As a matter of fact I am none too sorry—this hand-shaking business is fairly hard work for one unused to manual toil. My dear friend the Premier—I trust he will permit me to refer to him thus—has remarked that he has kept very much in the background during my visit. Well, I really shudder to think what he would have been like had he emerged from his accustomed retirement. He has really seemed to have been here, there, and everywhere, and I certainly will have to see about that Governorship which his fuglemen of the Press have lately been discussing with such noisy satisfaction. Nothing could more appropriately reward the Empire than his acceptance of high office under the Crown. It has been said frequently enough that 'much remains for the Liberals to do 'in the colony, but it appears that there are a good many Liberals about, and some of them are no doubt ready and eager to be up and 'doing' on the slightest provocation. Mr. Pirani would no doubt be able to assist in this direction after recovering from the prostration that would overcome him on parting from his honoured chief. Of course I am now speaking without that restraint imposed upon one in such an exalted station as myself, and as the Premier has led the way in this direction, I feel that in following his footsteps no harm can result. He has reached the highest pinnacle of fame in this country, and should no longer hide his light under a Statute Book—as the Satrap of the Pacific he would shine in the great optic of the world with even greater luminosity. Still, as the hour draws near when we all must part, I can hardly do so without shedding a Princely tear in case we should never meet again—lest I should never see your arches of butter-boxes, and old-age pensioners, and cadets. These I will always remember as the most—er—hum—ah—pleasing—hum—things I have seen."

At this stage of the proceedings the Duke will distribute "presents" among his faithful fellow countrymen—principally photographs and snuff-boxes. And the man who receives a snuff-box will consider himself an aristocrat all the rest of his days.

There has been an unfortunate duplication of effort in Wellington in connection with the Duke's visit. For instance, a platform is being erected for "visitors from the West Coast "and another for" old-age pensioners." Surely one platform would have been sufficient for carry-ing out the general intention.

BARNINGHAM'S IMPROVED ZEALANDIA BARNINGHAM & CO.'S

***The Dook, who is said to be the best shot of the Royal 'Family, was taken out over the Karori hills by the shootists of Wellington. Unluckily, in an exciting chase after a cock bird, the Dook's foot caught in the undergrowth just as Charlie got in the way.***

***N.B.—Though by no means dangerously hit, it is rumoured a little bill will be forthcoming for compensation for the same.***

Gentlemen,—"The Duke!" in Buchanan's. Agents: CASTENDYK & FOCKE-Featherston Street, Wellington.

***"Take Away That Bauble."***

THE DOOK:—" Ah, Richard John, let not thy modesty deter thee from accepting this small token of our esteem."

THE RT. HON. R.J.S.:—"Ah, most, high, that rules the waves, but hast thou not baser gifts to bestow?"

THE DOOK:—" Yes, some £20,000 worth of presents, roughly speaking."

THE RT. HON. R.J.S.: "That's something more my weight."

**Dire Effect of Royal Visitations and Things**

It is a subject for much regret that the quest for an untamed feline with which to ornament the West Coast "Coal and Gold" Arch has proved ineffectual. It is understood that the hunt was carried on among the hills instead of in the animal's natural habitat—the beds of watercourses.

## One must be English or out of the Fashion

Hip, hip, hooray!  
They come this way,  
Both George and May;  
But they go away  
Some future day,  
Hip, hip, hooray!

Page with trumpet

Two men dancing holding the New Zealand flag

Prior to the departure of Lord Ranfurly for Sydney, he spent several days with Ministers, rehearsing the manner in which each and every one should conduct himself on the arrival of His Royal Highness. These proceedings were held in a remote apartment in the Government Buildings, where it was supposed that absolute privacy would be secured. It transpires that His Excellency found his task of instruction one of such tremendous magnitude that he seriously thought of recommending the entire abolition of responsible government during the Royal visit to the colony. The Postmaster-General showed an aptitude for the proper performance of his functions, and the Premier went through his part with an elephantine grace that was not displeasing. But the Minister for Lands! Here was something in a virgin state which for a time absolutely defied cultivation. The braw and honourable Tam and the equally honourable Mines were put through a course of drill beside which the training of a military recruit would be a relaxation, and were finally reduced to such a state of physical demoralisation that it is feared they will have to be granted extensive leave of absence from their Parliamentary duties in order to recuperate.

## Good Thing in Store for Pc Ninty-Leven

Bottles of Moet et Chandon

## Published by Tait & Co., Colonial Mutual Buildings, and printed by Blundell Bros., Ltd., Willis Street, Wellington.

See page 40

WATSON'S Three \* \* \* Star WHISKY THE BEST IN THE WORLD. "Castle" Teas ARE THE Best in the World. Akk OVER NEW ZEALAND

ALL OVER NEW ZEALAND We want youn people to learn why nelson moate's teas are the best of all Teas, and how they make the best beverages.

The Record Premiership Photo of R. J. Seddon

The Great Liberal Demonstration

At the Opera House Wellington, New Zealand, May 2nd, 1903. vignette

The Committee of the Great Liberal Demonstration in honour of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, have pleasure in issuing to the Members of the Liberal Party this interesting souvenir of a historie gathering.

## The Rt. Hon. R. J. SEDDON, P.C., L L.D. (Cantab et Edin Prime Minister of New Zealand

*Photo by Russell and Sous, London.*

Programme for Evening. THE RECORD PREMIERSHIP OF THE RT. HON. R. J. SEDDON, P.C, LL.D.

The following Resolution and Address was, on the motion of T. Kennedy Macdonald, Esq., and seconded by Dr. Findlay, LL.D., unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by the meeting:—

*"That this great gathering of Liberals, in public meeting assembled, herewith "tenders its congratulations to the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon, "P.C., LL.D., Prime Minister of New Zealand, on the conclusion of "his Ten Years' continuous office as Prime Minister, and desires "his acceptance of the accompanying Address":—*

# **The Record Premiership.**

TO THE RT. HON. R. J. SEDDON, P.C., LL.D., PRIME MINISTER OF New Zealand.

SIR—

*We desire to tender you our sincere and hearty congratulations on your having completed Ten Years of continuous office as Prime Minister of New Zealand. During that long period you have been responsible for legislation which has assisted the Colony to make a marvellous advance in every direction and add enormously to its national wealth. Never before in the history of New Zealand has so much been done by Parliament to improve the social and moral advancement and material welfare of the people. The extension of the Franchise to Women in 1893 was a forward movement, which has led other colonies in the same path. The Industrial and Conciliation Act and the Factories Act of 1894 gave to Labour an independence and liberty which has been the theme of commendation by political economists throughout the civilised world. The Government Advances to Settlers Act of the same year inaugurated the new departure of the State lending to its citizens on mortgage moneys at a low rate of interest. This important measure, capled with the Land for Settlement Act, by which the Stale took the right to aquire large estates for Close Settlement, have been the main factors during the past to years in the great development of the natural resources of the Colony.*

*Your courage in asking the people of New Zealand to recognise that the aged who had not prospered in the battle of life were entitled to a yearly oension as Soldiers of Industry has been amply vindicated. The Old-age Pensions act of 1898 has proved a beneficent measure of the greatest value to the pionees of New Zealand, and it has led to statesmen of other lands, seeking in its provisions a panacea for the needs of the aged poor of their respective countries.*

*The Colony as well as the Shareholders of the Bank of New Zealand we much to you. Your boldness in placing the credit of the Colony behind the [unclear: hn]k was a masterpiece of Finance, and averted a financial collapse which would have proved an irretrievable disaster.*

*The farseeing and masterful manner in which you handled the Midlad Railway question not only saved the Colony from immense loss but preserved its, [unclear: h]onour and reputation. The subsequent treatment of the London Debenture-holers of the Midland Railway Company was a proof of the generosity and honorele feeling actuating the Government and Parliament under your guidance.*

*It is impossible in the brief limits of an Address to enumerate the log roll of valuable Acts of Parliament which have been passed during your ten[unclear: u]r of office. The unexampled prosperity of New Zealand during that period speaks ladly as to the wisdom and prescience you have shown year by year in guiding the Country in its legislation, and which has done so much to keep New Zealand in the forefront amongst the self-governing colonies.*

*During your record Premiership you have represented the Colony aroad with conspicuous ability and success. The Conference of Premiers in Hoba[unclear: t] in 1897, Her late Majesty Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the First Conference o Colonial Premiers in London, the Inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth, the Coronation of His Majesty the King, and the Second Conference [unclear: c] Colonial Premiers in London, have all shown your power to deal effectively [unclear: w]ith great questions of Imperial interest. The statesmanship displayed by you in the matters and in New Zealand's assistance to the Mother Country in connection with the South African War has carried your name far and wide throughout the E[unclear: m]pire.*

*The many honours conferred upon you during your visits to the Motherland have been most gratifying to the people of New Zealand. The distincti[unclear: on] of being created a Member of His Majesty's Privy Council, of being presente[unclear: d] with the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh, St. Helens, and other Towns, of bing made a Doctor of Laws of the Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh, and a member of the most ancient Guilds of the City of London, is a proof of the world-wide reputation you have attained.*

*We trust that the policy of progress and development for New Zealand, with equal opportunities for everyone of its people, which has been the ideal of your political life and labours, may continue, and be strengthened year by year.*

*We tender you once more our cordial good wishes and congratulations, and hope you may long be spared to give to New Zealand your wide experience and ripened judgment in connection with her public life.*

*We have the honour to remain,*

*Sir,*

*Your very faithful friends.*

*Signed for and on behalf of the Great Meeting of the Liberal Party in the Opera House in the City of*

*Wellington, held on the 2nd day of May, 1903.*

*W. H. Quick, CHAIRMAN OF PUBLIC MEETING.*

*T. Kennedy MacDonad,*

*Edwin Arnold, HON. TREASURER.*

*W. J. Culver, HON. SECRETARY.*

## **The Executive Committee who signed the Address.**

## **The Executive Committee who signed the Address.**

Standing—EDWIN ARNOLD, ESQ., J.P.,

Hon. Treasurer.

Sitting—W. H. QUICK, ESQ.,

Chairman of the Meeting.

*(Brown Photo.)*

W. J. CULVER, ESQ., J.P.

General Secretary of the Liberal Federation of N.Z.,

Hon. Secretary.

T. KENNEDY MACDONALD, ESQ.,

Chairman of the General Committee.

## **A Record Premiership.**

## **Mr. Seddon's Achievements Recognised.**

## **Results of a Decade of Progress.**

The great public gathering organised to do honour to the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C., LL.D., on the occasion of his completing tenth year of office as Premier of New Zealand was a notable gathering, both in point of number and of spontaneity. The front of the Opera House on Saturday night was gaily decorated for the occasion with bunting, while around the facade of the dress circle the Union Jack and the New Zealand ensign bordered "Old Glory," a symbolical prophecy of future relationship. The national flags of Italy and Spain were also given prominence. The stage was elaborately decorated with New Zealand plums and bushes. During the proceedings two flashlight pictures of the gathering were taken. The gathering was representative of all classes. The committee and their friends occupied seats on the stage, and here, also, were to be seen many visitors from the country, who had come down to Wellington specially for the occasion. The Ministry was represented by Sir Joseph Ward, K.C.M.G., the Hon. T. Y. Duncan, the Hon W. Hall-Jones, and the Hon. James McGowan. The Hon. W. C. Walker, C.M.G.. was unable to be present in consequence of illness. The Hon. James Carroll, not being in Wellington, forwarded a characteristically cordial telegram in proof that he was present in spirit. The remaining Cabinet Minister, the Hon. C. H. Mills, was absent on the expedition to the Cook Islands. The Hon. F. H. Fraser, M.L.C., Messrs W. H. Field and A. L. D. Fraser, M.H.R.'s, were in attendance, and Mr John Stevens, for many years the Parliamentary "whip" to the Liberal party, was also present to do honour to his chief. Mrs and Miss Seddon, Lady Ward and Miss Ward, Mrs anil Miss Hall-Jones, and Mrs and Miss Mills all graced the stage. Colonel Bell, Mr James Coates, Mr D. J. Nathan and Mrs Nathan. Mr R. A. Adams (Patea), and Mr F. S. Canning (Normanby) were also amongst the group. The guest of the evening was in his happiest

mood, and he entered into the spirit of the proceedings with a wholehearted appreciation that must have been highly gratifying to the citizens who interested themselves in working up last Saturday's gathering to the successful culmination that characterised it. The occasion altogether lacked any air of formality; it was abundantly evident that no mere lip service was intended; and the speeches of both the mover and seconder of the motion were terse and telling. The speech in reply by the Premier, vigorously delivered, was cheered throughout by an audience en rapport with the speaker, and the convincing instances which Mr Seddon adduced of the marvellous progress made by the colony in the last decade were greeted with warmest approbation. Altogether it may truthfully be said that a more successful public function has never been carried out in Wellington. As showing the widespread interest taken in the event, it is of interest to note that Mr Culver, the secretary, received an enormous number of apologies from friends in the north, many of whom wrote saying that but for the short notice given they would have travelled down to Wellington to assist at the function.

Mr W. H. Quick, chairman of the meeting, said the people were assembled that night to do honour to a patriot and statesman, the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon—(hear, hear)—and to congratulate him on having completed ten years of his Premiership. That record, almost unprecedented, showed this—that during the whole of that time Mr Seddon had been in contact and touch with the people, and that they had given him their confidence throughout. Mr Quick did not believe that after all those ten years the confidence of the people had abated one jot. Mr Seddon's devotion to the country and his services to the Empire merited for him a very high place amongst that brilliant list of statesmen who conducted the duties of the Crown throughout the Dominion. A time would come hereafter when posterity would look upon Mr Seddon as one of the greatest men New Zealand had ever seen. Ten years had passed by, and in spite of all evil prognostications, what did the people see now? The ship of State had not run upon the rocks; the country was prosperous, everything smooth; and there was not the slightest doubt that at the present time Mr Seddon still lived in the hearts of the people. (Loud applause.)

An overture of lively plantation airs was played by Jupp's Band at this stage of the proceedings, after which the chairman gave a summary of over one hundred apologies for non-attendance, conveying, at the same time, felicitations to the Premier.

## **The Resolution and Address.**

Mr T. K. Macdonald, who was received with applause, said the committee responsible for this unique demonstration had done him the great honour of inviting him to move the resolution and address, which were as follows:—"That this great gathering of Liberals, in public meeting assembled, herewith tenders its congratulations to the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C, LL.D., Prime Minister of New Zealand, on the conclusion of his Ten Years' continuous office as Prime Minister, and desires his acceptance of the accompanying Address":—

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Your courage in asking the people of New Zealand to recognise that the aged who had not prospered in the battle of life were entitled to a yearly pension as soldiers of industry has been amply vindicated. The Old-age Pensions Act of 1898 has proved a beneficial measure of the greatest value to the pioneers of New Zealand, and it has led to statesmen of other lands seeking in its provisions a panacea for the needs of the aged poor of their respective countries.

The colony, as well as the shareholders of the Bank of New Zealand, owe much to you. Your boldness in placing the credit of the colony behind the bank was a masterpiece of finance, and averted a financial collapse,

which would have proved an irretrievable disaster.

The farseeing and masterful manner in which you handled the Midland railway question not only saved the colony from immense loss, but preserved its honour and reputation. The subsequent treatment of the London debenture-holders of the Midland Railway Company was a proof of the generosity and honourable feeling actuating the Government and Parliament under your guidance.

It is impossible in the brief limits of an address to enumerate the long roll of valuable Acts of Parliament which have been passed during your tenure of office. The unexampled prosperity of New Zealand during that period speaks loudly as to the wisdom and prescience you have shown year by year in guiding the country in its legislation, and which has done so much to keep New Zealand in the forefront amongst the self-governing colonies.

During your record Premiership you have represented the colony abroad with conspicuous ability and success. The conference of Premiers in Hobart in 1897, her late Majesty Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the first conference of colonial Premiers in London, the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth, the Coronation of his Majesty the King, and the second conference of colonial Premiers in London, have all shown your power to deal effectively with great questions of Imperial interest. The statesmanship displayed by you in these matters and in New Zealand's assistance to the Mother Country in connection with the South African War has carried your name far and wide throughout the Empire.

The many honours conferred upon you during your visits to the Motherland have been most gratifying to the people of New Zealand. The distinction of being created a member of his Majesty's Privy Council, of being presented with the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh, St. Helens and other towns, of being made a Doctor of Laws of the University of Cambridge and Edinburgh and a member of the most ancient Guilds of the City of London, is a proof of the world-wide reputation you have attained.

We trust that the policy of progress and development for New Zealand, with equal opportunities for every one of its people, which has been the ideal of your political life and labours may continue, and be strengthened year by year.

We tender you once more our cordial good wishes and congratulations, and hope you may be spared to give to New Zealand your wide experience and ripened judgment in connection with her public life.—We have the honour to remain, Sir, your very faithful friends.

Signed for and on behalf of the Great Meeting of the Liberal Party in the Opera House in the City of Wellington, held on the 2nd day of May, 1903.

Mr Macdonald, having finished the reading of the address, said: "Ladies and gentlemen, is it your pleasure that the address which I have just read be signed on your behalf by Mr W. H. Quick, chairman of this meeting, Mr T. Kennedy Macdonald, chairman of the General Committee, Mr Edwin Arnold, honorary treasurer, and Mr W. J. Culver, honorary secretary, and be illuminated and presented to Mr Seddon?" A great outburst of unanimous applause was the answer of the gathering. Continuing, Mr Macdonald said he might be permitted to say a few words in support of the resolution. When he looked round the year audience in the Opera House that night it recalled to him the scene presented in the same building the night before the great battle in December, 1890, an event that marked an epoch in the political history of New Zealand. Many of those he was now addressing would remember that on that night in 1890 the Liberal party was holding the last meeting prior to the battle of the morrow. The political fate of New Zealand was then trembling in the balance. None of them for a moment thought that the morrow would bring so great a victory as it did, hopeful though they were. Well, the country declared that the old-established reign of the Conservative must come to an end, and that a Liberal Government should take office, a Government that would represent all classes and see justice done to all. In a few days the Liberal Government assumed office. Within two years a change came—a change that cast a gloom over the whole colony. The leader was struck down in the fight. Many of his hearers would remember the melancholy procession to the funeral train which went forth from Wellington that Sunday morning, and bore the body of John Ballance to his old home at Wanganui. The exigencies of Government required that a successor to the deceased statesman should be found, and throughout the whole length of that funeral train there was one question on every lip. "Who is to be the next Premier?" The vast majority, as opinions crystallised, said that Mr Seddon must take the reins. There were cavillers and carpers at first, but for ten years now Mr Seddon had held the office with honour to himself and the people of this colony. The story of his efforts and achievements on behalf of the people of New Zealand were told in brief terms in the address to be presented. There were some others that would bear special attention, events hall-marked in this colony's history. Mr Seddon's devotion to the land and income tax—the tenacity with which he fought to maintain it—had in result done much to benefit the colony. As to the legislation which saved the Bank of New Zealand, Mr Macdonald awarded high praise to the Premier. It was all very well at this time—when the country was prosperous and all was going along well, and all men were making money—but he would tell them that if the Government led by Mr Seddon had not stood firm as a rock on the Bank of New Zealand question, ruin and disaster would have

gone through every family in the land. If, said Mr Macdonald, Mr Seddon had done nothing else than this, he would have done a thing that should make his memory live not only to-day, but in the generation to come. Then in the matter of the Midland railway, he wondered how many men knew of the work of the Premier in connection with that question, how he stood at the front and at the back of all the lawyers engaged in that great struggle to extract from the taxpayers of the colony a million of money, more or less, and how he, by the power that he possessed, and by the knowledge that he had gained in connection with the question, saved the colony of New Zealand the whole of that amount. (Loud applause.) If any man doubted his statement, let him go to every lawyer engaged in the case and ask him what he thought of Mr Seddon and his efforts. Without him the verdict would have been against New Zealand, and the entire colony had much reason to be proud of a man with the ability, courage and determination to fight the battle of the people of the colony and to come out victorious. (I [unclear: oud] applause.) Mr. Seddon's career of ten years as Prime Minister had been a wonderful one in many ways. In some respects it was a romance. He questioned if any man in Australasia holding the same power as the Premier, ever had the same number of appointments to give away, the same number of gifts in his hands to bestow, and it was a proud thing for him (the speaker) to know that he had exercised that vast power with great honour to himself and great credit—and more than that, great benefit—to this colony. He had heard men speak about Mr Seddon's appointments, and speak disparagingly of them; he had heard names sneer at his work, and he had heard them say he was swayed more by personal considerations than by the welfare of the country. He knew something about these appointments, and he said that the statement was absolutely untrue. He remembered on one occasion when the Premier and he were discussing the public appointment of a gentleman in connection with the colony. The gentleman in question had done Mr Seddon some serious damage, and he (the speaker) said to him: "I think the appointment will be satisfactory; but there's the personal equation to be considered. He has not treated you well, and why should you give it to him?" As long as he lived he would never forget Mr Seddon's answer, and it was this, "Macdonald, I have the desire and the welfare of the country first at my heart, and I am big enough to put aside every personal consideration and every personal feeling if I think the appointment is to be good for the people of this colony." (Loud applause.) The men who disparaged him in connection with appointments were not worthy to wipe the honourable gentleman's boots. (Laughter.) He wondered how many of them would have been big enough to have taken that view in respect to a personal and political opponent? He had never forgotten that interview. It was stamped on his mind, and he thought it was a great pity there were not more public men holding such broad views of public duty in New Zealand. He mentioned the interview in connection with such matters, because he wanted to do justice to Mr Seddon who deserved every good word that one had to say. (Applause.) Passing over the Premier's visit to the Mother Country, he would merely say he had been honoured far and away beyond the ordinary lot of men by men of all ranks and all classes, and the people of New Zealand ought to feel that they were greatly honoured in that, because the honours conferred on their public men were conferred on the whole of the people. They were the hall-mark upon the men and upon the people, and New Zealanders, every man and woman amongst them, ought to be proud of the fact that their ambassador, when he left these shores, had always been received with open arms and great honour by those amongst whom he went. (Applause.) He could not pass over his visit to South Africa without a word. Those who had sons and relatives there knew how carefully he watched the progress and career, of every man who went to fight the battle of the Mother Land in that country. They knew better than he (the speaker) could tell them, that he insisted on news being sent to this country as to the doings of every member of the various contingents: and if a lad was wounded, or injured, or sick in any way, his father and mother or nearest relatives were advised instantly about the case. (Hear, hear.) The solicitude and care displayed in connection with these lads, sons of New Zealand, could not have been equalled if he had been their own father. Long after he had passed away his memory would be cherished by hundreds of families for the fatherly and kindly interest he took in those he had been instrumental in sending away. (Applause.) Mr Seddon was known far and wide throughout every part of the civilised globe. He was now known as an Empire-builder. The speaker was amused a few nights ago when he opened a letter from Colombo from a lady who was a passenger by the steamer Bremen. She said. "We had an amusing experience the other day. A large number of so-called ethergrams were posted on board the ship as items of great news to passengers, and amongst them was this:—' King Edward has created the Right Honourable the Premier of New Zealand Lord Kumara.' (Laughter and applause.) The German captain and officers and crew all thought the honourable gentleman was quite entitled to be made a peer of the British realm"—and so, the speaker had no doubt, he was. Well, such a reputation even on the high seas, the reputation which he enjoyed in every city and every town of the United Kingdom, the honours conferred upon him, were all proofs of the great estimation in which he was held. No man of the whole of the self-governing colonies that went to England received so much attention and so much honour as the New Zealand Ambassador. (Loud applause.) "We very gladly—and I say we, the Liberal party of New Zealand—join, on the close of ten years of his Premiership, of his office as Prime Minister, in conveying to him our sincere congratulations and our hope that he may continue for many long years yet to rule over the

destinies of this country and to carry them forward with the same energy and ability and benefit as he has done in the past. (Loud applause.) I have very much pleasure in moving the resolution and the address which I have just read." (Applause.)

Dr Findlay, LL.D., on rising to second the motion, was greeted with applause. He said he had been watching the Premier as he listened to the speech of Mr Macdonald, and he looked like a man who was listening to his health and benediction being performed on a cathedral organ. His voice was not a cathedral organ, and he thought he might merely say a fervent "Amen" to what Mr Macdonald had said of the worthy man whom they were there to honour. A great Shakespearian woman had said of husbands, "It's not a year or two that tries a man. You want longer." (Laughter.) And the same applied to politicians, particularly to them. A wife who had borne her husband's name for ten years could tell all the faults he had, and a great many that he had not. (Laughter.) And the democracy that had had Mr Seddon before its eyes for ten years had done the same thing. That honeymoon which followed the first placing of a politician over the great house or Parliament was a very nice time. He was on his best behaviour then, trying to live up to expectation. He lived on the credit of promises, and of the great reputation he was going to make. But that could not last long, as any other honeymoon could not. It had to go—(laughter)—and Mrs Democracy woke up to the fact that she had not the prize she expected to have. He had not fulfilled her expectations or even lived up to his own promises; and so it was that the occupation of Cabinet rank was so brief in these young colonies, or in any democracy, But they had the fact before them that Mr Seddon had occupied the position of Prime Minister for ten years. In the life of a man that was a long time. In the life of a Cabinet it was a cycle. They had to celebrate that night a record for the whole world in democratic countries, the fact of one man's holding the helm of State for ten years, unbrokenly and with uniform and continuous success. (Applause.) He had been tried by time, and had had upon him the fierce light which beat upon those in high places, and every weakness had been brought out. He remained to-day the same strong, patriotic, unpretentious Richard John Seddon that he was ten years ago. (Applause and a voice: "Amen.") He would not be long. They were there, he took it, to honour the man, if not to praise his performances. They were public property. They all knew of them, and could give him credit for them, but they were present as his friends, to speak to him they admired as a man. There was the great human side of his character that won admiration and affection. Below all his successes and his failures—as his opponents would call them—there remained that true man which had been unspoiled by prosperity and unembittered by abuse. "Hear, hear." His had not been a life of praise. No man would say that for the last ten years he had been fed upon the praise or the adulation of the multitude. He knew that the prominence and permanence of his position would somehow earn him not always thankfulness, but even carping contention and criticism, and at times calumny. But surely, with the record of the last ten years behind him, with the prosperity of the country and the thousands who owed their well-being to his reforms and over and above all to him, would forget his critics and his foes. (Hear, hear). The only charge that could be made against him was that he had too soft a heart. (Applause.) From some knowledge of Mr. Seddon, he felt quite sure he was utterly unfitted for any judicial position on the great day of judgment. (Applause, then laughter.) He would conclude by saying—and there was not one man who could put aside partisanship and party feelings who would not join him—that the deeds, not the words, of the last ten years in the career and achievements of Mr Seddon were the most eloquent, complete and conclusive testimonial which they could give him. (Loud applause.) He had but to point to all that had been done in the last ten years for every class in this great colony to find ample warrant for every word in the address. (Loud applause.) Mr T. B. Williams said that he came

## **The Great Liberal Demonstration in Honour of the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.O., LL.D., Prime Minister of New Zealand.**

### **The Scene in the Wellington Opera House on the Evening of May 2, 1903.**

Brown, photo

## **The Great Liberal Demonstration in Honour of the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon. P.C., LL.D., Prime Minister of New Zealand, 1903.**

### **The Stage of the Wellington Opera House on the Evening Of**

## May 2, 1903.

Brown, photo

from Wanganui, the district which returned the late John Ballance, Mr Seddon's predecessor in the office of Premier and leader of the Liberal party. That evening they had the special privilege and right, through him (the speaker) to convey to the Premier the hearty good wishes of the Liberals of Wanganui.

Mr John Stevens, ex-M.H.R., tendered Mr Seddon his best wishes for his future prosperity. This, he thought, everyone believed the Premier was entitled to, whether they agreed with him politically or not, as a gentleman and as a man of ability, one of the greatest public men that the Southern Hemisphere had ever seen. (Loud applause.) The audience would agree there were many in the colony who should be thankful to him for the masterful way in which he dealt with the finances of the country, and so avert [unclear: a] a disaster similar to that which happened in Victoria. He asked them to throw politics aside, and to honour the man because of his works. (Applause.)

## The Premier

The Premier, on rising, was received with tremendous and continued applause, the vast audience rising en masse, and cheering. He said he felt that for the moment he was unable to do that which they expected of him. He did feel honoured at being in the presence of such an audience and at receiving at their hands the great reception and demonstration accorded (Applause.) There was always a difficulty in speaking of one's self or what one had done, and if in the course of his address he was forced to speak of himself he asked them not to take it that after ten years of office he had become egotistical. On the contrary, he felt then more humbled and less capable of doing justice to that great people and to those present than he did on the day he assumed the Premier ship of the country. (Applause.)

It was a great honour to have received on that and the preceding day telegrams from all parts of the colony, including some from leading men who have sent him to political perdition. (Laughter.) One telegram he had received that night was indicative of the many he had received: "Delighted that your signal services to the colony have been so justly praised as to establish you our Premier in perpetuity." There was a time when he (the speaker) railed at the continuous Ministry, but time was having its revenges. If they only looked at some "Hansards" and read what was said against continuous Ministries by the gentleman who sat there for ten years, he did not know what he could answer except that he was there by the will of the people and what the people willed should be done. (Applause.) He had received a very nice telegram to which he considered he was scarcely entitled: "Congratulations on the completion of ten years arduous services as Prime Minister of New Zealand. My best wishes for many years of life and happiness to yourself and for the continued prosperity of New Zealand.—Chamberlain." (Loud applause.) Considering the questions of moment that occupied the time of that great statesman, he looked upon that as an honour to himself and a desire to pay a tribute to the people of New Zealand. (Hear, hear) He had also received the following telegram—"Hearty congratulation on the attainment of your ten years' Premiership, and all good wishes from self and colleagues.—John See, Premier of New South Wales."

## Looking Backward.

It fell to the speaker to review shortly the past, to deal with those questions that had had to be dealt with during the last ten years. What had been placed on the statute book of the colony spoke for itself, and he had nothing to add to what had been so well said by Mr Macdonald and supplemented by Dr Findlay. He thought the people knew sufficiently well for ten years that the legislation had been in their interests. They know their own position better than he could tell them. If it had been for their good, his services had been cheerfully rendered. (Loud applause) It might be in keeping with the fitness of things if he gave them a few words that he said in his first speech to the New Zealand Parliament. He said: "I stand in a responsible position as the representative, of a class of men who are the first in this colony to whom has been granted the right of manhood suffrage. That responsibility alone ought to have to say because it is an experiment that has been tried since the year 1865. I allude to the Miners' Representation Act, which was passed in that year. That measure gave manhood suffrage to the miners of the colony, and being as I am purely a miners' representative I say that I am responsible to the constituency I represent, which is a very important one." That was some time before manhood suffrage was granted to the people of the colony. The first experiment was on the goldfields, where every holder of a miner's right was entitled to vote. As the representative of that body of men, returned by them to Parliament, he owed a great deal, and if what his services had done was for the good of the people, for the good of the colony, and a little for the Empire, then all credit be given to the good men of the West men to

whom alone manliness is known and who stood by their friends in adversity and prosperity. (Applause.)

## The Premiership.

Coming to the Premiership, he would carry their minds back, and would mention a name which would ever be cherished in this colony—and he was delighted to know that there was a representative of Wanganui present—the name of the late John Ballance. (Applause.) Proceeding to review his own career, Mr Seddon said that he was the only one who had sat continuously in the New Zealand Parliament since the year 1879. He had been under the leadership of Sir George Grey—(applause)—and in a great measure we owed the Liberalism of this colony to that great statesman—(renewed applause)—he had had as leader the late Mr Macandrew, one of the most farseeing men this colony had ever known—(applause)—he had had as a leader the Hon. Mr Montgomery, a good and true Liberal—(applause)—he had had as leader Sir Robert Stout, the present Chief Justice—(applause)—and his next leader was the late Hon. John Ballance. (Applause.) At the time Mr Ballance was called away by death, he (Mr Seddon) received a communication which he had not before given to the people, but which threw a flood of light upon his action in taking the high and responsible position he was asked to take in 1893. The communication was as follows:—

*"You have fairly gained the chance; form Ministry if you can, but good: if not good, have nothing to do with it. Five are enough to start. If there is any difficulty, others will soon join you. You will have an opportunity of greatly serving your fellow-men. Do it. You have the capacity; do not shrink. All you have to do now is to say you will try to form "Ministry and I believe you can.—George Grey."*

(Cheers.) As they knew, it was rumoured at that time that he hesitated, and he then received the following message:—

*"You are acting in a great crisis, such as makes a hero. Act with your Maker for the good of his creatures. What anyone else may say or do is nothing to you. The millions of your fellow-men and their Maker—let these be your thoughts. Be brave, unselfish, gentle, yet resolute for good, Reflect well before acting; gain time for thought. The good will soon gather round you.—George Grey."*

"This, said Mr Seddon. "was on the morning of the 1st May 1893, and that Minister of this country." (Cheers.) The Premier went on to say that it would probably be somewhat interesting if he gave his audience some of the comments of the press at that time (Laughter.) This was one:—"Had anyone a few years back predicted that the rough, little-educated, and excessively talkative member for Westland—(Laughter.)—would be the P[*unclear*: remier] of New Zealand, he would have been scouted as a madman. (Laughter.) Or the science of government, as carried on outside New Zealand, he is as ignorant as a baby." (Renewed laughter.) Another paper said:—"Mr Seddon is stubborn"—("And so he is," interjected the Premier, amidst laughter)—"and now that he is the man in possession, it may be found a very difficult matter to shift him." (Great laughter and cheering.) "That gentleman," remarked Mr Seddon, "realised that weight was bound to tell," (Laughter.) It had taken ten years, continued the Premier, and he had not been shifted yet: and he thought he might fairly claim, taking that vast assemblage as indicative of the feeling throughout the colony, the people did not desire a change. Another writer at that time had said:—"Mr Seddon is a good fighter, but will be a dismal failure as leader. His training is deficient, but his aspirations are good." After ten years had gone, he might say that he had the same aspirations, but he had had ten years' training, and so long as the country had not suffered during that course of training, they could hope for the best. Another newspaper had said:—"Mr Seddon is impossible as Premier. We give him credit for capacity, but we cannot see the statesman in him." The same paper not long ago stated:—"Our Premier is the greatest statesman in Australia—(cheers and laughter)—and has held his own with the statesmen of the Empire." (Cheers.) It was not for him to say one word against those who had opposed him during the struggle of ten years; this was the time, he thought, when, in the words of the poet, he might say:—

"This is not the hour of triumph over beaten foes;

Let the dead past bury its dead"

(Cheers.)

## The Finance for the Year

The opponents of the Government had told them that capital would be driven away, that the population would fly from the country, and that [*unclear*: Jisaste] would occur. Had these prognostications been verified? He intended to give them now the financial results of the year. (Cheers.) They had been told in the days gone by that finance was the weakness of the Liberal party. There was a great deal in that warning, and ever since he had had a seat in Parliament, and so long as he held a seat on the Treasury benches, finance must be the strong point of the Liberal party. A strong finance was essential to the well-being of this country. (Cheers.)

Mr Seddon then announced the revenue results for 1902-1903, as follows:—

The estimate for the year was £6,026,000; the actual receipts, £6,386,609, and the excess of revenue over the estimate £360,609. (Cheers.) The receipts for the previous year amounted to £6,053,070, so that the increase shown in the revenue for the year 1902-1903, as compared with that of the previous year, amounted to £333,539. The result of the year was a surplus of £303,905. (Cheers.) There fore, said the Premier, notwithstanding remissions of taxation, notwithstanding that the Government had not only met the wants and requirements of the country, but had met excessive charges, owing to abnormal conditions, there was a surplus on the year's working of £303,905. (Cheers.) This surplus was made up as follows:—There was a balance last year of £270,489; of this amount £200,000 had been transferred to the Public Works Fund, and this left a balance of £70,489. The total receipts for the year were £6,447,435, and the total expenditure £6,214,019, the balance in favour of receipts being therefore £233,416, and this, added to the £70,489 left after deduction of transfer to the Public Works Fund left on the 31st March a surplus of £303,905. (Cheers.) The present Ministry was a Ministry of surpluses. In 1893-94 the Government started with a net surplus of £256,459, and the surpluses in the ten years had amounted in the net to a sum of £3,195,143, and in the gross to £3,769,419. The following are the figures showing the surpluses for the ten years:—

[The sum of £3,195,143 represents the net surplus only, and does not include the surplus brought over in the balance from year to year.]

The Premier went on to say that those who asserted that finance was a weakness of the Liberal party, he referred to these ten years of surpluses; and so far as he could see, he would say, without undue optimism, that we should have another good round surplus this year. (Cheers.) What had been kept from the people of this country was the fact that during the ten years, the Government had transferred to the Public Works fund for development purposes the sum of £3,175,000. (Applause.) In other words. If the Government had expended the same amount of loan money on works and development, the people would have had to find in round numbers £100,000 in the way of interest. As it was, the fact that these works were done out of revenue stood to our credit as a self-contained country. In none of the other colonies was such information given to the people as he was giving that evening. If they took the credit of the country, they found that our 4 per cents in 1893 stood at 103¾: last month our 4 per cents, notwithstanding the depression that existed at Home in the money market, stood at 107—(cheers)—or 2¼ better than they were in 1893. Our 3½ per cents in 1893 stood in the month of April last they stood at 103, or 5½ better than in 1893. He quoted these figures to show that our country's credit was not suffering as the result of the Liberal party's being in power. There had been an increase in the receipts during the ten years of £1,119,000, and there was a difference between our expenditure and receipts of something like £38,000; so that, when they heard it said outside, "All right, we admit that there has been an increase in receipts, but what about the increase in expenditure." the answer was that the expenditure was lower than the receipts, and on that ground we are on the safe side of the ledger. (Applause.)

Mr Seddon quoted the following figures showing the increases under the headings mentioned in the ten years from 1802 to 1902:—

Continuing, he said that if they took this great city of Wellington, they found that there had been an increase of population of 11,532; that the capital value had increased by £5,069,911 and the unimproved value by £3,150,096—or an increase in the city of Wellington of nearly a million per annum, and if they took this as indicative of what had been going on in the other parts of the colony, he said they were the best judges of the result of the ten years' reign of the Liberal party, with himself as leader. (Cheers.)

The following comparative statement showing the receipts of the Consolidated Fund for 1902, as compared with those of 1892-93, was quoted from by Mr Seddon:—

Judging, therefore, from the financial results, and judging from every fact which should be known and observed in dealing with this question, he heartily congratulated this colony and its people upon the improved conditions which prevailed. (Cheers.)

## Liberal Legislation.

Who was there who would go back to the property tax in lieu of the land and income tax? Who would advocate now the repeal of the Act dealing with coal and gold mines—that measure concerning which Sir George Grey had said, in one of his telegrams, "Bring in the Coal Mine Bill," because he desired that for the lives of the men engaged in coal mines the owners should, prima facie, be held responsible should accidents occur. This was the first Act passed under "which the hours of labour were fixed at eight hours. (Applause.) He had always said, Give a man eight hours' work; let him have heart for his work; pay him a fair day's wage, and it was to the interest of the employer. (Applause.) Who was there who dared to propose that we should repeal the legislation which gave the franchise to the women of this colony? (Applause.) He had not met a candidate or a politician or a canvasser yet who had dared to say that this privilege should be taken from them. He wanted

to ask this question. Could they show where woman had been untrue to the great responsibility cast upon her? In the legislation of which we boasted, in that great social advancement we had made—more particularly in that beneficent legislation, the Old Age Pensions Act—he would say that the women were behind all that, and he would say more—that in respect of progressive measures, in respect of that which is for the good of the lives of others, women were keener and more determined than the lords of creation. (Laughter and applause.) In regard to labour legislation, Mr Seddon referred to the threatened strike in Glasgow and the struggle in Victoria, and to labour troubles in France and America, and said that in New Zealand we could look on with calm placidity, working as we did under our present law. The demands of the workmen had been fairly met, and he declared that employers and capital had never been safer than at the present moment in our country. (Cheers.) If this legislation had increased the workers' wages, he asked this question. Had it done any harm to the employer? The latter's property, his machinery, his profits, and his stability, were better to-day than in the days of low wages, with a strike inevitable. (Cheers.) Had that legislation brought down the value of properties in this country or stopped industry? The answer must be No. It was inevitable that in a country where high wages were paid, the people would be in a condition of advancement and prosperity. They wanted harmony to reign, and he declared that the employer had nothing to fear from the Liberal party, and that the worker also might rest assured that the protection given him in the past would be continued. (Cheers.) Speaking in reference to the old age pension scheme, the Premier said that last year it had cost in round numbers £203,000, and this year it might cost another £5000 or £6000. He had said that there would be a time in the history of the scheme when its expense would be at a standstill, at the period before the younger people would become entitled to the pension, and he believed that in the coming year the cost would not be more than £6000 more than that of last year. And what had the old age pension done? It had removed anguish; it had given joy, and it had given us the consolation of knowing that our deserving aged should not want for the necessaries of life. (Cheers.) There had been no increase of taxation necessary, such as they had been warned would be the case. His worthy colleague was present. Sir Joseph Ward. (Cheers.) We had had the penny postage. (Renewed cheering.) They had been told that financial disaster would result from that, but he believed that to-day our revenue was almost as good as when the postage was on the old lines.

## **The Cable Question.**

In regard to the Pacific cable. Mr Seddon pointed out that the British Government had joined with Canada, Australia and New Zealand in getting this improved means of communication and he declared that we must stand by that contract. What had happened in another colony was a matter of sincere regret. It might be that an extra call would fall upon this colony over this question. What the Eastern Company was doing, those engaged in the management of the other company must do—they must look for their business and obtain the trade, and his information was that no loss would result to the country.

## **The Cook Islands.**

Speaking of the Cook Islands, Mr Seddon spoke of the time when Sir Julius Vogel and the then Premier, Sir Robert Stout, were ready to go by steamer to annex Samoa, when they were stopped by a message from Downing street. Where, asked Mr Seddon, is Samoa today? One portion had gone to Germany and the other to America. He held, in regard to Greater New Zealand, that the expansion of our boundaries was an advantage to us, not only from the sordid view of trade, but from the national standpoint, for he maintained that we had a right to select our neighbours. It was much better to have these islands forming part of New Zealand than that they should be held by a foreign Power. Those islands were capable of great development. There were tons and tons of tropical fruits wasted annually which ought to go to the children of the workers of this colony for their good. They ought to be within reach of the men, women and children of this colony, and not be left to a select few. He had no doubt that when the members who were now on the island trip returned to the colony, and when the people had more information, the carping critics would come to the conclusion that the right thing had been done in the annexation of these islands. We had just had accomplished the extension of the boundaries of the city of Wellington. It was a wise thing to have this Greater Wellington, and to have a greater and wider municipal life—of which there was not enough in New Zealand. We wanted in this country a wider freedom, a wider franchise in the municipalities, with the power of self-government in the hands of the people, and what applied to the cities in this respect applied to the extension of the boundaries of our colony. (Applause.)

## **Imperial Questions.**

Mr Seddon dealt with the work of the Premiers' Conference, and said the Pacific cable was one of the results of the conference in the Jubilee year. It was there carried that this partnership should be entered into as

between the Imperial Government and the dominions of Britain over the seas. This was only the commencement; there ought to be other partnerships. It was to the advantage of our kindred at Home and the colonies that the colonies should feed our kindred in the united Kingdom. He was not satisfied that it was altogether the trade following the flag: but he did know that the trade followed the ships, and in this respect we could take a leaf out of the book of other nations. We did not speak in any way derogatory to these other nations: what they were doing said a great deal for their intelligence. They fully subsidised steamers for the carriage of their goods to British communities. Their system of trade meant that the Mother Country was losing her trade with her kindred who desired to give it to her; and that she would have to depart from the old worn-out ruts, abandon the threadbare Practices, and come into line with the advance of her colonies. At the last conference a resolution was passed urging upon the Imperial Government and the colonies to subsidise steamers to carry British goods to British communities (Applause.) He had been called a dictator because he had set his face against federation with Australia, saying that we must work for our own destinies. (Applause.) Who was there now in the colony, he asked, who demanded federation with Australia? (Applause.)

Dealing with the future, Mr Seddon said that one of the questions which had been of importance for the good of this country, and had contributed to our great prosperity, had been the settlement of the people upon the land of the colony. (Cheers.) The subdivision of large estates must continue: it must, in his opinion, increase in rapidity. (Cheers.) We must not let our men and women leave these shores to seek land in Canada and other parts of the world. The land was here, and the people must be put upon the land. (Cheers.) They must be put upon the land on such conditions as would give them a fair division of profits as between themselves and the State, which was to be the landlord. If it meant increasing the responsibilities of the people in this respect they got more in the way of security than they advanced. It was golden-edged security that the colony received. (Cheers.) They heard people talking about the increased indebtedness who yet refrained from mentioning the security. As for the security in respect [unclear: to] the advances to set t[unclear: i]ers, he maintained that if the Government had adopted another policy, and if a lending board had been established and the moneys raised in that way, there would never have been a word about it; but under the present system, the control was kept in the hands of the people and he held that it must remain there, for to place it in the hands of anyone else would, in his opinion, be a danger to the State. He trusted the people, and he declared that the people in respect of this were safe, and that the moneys advanced were so advanced to those who would repay the interest. When he told them that in respect of these loans under the Land for Settlements Act we had to-day over £80,000 to the good—(cheers)—they would see that there could not possibly be the slightest loss to the country. To some extent he differed from the labour unions in regard to the question of an increased population. They had an erroneous idea that by an increase in population their position as workers is impeded. This was fallacy. (Hear, hear) The more population there was the better the position of the workers (Applause.) When an increasing population was placed upon the land it meant [unclear: ui] that that gave work to the workers in the towns: and if the country was prosperous the town was prosperous also. The great thing was to have an increased population, and to have our market within our own boundaries. What other markets, he asked, could the farmers of New Zealand have than the markets of New Zealand? There was no shib necessary, no freight to pay, and no control by middlemen. England and Scotland had a population of 40,000,000; New Zealand, with the same area, had a population of 800,000. He held that we wanted more population; but he was not in favour of immigration or any other means than the means of attraction for bringing people to our shores. (Cheers.) Let them come here gradually, and the numbers of those who were attracted here would rapidly increase. During last year the increase was over 20,000, and during the last three or four months it had been at the rate of 2000 a month.

## Trusts and Combines.

We must encourage our local industries, continued the Premier. We had now raising its head in this country the element of trusts and combines. Off that head must go. (Cheers.) There would be a struggle; but the people would prevail. They would notice that America was grappling with this question, and that Austria was endeavouring to deal with it by way of regulation; and next session one of the most important questions we should have to deal with would be that of legislating against those persons who combined to fix what they should give the farmer, or what a man should pay for a loaf of bread. (Cheers.) There was any amount yet to do, and he hoped to see that upon the statute book in the near future which would also be copied by other countries.

## The Question of Education.

The Premier went on to say that he was not satisfied that in our public schools to-day the existing curriculum was what required. He was afraid that there was time lost—valuable time, which ought to be spent in other ways, and that the curriculum required to go under review. Then, in respect to endowments, he pointed

out that farseeing statesmen of the past had given large grants of land for educational purposes, and he asked who were receiving the advantage of these endowments to-day? He regretted that some portions had been set aside for primary education: he would rather have seen the cost of primary education kept upon the people. This was all that the masses of the country got for the large sums that they paid in the shape of indirect taxation. (Hear, hear.) Visiting some of the secondary schools, he had found children there of eight, nine and ten years who could not pass the third standard. He was told that their parents paid the fees; but as half the amount involved came from these endowments, it followed that they were using these endowments for the education of children of tender years. The land had been set apart for the education of the people, and it ought to be available for that. This matter required to be carefully gone into, and the moneys received from these endowments ought to be expended not for the benefit of a select few, but for the advantage of the children of New Zealand. (Applause.) He would like to see the most brainy boys and girls whose parents were not richly endowed with this world's goods brought from the public schools to the high schools and from the high schools to the university. He would be asked, Did not scholarships do this? and his answer was, No. It often happened that boys and girls, owing to the position of their parents, were unable to remain at the schools beyond the fifth standard. We and others in that audience had met boys and girls head and shoulders above their fellows taking all before them as far as the fifth standard, and then the circumstances of their parents came in, and they had to go to work. There ought to be a condition of things obtaining which would enable these boys and girls to go on to the sixth standard, and from that point to the high school. It ought not to be a question of fees: they ought to be in the high school, and have their board and lodging paid. (Applause.) Let this be paid out of the lands of the people, which had been set apart for that purpose. Upon education the great future of this colony depended. If we were to fight against other nations, we must have these educational facilities. Let them not forget that the safety of the democracy, the safety of our country, depended upon the education of the young. (Applause.) We must, he claimed, remove some of the difficulties now existing, and go on in the path so well marked out for us by the statesmen of the past.

It has been said that he had no constructive ability. He claimed nothing: but he could, at all events, reasonably say that they had heard of progressive legislation which had been foreshadowed in the past but had never found its way on to the statute book, and he could claim that during his ten years of office what he and his party had advocated had become law, and there had been laws passed for the good of the people which had not been dreamed of in the highest flights of fancy by the statesmen of the past. There had also been questions of Imperial importance dealt with. Some had said, Let Mr Seddon meet the Statesmen of the Empire, and then you will realise what a poor representative you have sent. (Laughter.) It was not for him to express an opinion; but when the time came that the history of this country was to be written, all he asked was that the credit should be given to the people—to those in Parliament, and to his colleagues who, during the last ten years, had helped to place these laws upon the statute book of this country. (Applause.) After a reference to the South African war, and the part which the New Zealand soldiers had played in that conflict, Mr Seddon assured his audience that while he had health and strength he would continue to do his best for the people of this colony. He impressed upon them the importance of a true humanity, the true happiness of those around them, and said that the Liberal party would continue to be actuated by the desire to do what was best in the interests of the people of this country (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr Quick formally put the resolution to the meeting, which adopted the same by acclamation, the vast audience, accompanied by the band, striking up the time-honoured tune, "For he's a jolly good fellow!" There were cheers given for Mr Seddon, and three for Mrs Seddon.

Mr Seddon then moved votes of thanks to Mr Quick, for presiding at the meeting, and to the committee which managed so well the function. Mr Quick returned thanks on behalf of the committee and himself.

The strains of God Save the King by the band brought the vast audience to its feet, the National Anthem being sung with great spirit by all present, and with the loyal refrain in their ears, the great gathering slowly dispersed, many remaining behind for a few minutes to tender their personal congratulations to the Right Hon. the Premier.

## **Special Congratulatory Telegrams,**

### **Sent to the Rt. Hon. the Premier and read to the Meeting.**

## **From the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies.**

Seddon, Wellington.

Congratulations on completion of 10 years' arduous service as Prime Minister of New Zealand. My best wishes for many years of life and happiness to yourself and for continued prosperity to New Zealand.

Chamberlain, London.

## **From the Rt. Hon. Charles C. Kingston, P.C., Federal Minister of Customs, Australian Commonwealth.**

Rt. Hon. R. Seddon, Wellington.

Hearty congratulations, on 10 years' Premiership.

C. C. Kingston,  
Newcastle.

## **From Hon. Sir John See, Premier of New South Wales.**

Hearty congratulations on attainment of your 10 years' Premiership and all good wishes from self and colleagues.

John See, Premier,

Sydney.

In addition to the above over three hundred telegrams and letters were received by the Chairman of the Meeting, the Chairman of the General Committee and the Secretary from the citizens of each City of the Colony, from many branches of the Liberal and Labour Federation, and various Trades Unions and other Societies, congratulating the Rt. Hon. the Premier or apologising for not being able to be present.

## **Mr. Seddon At Home.**

Left to right standing—MRS. MORICE, MASTER STUART, MISS MAY, CAPTAIN SEDDON, MISS SEDDON, (MARY STUART), MASTER TOM.

Left to right sitting—MRS. DYER, MRS. SEDDON, THE RT. HON. THE PREMIER, MRS. BEAN.

In fore-ground—MISS RUBI SEDDON.

*(Photo by Hermann, Wellington)*

## **The Seddon Cabinet, 1903.**

Left to right. Standing—HON. T. Y. DUNCAN, (Minister of Lands and Agriculture)

Sitting—HON. C. H. MILLS, (Commissioner of Trade and Customs).

HON. JAMES CARROLL (Native Minister and Commissioner for Stamp Duties.)

HON. W. C. WALKER, C.M.G., Minister for Education and Immigration)

RIGHT HON. R. J. SEDDON, P.C. L.L.D., PREMIER, Colonial Treasurer, Minister of Defence and Labour.

Hon. SIR J. G. WARD, K.C.M.G., Minister for Railways, Industries, Commerce and Public Health, Colonial

Secretary, Postmaster General and Commissioner of Electric Telegraphs.

HON. W. HALL-JONES, Minister for Public Works and Marine.

HON. JAS. MCGOWAN, MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND MINES.

(*Hermann Photo.*)

(*Editorial from The New Zealand Times, May 4, 1903.*)

THERE is in connection with the "record Premiership" of New Zealand one fact more remarkable than the long, unbroken tenure of the office, and that is the constant and unshaken regard of the people for the man upon whom they have conferred the highest position in their gift. The secret of this is not far to seek. Mr Seddon is himself a son of the people; he has shared their toils, their difficulties, their thoughts; hence he has been quick to appreciate their needs and desires, prompt, energetic and skilful in giving effect to their wishes in his legislative and administrative acts. There has thus been set up a bond of perfect sympathy between Premier and people, which no amount of detraction has destroyed, and which all the efforts of keen political opponents have been unable to weaken. The demonstration of Saturday evening in the Opera House was a spontaneous and unmistakable tribute to a staunch democrat—a New Zealand patriot first and an Imperialist after—from a public that has watched his career without any of the glamour and enchantment lent by distance. It has been the fashion in some quarters to allege that whatever might be Mr Seddon's popularity in other centres, the people of Wellington had lost or were losing faith in him as their political leader. The enormous and enthusiastic meeting in celebration of his ten year's' Premiership constitutes a triumphant reply to this statement. It was a "record" recognition of a "record" achievement, and was a striking proof that our democracy is not so "fierce and fickle" in its treatment of representative men as is sometimes asserted to be the case. It was a demonstration in every way worthy of the great occasion, and while no doubt gratifying to Mr Seddon, it reflects credit upon those who took part in it, proving that popular gratitude is no myth, but that, on the contrary, the public are ready to give all honour and recognition to those who labour for the good of the State. The complimentary speeches delivered and the formal address presented were all excellent in tone, and Mr Seddon's reply was marked by dignity, self-restraint and good taste. In the recital of the progressive measures passed into law, and of the splendid prosperity enjoyed by New Zealand during the past ten years, there was not the slightest trace of undue adulation or of vainglorious boasting, nor was there a jarring note struck to wound the susceptibilities of those who may differ from the political principles to which Mr Seddon has shown such consistent adherence. The plain facts, as set forth, are, indeed, more eloquent and convincing than any amount of panegyric could have proved; and the best testimony to the connection between the legislation and the prosperity is the knowledge that nearly every one of the progressive measures was, when first introduced, denounced on many hands as likely to bring financial difficulties and other troubles upon the colony, while now these measures are praised by those who formerly opposed them. A notable feature about the gathering was the reading of the congratulatory messages to the Premier from the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. This was an official recognition of Mr Seddon's Imperial Services, and formed the complement of the popular demonstration. Liberals all over New Zealand, and, indeed, all who love their country and desire to see it prosper, will rejoice that the people of Wellington have so worthily celebrated the ten years' Premiership, and so enthusiastically honoured the man whose steady hand has steered the ship of State during a decade of unexampled progress. We cordially wish Mr Seddon many more years of labour as the People's Premier.

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Photograph of R. J. Seddon on a pennant

Pre-Sessional Address And Policy Speech By The Right Hon. R. J. Seddon P.C., LL.D., Delivered at Wellington, 26th June, 1904.

THE RIGHT HON. THE PREMIER delivered a pre-sessional address in the Victoria Hall on Saturday evening, June 26th, 1904. The Hall was packed to the doors, many finding only standing room, Mr Seddon had a most enthusiastic reception.

The chair was occupied by the Rev. B.L. Thomas, who said that all hoped, however much they might differ in political opinions and in the science of citizenship, that the Premier would still have a long political life to continue his [unclear: splendid] work on behalf of the average man of this colony. The Premier's latest scheme, contained in his splendid memorandum for infant-life protection, was further testimony of the breadth of his humanity and the largeness of his heart, (Aplause).

## The Premier's Address.

The Premier, who on rising to speak was received with [unclear: longed] applause, said he wished first of all to sincerely [unclear: thank] those who were present that evening to meet him [unclear: and] honour him by their presence. It was always the un[unclear: expected] which happened. He undertook to say that

*unclear*: eight] hours previously there had not been a single individual [*unclear*: in] the city of Wellington or district of Newtown who would [*unclear*: save] said that Mr Seddon would have been present on that [*unclear*: platform] addressing that vast assemblance. A week previously [*unclear*: then] he landed in Wellington, he had not thought it possible [*unclear*: himself], but he had done well during the week, and it was [*unclear*: considered] by his colleagues and himself also that it was [*unclear*: important] the Ministry should speak to the people of the colony [*unclear*: on] the eve of the session, and it meant that he was speaking [*unclear*: not] only to that audience, but to the people of the colony, [*unclear*: and] to others elsewhere in the Empire. (Applause). It [*unclear*: was] necessary in the interests of the people of this country that he should speak, and with no uncertain sound, in respect [*unclear*: of] many matters of great moment to the country. For [*unclear*: one] weeks past they had had the Opposition pompoms: [*unclear*: they] had had some big guns—nay, there had been "double-*unclear*: Lied] business "here in Wellington—(laughter and [*unclear*: use])—and in the course of a few days, after the session [*unclear*: and] commenced, and it would then have been impossible for any speech to be made in public by a Minister, their opponents would simply have said, "The Government have no answer to the impeachment of the Opposition, and this is why they are silent." So long, however, as he could speak in defence of that which was right and for good of country nothing would keep him from so doing. (Applause).

## A Good Record.

He and his colleagues, looking at the criticism carried over a period of nearly fourteen years—including twelve years of Premiership—should feel fattered, and feel proud of such a record, when so little could be said against them. (Applause). And what had been said adversely had been said against their methods, but as far as the policy was concerned which the Government inaugurated, and which had been carried out, in respect especially of legislation which had been placed upon the statute book of this colony, it was a bright moment in his life that he was able to stand there and say, looking at the speeches delivered in all parts of the colony, that he found not a single voice urging the repeal of a single measure that his Government had passed. (Cheers). He was delighted to know—and this from the representations of their doponente—that our country was prosperous, that our people were happy; and he had been proud to hear from the leader of the Opposition that there were some good Liberals in the Opposition ranks. The leader of the Opposition prided himself upon that fact; perhaps he thought that some time or other a little leaven would leaven the whole, and bring them back to the true Liberals of this country—the present Government and those who supported them. (Cheers).

## A Personal Note.

"I would like at the same time to say," continued the Premier, "not only for the present Opposition, but each and every member of the New Zealand Parliament who has taken the platform, that they have expressed to myself personally every kind wish and heart's desire for my recovery. (Cheers). That, ladies and gentlemen, is going in the direction I have long sought and prayed for—namely, that whilst men and women may differ conscientiously on matters of public import, those political differences should not create private emnity or ill-will." (Cheers), In the address be delivered that night, there would not be one unkind word, or even one unkind thought, respecting those who differed, and who would differ, from that which he believed to be in the best interests of our country; but what he conceded to them he claimed for his colleagues and himself. He claimed for those who were supporting the Government, and who would continue to support the Government, because they supported the right—he claimed for them the same privileges that they conceded to others. (Cheers).

## An "Exhausted" House.

They had been told, and almost with parrot-like reiteration, that the important business of the session had been kept back to the last, and that it was legislation by exhaustion. "Oh!" said Mr Seddon, "I do smile when I read that. Did any of you, ladies and gentlemen, who were in the galleries and looked down at the fights going on towards the end of last session, see any signs of exhaustion? What is to exhaust these unfortunate legislators, I should like to know? There is a beautiful library; there are well-furnished rooms, settees, and so on; there is a place called Bellamy's—(laughter and applause)—there are tea-rooms—(renewed laughter)—in fact, they never have such a time during the whole year as they have then. A member touches a bell, and a messenger comes. 'what can I do for you?' he asks. 'I want a book from the library—So-and-So, and So-and-So.' 'Thank you sir,'

and away he goes. Or 'I want a cup of tea,' and away he goes. The increased length of the session, ladies and gentlemen, may be accounted for by the fact that members do not like to leave Wellington." (Laughter). If anyone would read the history of the bills introduced during last session, he would find that in debate after debate the members of the Opposition—aye, and some of the members on the Government side of the House—who complained of this exhaustion had said that these measures were so important that they needed further time to consider them, and had asked him to defer them until a later period in the session. He had thought they were sincere, and had deferred them. But those members had been trying to kill the Bills with kindness. They had hoped, by getting them held over until towards the end of the session, to block them, and thus prevent them from ever getting on the statute-book. If, under those circumstances, the Government had been able to pass legislation which the colony almost unitedly declared was for the good of the colony, even a few hours late did not matter. Those who stayed during the late hours were not the members who were complaining. They had in the House those whom he called "Midnight homers." (Laughter). They talked to the galleries in the afternoon and in the evening, and then when it came to about eleven o'clock or a little after, they were running all over the House to get pairs, so that they might go home, the result being that other members had to stay and do the work of the country. He was afraid that if it were not so, there would not be much work done.

## Early Hours Proposed.

However, he had looked into this question, and so had his colleagues. They were in Wellington, and it was their duty to see that the business of the country, which should be a first duty with members, was done. He had been told that the late sittings had had a great deal to do with his illness. Under the circumstances, he thought he could claim to be exempt from these late sittings. He would give a trial to the early closing movement—(applause)—and if members were sitting in Wellington the whole year round, they could blame the early closing movement for it. (Laughter). They were told that the session lasted four months now. What about that, if the business required to be done? Members were paid a salary of £300 a year, and when that Act was being passed one of the strongest arguments advanced in its favour was that the country would be able to claim this service from them when it paid them a yearly salary, (A voice: "Quite right," and applause.) Formerly members were paid two hundred guineas for the session, and the sessions then did not last very long. Far be it from him to cast a reflection, for he claimed that in New Zealand we had the most straight forward, energetic, intelligent and unselfish men who ever represented a people within the great British Empire. (Applause). The coming session would be like the sessions which preceded it. There would probably be a debate on the Address-in Reply. Last session three weeks had been taken in debating that address. There were gives to private members in the first six weeks, two nights every week, so that for the first six weeks of the session the Government had only twelve nights in which to do their business. He did not wish to cast a reflection upon the Bills of private members. It often happened that a Bill introduced by a private member, having been debated, and considered by the people, ultimately became law. As was always the case, the Government had to perfect such Bills, and place them upon the statute-book; but he did not complain, and he held that those who said that the six weeks of the session were wasted in which the Bills of private members were discussed were doing an injustice to private members and to the representatives of this colony. When the grass was green, and the spring had advanced, members would homeward hie, rejoicing and blaming the Premier for having kept them a week or two longer. He had very broad shoulders, however, and as someone had to take the blame, he accepted it. (Laughter).

## Land Tenure.

He next came to the leasehold *versus* the freehold. This was a matter so momentous in its scope and so far-reaching that to remain silent upon it would be criminal. In a flippant manner, which would do credit to a debater in a mock parliament, they had heard it said that every Crown tenant should have the right to make the land he occupied his freehold. As to the effect, there had never been any attempt to place before them either the necessity therefor or what the effect would be if granted. He believed he would be able to convince them, and the vast majority of the people of this country, that those who were advocating this proposal were advocating what, in some respects, was immoral. (Applause). They were advocating the annulment of a contract entered into with the people of this country, and they were advocating that which, if given effect to, meant that no poor man in this country would be able in future to go upon the land. (Applause). He asked them to bring this question to its logical conclusion, and if all Crown tenants were to have the right—and at any time they wished

to exercise it—to the freehold, why not the tenants of corporation? (Hear, hear). Why not the tenants of the Harbour Boards and of the Education Boards? It meant the sweeping away of all endowments for charitable, educational or other purposes, because those lands were as much the lands of the people as the lands which were held directly from the Crown, (Applause). Going farther and sweeping away all tenants of Government, Education Boards, and public bodies, why did not Mr Massey say there should be no tenant at all, and that every tenant of a private owner should have the right of purchase? It was the logical out-come of what they had heard and read so much about and which, up to the present moment, had never been fairly tackled. There were some people so infatuated about it that it would not surprise him if they brought in a Bill that would deprive any man of his property, and would make it criminal [unclear: or] any man to let his private property and deprive a man of [unclear: s] liberty who happened to be a tenant in this country [unclear: e] would show them the financial and other effects that [unclear: their] proposals to give to all State tenants the right to make [unclear: their] leaseholds freeholds—in other words, to abolish by [unclear: purchase] the leasehold—would have. The following table [unclear: wed] the capital value and the annual rental payable on [unclear: own] lands occupied by Crown tenants at 31st March, [unclear: 1803]:—

[unclear: the] total value of land held by the tenants of the Crown [unclear: mounted] to £5,189,184. This included lands held under [unclear: perpetual] lease, lease in perpetuity, under occupation with [unclear: the] right of purchase, small grazing runs, the Cheviot estate, [unclear: it]. The figures given represented only the value of the land [unclear: in] the time it was rented from the Crown. What was the [unclear: interest] of the Crown in that land to-day? It was at least 33 [unclear: per] cent more. That made a total of no less than £7,000,000 [unclear: involved] in what was so flippantly referred to as "Give all the [unclear: crown] tenants the rights of the freehold!" How much of the [unclear: £]7,000,000 or £8,000,000 could those Crown tenants find? A [unclear: small] percentage. If, as the Leader of the Opposition and [unclear: others] alleged they could find a large proportion of it, then it would be said that they had done very well indeed. ([unclear: Applause].) He was sure this Parliament would never sanction [unclear: anything] which would confiscate actual rights, or be a party [unclear: in] a breach of contract. He knew there were advanced [unclear: thinkers] amongst them, and some who went so far as to say [unclear: that] the contract should be voided. For the time people had [unclear: required] rights under the laws of the land, and to take those [unclear: rights] from them would be wrong, improper and unconsti[unclear: tutional]. If they were to claim the right to annul to suit their [unclear: Co]nvenience, then where would they get to? He was an [unclear: advanced] Radical, but very conservative where solemn [unclear: eng]agements had been entered into by the State. It was [unclear: kite] another matter where a road or a railway was wanted, land for public works. He would never be any party in any legislation which would break the original lease or give the lease lesser value. (Applause.) As to the future, then the will of the people must be given effect to, whatever it might be, as lands became less plentiful and reasons became very stringent. It was a matter for Parliament to determine. The taking away of this £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 as at present invested would mean a financial crisis in the colony, the effect of which no one could foresee. To take £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 at the present time invested in industries, in financial institutions or otherwise, and divert that entirely for the purpose of handing it to the State for the freehold of the land would mean increasing the rate of interest and would mean that the farmers themselves could not be given at all times the advances they wished and desired, and that would be a party to their own financial ruin. (Applause.) Why? Because when the Government borrowed in the colony only £500,000, the leader of the Opposition and his friends told them that this action tended to increase the rate of interest ruling in the colony. If Mr Masney honestly believed that, why did he not ask himself what was going to happen if £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 were diverted. (Applause.) Again, the Government had borrowed the money for the Land for Settlements Act. The lease was given as security to the Government, and the first security was the land itself. Were they to break faith with the mortgagee? Did Mr Duthie, or the Opposition, or anyone who contended that the freehold Ought to be given to the Crown tenants, propose that the money received should be utilised for the purpose of reducing the public debt? No; they had not gone into the matter at all carefully; they had not seen what they were doing; it was a case of the blind leading the blind: they were on the verge of an abyss; and if what these gentlemen proposed were to be done, it would be disastrous to the very people themselves who were urging the giving of the freehold to Crown tenants, (Applause.) He came to another phase of the question. The annual rentals received from Crown tenants amounted to £247,000. If the freehold was acquired, the Government would no longer be receiving that. It meant that the taxation of the country should be increased to the extent of that £247,000, if the public finances were to be kept in the position they were in to-day. In other words, those tenants who had no reason to complain at the present time were to cause this financial disturbance, to force the Government to increased taxation and into repudiation. He used the term repudiation advisedly, because, although the land for settlements loan was only one-half the amount he had mentioned—other tenants were upon what was called Crown leases—still the Government had pledged the credit of the colony as general and collateral security for that money, and the two could not be separated. He asked if there had been good reasons given for the

important changes so flippantly urged? Some of the members who favoured the freehold qualified their attitude. They were not prepared to give to the Crown tenants the accrued interest of the Crown, which he had told them might be put down at between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000; they were not prepared to make a present of that. There were eighteen thousand Crown tenants, and when another measure was to come forward adjusting how the freehold was to be given and the conditions thereof, he did not think ten members would be found in the House, including the leader of the Opposition himself, who would advocate so immoral a proposal as to take £2,000,000 belonging to the people of this country and make a present of that sum to eighteen thousand Crown tenants. (Applause.) Then there were other grounds which would give rise no doubt to lengthy debate if the matter ever came before the House during the coming session in any practical shape. What, he asked, was the mind of the people as a whole in the colony on the question? That was the question that must be settled. Was there a mandate at the last general election that all Crown tenants must be given the right of the freehold at the value at which they took up the land? There was no such mandate, and he held that without such a mandate it would be fatal for any House to attempt such a change. It would be acting in contravention of our constitution as against the will of the people, and he for one said, no matter what the consequences might be, and he said it with all the force he could bring to bear, "Let this be determined by the people of our country. To their wisdom I am prepared to bow, but I am not prepared to bow when this is simply used as a party cry and for party purposes." (Applause.) He said that this was a cunning device of the money lenders. (Hear, hear,) Had they not had to keep their farmers out of the clutches of the money-lenders? Did they not have to pass the Advances to Settlers Act and give them cheap money? Had the State under the improved conditions of its land laws not been helping its own tenants? At the present time the rate of interest is at least 5 per cent., and had the State not given its own tenants the capital value of their lands at four per cent? And yet they were coolly asked, to the extent of seven millions of money, to hand over the farmers of this country to the money-lender. They must help the farmers even in such cases against themselves. If there were conditions on tenants which were irritating them, then such irritating conditions should be removed. If it was a question of borrowing money and there were difficulties in the way, and the tenants urged that they could not borrow as well as they could if they had the freehold, then the Advances to Settlers Act was there, and the State must lend to its own tenants at the same rates—and less, if necessary—than they could get elsewhere. His own opinion was that there might be some little ground for complaint, but it was quite a different matter to change the entire policy of the Government—the policy of the country. The late Hon. William Rolleston, the father of our Liberal land legislation, in his speech on the Lands for Settlement Act, said, "Let the two systems run concurrently—leasehold and freehold," Their tenants had done well under existing conditions. Our country had prospered, settlement had prospered, and whilst they were enjoying this prosperity, and men had been lifted from penury to an independent position, many having the means of buying out their own lands, then if they looked back to the time when they went upon the land they should be the last to deny to others that which had given themselves—an independent position. They must adhere to the leasehold principle. He claimed the land to be the property of the people. They had had quite enough experience in the past of large estates and freeholds getting into the hands of a powerful few, and after they had got this beneficial legislation, some were asking to repeal it and to undo all that had been done. He saw the other day that Ireland was brought in as an argument. It was very funny, but when they could get nothing else somehow or another they went to dear old Erin and brought it in as an example. (Laughter,) It was said that if the tenants in Ireland had only had the freehold! If the tenants in Ireland had the same conditions, the nine-hundred-and-ninety-nine years' lease, as in New Zealand, Ireland would be a glorious country. There would be no agrarian troubles; there would be no reason why thousands of their kindred should be driven from Ireland to seek their homes in foreign lands. So sure as those men who were advocating this change became the dominant party in this country, so sure they would return to that state of depression when they had soup kitchens and shelter-sheds. And yet the found men returned as Liberals—and Liberalism meant liberal land laws and putting the people on the land—coolly advocating a change. He could not, consistently with other matters he desired to speak on, deal further with this question, but he desired to draw their attention to this fact: The party that was advocating now the rights of the freehold being conveyed to the State tenants was the very party that a few years ago, so as to be able to send a few extra bags of maize to Australia, would have handed the colony over as part and parcel of the Commonwealth. The party who urged and demanded federation because they said there would be a market for their produce—these were the very people who, led by Mr Massey, were now crying out for the freehold to Crown tenants. It behoved them to be very cautious and to look carefully before they allowed any such change as proposed, for it meant the absolute abolition of the leasehold. They were going along very nicely at present, and so he said "Leave well alone."

## The Licensing Question.

Referring to the licensing question, he said that New town would suffer if he addressed an audience there without referring to that reputation for which she was famed. (Laughter and applause.) He would briefly deal with the licensing question, and he would tell them at once that there would be a licensing Bill introduced next session (applause)—and in the interests of the well-being of the people of this colony—of the trade, no-license persons, those who were termed "moderates" and the people generally—he said, Let the Legislators of this country go into this matter carefully, and place upon the statute-book legislation that would remove the defects in the existing law, and ensure effect being given to the will of the people. (Applause.) Now, as they knew, he generally spoke plainly. It was much better to be plain Words were not, according to his conviction, given to conceal one's thoughts. He would like to ask this question: Was it only once and for the first time on the occasion of the last general election that the licensing poll had been voided? The answer must be, Certainly not. In the year 1899 there were the cases of Oamaru and Bruce, Those elections were voided; and now he asked this question, What was done prior to last session in the way of stopping that leak in our liquor legislation? Nothing at all. And now he asked this question, Was this only reserved for the Government.? Take each and every member who represented the no-license interest in the House—was there anything to prevent them from introducing an amendment to the Regulation of Local Elections Act, or the Electoral Act, or the Licensing Act? Certainly not. They would have been within their rights in doing so; and if this were such a burning question, and fraught with such vast importance, then he asked, Why had they not done this? He asked why, in Bills which they had introduced, they had not made any provision for voided polls? All the blame now was cast upon the Government This was one of the questions that somehow or other all parties liked to keep as far from them as possible, but public feeling had been excited, and in the interests of the country it was necessary to stop the leak, and make provision for having the will of the people given effect to. (Applause.) "We must see," said Mr Seddon, "that there is no tampering, or possibility of tampering with ballot papers—(applause)—and we must also take care that people who take ballot papers out of the booth or had them in their possession will not do it again," (Laughter and applause.) It was only experience that taught us and pointed out to us where legislative action was necessary. He believed further that technicalities, where the result itself would not be affected, should not be a ground of voiding an election. In other words, we must bring our licensing polls somewhat in a line with the elections under the Electoral Act—(hear, hear)—and this done he believed they would have removed one of the troubles that affected the legislators. His name, rightly or wrongly, had been connected with what at the time was considered the most advanced liquor legislation ever placed upon the statute-book. Of course, there was a good deal of ingratitude in human nature, and to-day he did not enjoy that good opinion in certain quarters that he once possessed. (Laughter). All the same, it would come right. It did not trouble him, so long as the outcome was that which was just and right, and consonant with the desires of the great majority of the people of this country. He was not going into the question in detail, as far as our licensing law or the Bill was concerned. He would probably be brought to task were he to do so. He had told them that an honest attempt would be made to make our law just and consonant with the desires of the majority of the people. In looking over a Bill introduced by Mr Taylor, he found a clause almost parallel with clause 9 of the Bill that he had introduced last session. (Laughter). Where there was an honest change of opinion and altered conditions, he honestly believed, and so did his colleagues, that to prohibit and prevent the free use of alcohol was considered in the best interests of the people. That was what he honestly believed, and that the will of the people should be given effect to in that respect. He had since been told that that was unnecessary. He had also been told that such a change would come in due course, and that in the meantime it could stand aside. Well, he desired to tell them that it would be a question for the majority of the members of the House to decide, having due regard for their responsibilities. He only mentioned the matter to show that there were others as well as himself who had come to the same conclusions respecting this matter, and he was pleased to say that in Auckland those known as the "Crusaders" still stood by and were consistent with that which they had advocated for many years past.

## The Financial Position.

Dealing with the finances of the colony, the Premier quoted figures previously published to show the sound condition of the colony, and continued:—The credit balance to go on this year, after large transferences to the Public Works Fund, was £649,740, Now, as to the arguments of the great financial guns that had criticised the surplus and the Government's finances, "Take away," said Mr Duthie, "the balance of last year, take away the interest, the accrued sinking funds, and you would find it considerably reduced." Take away something else, and they said there would be no surplus at all. Take the sun away and they would be in darkness, but the sun was there and so was the surplus. (Laughter). These moneys were all to their credit to-day. He was awaiting the will of Parliament in respect of them. If the Opposition had been in power there would never have been any surplus at all. There would have been nothing to take away, because it would never have been there. (Laughter

and applause).

"Legislation by Exhaustion." And now he came to another matter. They had heard about legislation by exhaustion. Well, they had in past sessions to force the Old Age Pensions Act, Lands for Settlement Act, Advances to Settlers Act, the Bank of New Zealand Act—and the *Hansard* proceedings would show it. Well, he remembered those nights, and so did his worthy first lieutenant, Sir Joseph Ward. They knew what it took to force that legislation through. To-day the balance-sheet of the Bank of New Zealand was given to the world. Some of these very gentlemen who had to be forced to pass this legislation were telling them of the splendid position of the institution, and what a grand thing had been done for the colony and the bank. If it had not been for exhaustion the old age pensioners would never have got their pensions; settlers would never have got cheap money, and farmers would never have got for themselves their beautiful farms under the Lands for Settlement Act. All reforms had sometimes to be forced through as against the dominance of a selfish minority.

## The Bank of New Zealand.

At the meeting of the Bank of New Zealand the position of the institution was shown to be such that a tittle criticism now would not do any harm. He noticed that a shareholder wanted to know about the depreciation of Government investment stock, but he ought to have asked how much the bank had made during the last five years in New Zealand stock. If for the time being there was a shortage—or he should perhaps put it this way, a difference as between the market price to-day and the price at which the stock was taken—then he said the bank was in a very good position. It was not a question of losing money. It was only a question of holding New Zealand stock, and the same stock would be at par, and in the meantime the bank was getting its 3 per cent., and in some instances its 4 per cent. So there was no necessity to have asked such a question at all. He had noticed it had been said that some 18,000 shares held by the bank should be sold. They were bringing in a very good premium now, and probably the directors would be acting wisely if they placed these shares on the market, by which means they would be given a wider and more extensive clientele. He did not say there was anything wrong in the suggestion which had been made, But he would like to point this out. There might be £10,000 or £12,000—and perhaps a little more—difference in the stock held now and when the Government came to the rescue of the institution. But shares at that time were obtainable at 10s; the latest quotation was £4 10s and over. Now £4 per share advance meant £400,000 as the difference between their price then and the value of the shares to-day, so that he did not want them to be talking about the small difference in the capital value of the stock now and the value of that stock when invested in. Other institutions in all parts of the world had invested in our stock. Take British Consols. What would be thought of anyone investing on the London Stock Exchange in British Consols and blaming the British Government because Consols were not so high to-day as when people invested in thorn? The Bank of New Zealand was now in a very good position. The State had come to its rescue. The Government said it would not cost the colony one penny. It had not cost the colony a penny. The bank was now on its feet, but the State to-day had a share in the institution; the State was a partner to a limited extent. For the controlling power the Government had in working out the affairs of the bank and bringing it to the position it occupied to-day, he would claim no personal credit at all, but the power was these, and in that power the State must directly have had something to do in bringing the bank to its present position. And it was a good thing to keep that controlling power there. He noticed, also, that at the bank meeting a question was asked about giving bonuses to the employees of the bank and increasing the directors' fees. In his opinion, the bank should pay its debts first, and when it was clear entirely of the State, then a little liberality might not be out of place.

## The Outlook.

They had been told that there were to be cycles of depression. Well, his advice was to keep from unduly borrowing, from bank smashes, be self-contained, let us be a people living within ourselves, dependent upon ourselves and our resources. Let every available acre of land be settled, and they need have no fear of depression. Cycles of depression had come to older countries, and how were they brought about? Every disaster, every opportunity was watched by financiers, and they took advantage of it. With good management, economy and care, he did not fear any depression overcoming New Zealand; in fact, if the people were true to themselves, exercised economy and care, and kept the present party in power, they would never have depression. On March 31st last there was available for public works £809,852. Never in the history of the colony was the Public Works Fund in such a healthy condition.

# Moderate Borrowing.

The consolidated revenue would not permit of public works being gone on with at a rate sufficient to meet the necessities of our country, and, with his colleagues, he was of opinion that there must be moderate borrowing. The Government had been moderate, he thought, in that respect in the past; and, as circumstances permitted, and with an increasing revenue, so far as they could they should ease off borrowing for public works. What he complained of was this, that members stood up and denounced the Government for increasing the public indebtedness, and a few minutes afterwards they demanded the faster completion of the North Island Trunk line and other railways, and roads and bridges round their own districts. This was glaring inconsistency. Behind, as it were, the backs of the people, they came urging the Minister for Public Works and Minister for Railways to construct roads and bridges and railways; and then openly they declared, "We must have no further borrowing! We must not increase the indebtedness of the colony." He simply said that what was conceived to be in the best interests of the colony, Ministers would do. They had done it heretofore, and what had been for the good of the country in the past would be continued in the future. There would be moderate borrowing. The amount required, it would be out of place for him to announce at this stage, but they would have it in the Financial Statement.

# Railway Works.

And now he would be accused of sketching forth a huge borrowing and squandering policy. He wanted a little common sense to be brought to bear. In what he wished to say regarding the railway system of the colony, he wished to point out that no huge borrowing or squandering policy would be needed; but he would tell them what he thought would be necessary in this country for the settlement of the lands and the development of our resources. First of all would be the completion of and straightening of the Hutt Wellington railway. (Applause.) By that means they would get cheaper rents, he hoped for the workers of Wellington. (Applause), In the City of Wellington there were in a given area, Cuba Street and Cambridge Terrace—an area described by the Health Department—more souls to the acre than there were in any given area in London, Birmingham, Sheffield, or Glasgow. If, therefore, the death-rate in this area was excessive, we could point our fingers to the cause, and the sooner this was remedied the better in a young country like this, where we had lands within easy distances. High rents were charged, and then the accommodation given was not sufficient. This was one of the questions to be dealt with; and the duplication of some of the lines, and the straightening of the Hutt railway would have an effect in minimising the difficulty. There would be the duplication of the Dunedin-Milton line, and the extension of the railway north of Auckland, and when the through line was connected northwards to Whangarei they would have the North of Auckland with a complete railway system. The Wellington-Auckland North Island Trunk railway was being completed as rapidly as circumstances would permit, and he was looking forward to the time when, health permitting, he would take some of them in a train through from Wellington to Auckland, and he hoped when that time came still to be Prime Minister of New Zealand. (Applause.) Then there was the work of the East and West Coast communication between Wellington and Auckland. As they were aware, a railway was being constructed between Gisborne and Karaka, This required to be completed on the one side to join the Auckland system, and on the other to be brought down south to Napier to join the Wellington system; then if they completed the line from Kawakawa to the North Island Trunk one on this side of the Poro-o-torao tunnel, and brought that down to Stratford, they would have the West Coast railway communication completed. For settlement purposes alone these railways were necessary, but they would not be constructed to-day or to-morrow, but as settlement proceeded and expanded, for it would not be possible to have roads He believed it would have been cheaper if they had never touched the East Coast road—or the East road as it was called—but had made a railway in the first instance. (Hear, hear.) The want of metal in the North prevented them from making good roads.

# Railways in the South Island.

In regard to the South Island, he did not suppose it would be considered reasonable to tunnel across from one small island and then to another island, and then across the Straits to Picton. It might be a vista of the far future, but the time would come when it would be possible to go by train from the North to the Middle Island. (Laughter and applause.) They could not tell what engineering skill would do. There should be communication

from Blenheim to Christchurch, but the difficulties of land questions prevented that work from being proceeded with at present. There must also be the Midland railway communication with the West Coast, and he was satisfied that this line would be a good paying line. We had spent so much money upon it that to stop now would be a grave mistake. There should be communication between the East and West Coast. This was a portion of the scheme of the Main Trunk lines and it must be completed. The Otago Central line was also a portion of this Trunk scheme, and this work was proceeding and would be completed. Then there was the Catlins line, Owaka to Waimakaka. That line was being made; just three miles were being completed at the present time, and this was going through fine land, splendid bush, to destroy which would, under existing circumstances, be almost criminal. He maintained that this line must go on. There was then the line from Otautau to the Lake Country. It was, he said, the dream of that far-seeing statesman, Mr James Macandrew, "that there should be a steel girdle round the South Island," and I am myself looking forward to that girdle being completed. The railway from Hokitika through the Haast Pass to Otago would connect with the Otago system, and also with the whole of the Lake Country. There would then be a complete railway system, and we should have the teeming millions from other countries coming here. In the course of ten years we should be importing timber largely, unless we made railways through the timbered portions of the West Coast and other parts, and got our timber in our own colony. He hoped he would not be accused of a borrowing and squandering policy, but he was just, as it was his duty to be, and time would prove whether his contention was correct. It would take years to complete the system, and the rate of expenditure upon construction of railways need not necessarily be increased.

## The Question of Trusts.

Last session the Government had introduced a Bill to prevent monopolies raising their heads in New Zealand, (Applause.) We had had a monopoly, or trust—the Millers' Trust. (A voice: "Take the duty off,") Well, the bottom had fallen out of the trust. (Laughter.) For the moment they had a practical proof of this, for there had been a reduction in the price of flour, and a reduction in the price of bread. (A voice: "Only one company.") No, said Mr Seddon, more than one company. There could not be a trust with one company. There were a number of millers in the trust; I know them, and know every word of their agreement, and know what I am talking about. It did not require legislation to end that trust, but the existence of it had shown the necessity for legislation so that a trust should not be able to exist. And this brought him to something in the way of a trust which existed in this country. He was not a smoker now—(laughter)—so that he was not speaking selfishly; and he had his eye on the American Tobacco Company. (Renewed laughter.) Did they know that that combination fixed what tobacco should be sold, fixed the price at which it would sell to the vendors, and fixed the price the vendors were to charge the public? He said that there was a condition of things existing in our colony to-day, and difficulties under which every smoker laboured that demanded immediate attention. As they were aware, the American Tobacco Trust recently invaded the Mother Country, and there was an upstanding fight between the tobacco vendors and the Trust, and they fought vigorously, and John Bull came out on top and beat back the American Trust. Finding they could not get at him direct in the United Kingdom, the American trusts came and struck him below the belt by striking at him through the colonies. There was money in it, and if there was to be a monopoly at all, in his opinion, the State was best entitled to it. (Applause). He read the following from the English press in respect to the establishment of the American Groceries' Food and Meat Supply Companies in the United Kingdom:—"Unknown to the public, this combination of American capitalists has already purchased and opened more than five hundred grocery and provision retail shops in the north of England, and largely in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire. They are now turning their attention to Liverpool. Although the new company is registered as English, there seems to be no doubt that it is a vital part of the huge American Meat Trust. In the factory and forge and the coal-mining centres in the north of England, where co-operative stores flourish, and where the company is making its presence felt, it has purchased retail shops at good prices, hidden its identity and kept the people ignorant of the change of proprietorship by retaining the name over the establishment of the previous owner and keeping him manager of the establishment." If trusts commenced to extend from America and to invade Great Britain, it would be for our countrymen there to meet them as they had met the Tobacco Trust; but the action of the Meat Trust affected this colony, inasmuch as our products went to Great Britain, and if this trust was going to have its meat-shops there, this colony would have to have its meat-shops there also. (Applause.) When this matter of trusts came close to our doors, as in the case of the tobacco combination, its ramifications had more effect than people imagined; and if he were silent on the subject, he would be wanting in his duty, whatever course he might take. As the Government by legislation proposed to make it impossible for a millers' trust so it would make it impossible for a tobacco trust. (Applause.)

# Protection of Infant Life.

The chairman had referred to his memorandum on the protection of infant life. It was true that it had been prepared under difficult circumstances, and if the scheme was not as complete as he would otherwise wish, there certainly was a great drawback at the time it was conceived and given to the colony. It was, however, a question in which life itself was involved, and it was his duty to place before the people that which he conceived should be done to remove this necessity and this suffering, and to preserve the infant life of this country. Nursing, as they were aware, was essential to recovery. Physicians might do their part, but it required skilful nursing to bring back the patient to health. There was only a given number of nurses in our hospitals. The Hospital Trustees simply kept as many as were required, and very few nurses left the hospitals to go into private nursing. To his mind, if the State were to pay the cost of the board of, say, a dozen nurses in the Wellington Hospital, say £6 per week, to have annually one hundred nurses being trained, would cost only £2,500 per annum. Two years would be sufficient training, and a certain number of trained nurses would then always be available for the benefit of the sick. What benefit would not the State gain by having them for the benefit of the country and of the sick of the country? If our local institutions could not make the necessary provision for nursing, he suggested that the State might have its nurses' homes in various parts of the colony, and its nurses under regulations and conditions duly safeguarded to attend to the sick poor; and he thought it would be money wisely spent. Yes, he held that the State had an interest in the lives of every soul in the country. (Applause). We had admitted this, inasmuch as we paid for doctors in sparsely settled districts, and, if the system were sound, he contended we should do more in the way of providing nurses. Let them regard all the misery and suffering and lives lost that would be saved. In a young country like this we had not the philanthropists who donated large sums for this purpose, as in the older countries; and where that was not possible, funds should be donated by the State. A little had been done, but more was required. At the present time there was more spent upon funerals than was necessary. Let the weeping be stopped and the children be kept alive. (Applause.) If next session the Government were able to carry those proposals, it would be a memorable session in the history of the colony. The other parts of the world the question was often asked: What next will New Zealand do? If that were said and New Zealand were in the van, let the credit be given to the people of this country, who believed in doing what was right. (Applause.)

# Chinese Labour in the Transvaal.

The Premier reiterated his protest against the introduction of Chinese labour into South Africa. During the coming session, he said, Parliament would be asked to express its opinion on the question, and the answer of Parliament would not be uncertain, "We will tell the British Government," said the Premier, "and the Government of the Transvaal, that that which they are doing is against the best interest of our Empire, and shocking to the feelings of the people of New Zealand." (Applause.) He read this the other day:—"London, June 22,—Sir C. N. E. Eliot, Commissioner, and Commander-in-Chief for the British East Africa Protectorate, has resigned his position. He has appealed to Mr Balfour, Prime Minister, to inquire into the circumstances of his resignation, He declares that the Marquis of Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary of State, prohibited grants of lands to individuals, while ordering him to give a monopoly of enormous tracts on unduly advantageous terms to a Jewish East African syndicate. Sir Charles Eliot considers the proposal was unjust and impolitic." And, he asked, where was the Government of this great British Empire for the moment? Was it to be that syndicates, or that powerful financial institutions or individuals were to govern and control where life and liberty were at stake? No, he had great faith in his kindred, and only for a time such a condition of things might obtain, but the day of reckoning was not far off. And where a worthy public servant resigned his position because he was ordered to give concessions to a rich syndicate and deprive the people of their just rights, he said all glory be to him. Public attention had been called to it, and if the facts were as stated, then it was a bad day for the Empire wherever there was a Government which legislated and administered in the interests of the selfish millionaire. (Applause.)

# What the Government had Done and Will Do.

Those who had been with him during the many years he had been a Minister of the Crown; those who had stood loyally by his late chief, John Ballance; those who had supported the Liberal chiefs of this colony, as time

went on, had seen great changes. The franchise was extended. Men and women were given opportunities which had been denied to their kindred in other parts of the Empire. As a result of this extension of power given to the people, all parts of the civilised world had their eyes upon New Zealand, and they were copying the laws the Government had passed. We were held up as being financially strong, paying our way, making provision for the future, settling our lands, disputes of labour and capital settled by reason instead of recourse to physical force. All this had been done under the liberal franchise and with the rights of the people given to the fullest. Speaking of what had been done during the last few years he would say this: The Government had given practical effect to schemes which were outlined by dreamers, who were told they were impossible. Constructive ability, they had been told, did not exist in the present Administration, but he thought it would be recognised that during all these years there had been constructive ability shown. Measures had been conceived and placed upon the statute-book which had lifted New Zealand to the proudest position within the great British Empire. Orphans were cared for, and educated, and sheltered, and the old were relieved from necessity and provided for. They had been told that they would require special taxation for old age pensions. He had said there would be a time coming when the amount required for pensions would not be increased, that as some of the old people came on others would be passing away to the shades of death, and that our country would never feel the cost of doing justice to the aged. Did we feel it now with a surplus of over £700,000? We paid £200,000 to the old people and never missed a penny of it. Education, too, was essential. Time would not permit him that night to go into this question as freely as he should have liked but, with his colleagues, he said there should be a still further extension of our educational system, and though it might cost more money any money so expended was in the best interests of New Zealand, for with an educated democracy they were safe, and progress and reform were bound to be achieved. (Applause.) Reforms had ever entailed sacrifice upon those who had endeavoured to bring them about; but there was a cheering and a bright side to this, that so long as there were results one never felt the effects of the sacrifices that had been made. He claimed that in our colony there had been good and noble men who had made sacrifices for reforms. Some of them had fallen before the people, some of them not understood; but he himself had been one of God's favoured men, because he had lived to see his policy completed. He had seen its working, and had been left here to have the reward of results. (Applause.) When he went through the colony and met the people; when he met the younger generation and saw the happiness and the contentment everywhere; when he saw them all well fed, well housed, well clothed, and with bright prospects before them, the sacrifice was nothing. Its effects were cleared away as the mist was cleared away from the mountain-top by the sun. (Applause.) When he met the people as he had met them that evening, and when, as during the last few weeks, there had been so much kindness, and so many things done to cheer him, he said that given the same opportunity again, he would do more, if he could, for New Zealand and its people. (Applause.) He had his enemies to-day, but whoever fought for reform, whoever opposed selfishness, and attacked monopolies, and took from the grasping few when they were profiting and the many were suffering—whoever did these things created enemies—(applause)—and so, in the struggle of the last few years, enemies had been created. He was happy to say now, however, that those very people who had declared that poverty was facing them, as the result of reforms, were to-day the best off in our own country. They were in this position against their own wishes—(laughter)—they had been fighting against these reforms for years, and he had had to force the good things upon them. (Laughter.) They were not yet altogether converted, but they were fast coming round. (Laughter.) It was a big step to take, but they agreed at any rate that the Premier was not so bad after all, and that they might have had worse than he as Prime Minister. (Laughter and applause.) If, in passing through life labouring for the love of our fellows continued Mr Seddon, we are in that labour bringing mankind nearer to the ideal put before us by the Saviour of man, then I say our work is good, and we are entitled to your commendation, If in this colony we have laid lines down to give opportunities, and are promoting and will continue to promote a happier and brighter humanity, then assist us in that good work. In speaking to you to-night, I am speaking to the colony, and I speak confidently—health permitting—of meeting Parliament with my colleagues, and with a programme which is for the good of our country; and I feel that in the work as it proceeds I shall have the confidence of the great majority of the people. In the meantime, it may not now be said that the Ministers were afraid to speak to the people. The Government to-night have spoken to the people. I have spoken to you, and I have placed matter before you so that you clearly understand them, and with the hope that the good feeling existing before I commenced may be continued. Your chairman has mentioned the confidence of the people of Newtown, and your wish and desire for a pleasant meeting, and in the meantime we shall carry out your wishes for our good and the good of the colony, and that of the Empire to which we all belong. We are all one kindred; touch one part, and you touch the whole; and I say, Let us keep together, and the world will envy the happiness of the people of New Zealand.

The Premier, who had spoken for about an hour and fifty minutes, resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged cheering.

# Thanks and Confidence.

Mr Ambrose Stevens, Fairburns, Manganui, representing the country districts in the North, proposed a resolution heartily thanking the Premier for his able and interesting address, and whilst expressing heartfelt thankfulness for his recovery to health and strength, the meeting desired to express unabated confidence in himself as Premier and in the Government.

Mr W. Gallachin, Newtown, seconded the resolution.

The chairman, in putting the resolution to the meeting, described the Premier's speech as a "noble utterance," and added that there was a promise of good work yet in Mr Seddon. (Applause).

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Cheers for the Premier and Mrs Seddon and the chairman followed.

The Premier thanked the meeting for the very kind manner in which they had listened to him, and said their cheers would encourage him on to further efforts. He hoped to do some more work, and he might tell them he would work as long as he was able. He was more than rewarded by the kindness and encouragement he received from the people. He asked them to pass a vote of thanks to the chairman by acclamation.

This was duly done. Cheers for Sir Joseph Ward and the other members of the Ministry followed.

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Front Cover

Statistical Charts for the New Zealand Exhibition, 1906-7.

Charts

(Reduced in Size)

Illustrating the Statistics of Trade, Employment and Conditions of Labour

In the

United Kingdom

Prepared for the

New Zealand Exhibition at Christchurch

By the

Commercial, Labour and Statistical Department of the Board of Trade.

London: Printed by the Co-Operative Printing Society Limited, Tudor Street, New Bridge Street, E.C. 1906.

## New Zealand Exhibition, 1906-7.

# Statistical Charts Relating to the United Kingdom.

Descriptive List of the Charts prepared by the Commercial, Labour and Statistical Department of the Board of Trade.

*N.B.—The order of the Charts in the Exhibit is from top to bottom of the different columns, commencing at the top of the column on the left.*

The Charts, twenty-eight in number, have been prepared to illustrate the Statistics of the United Kingdom relating to the following subjects:—Distribution of the industrial population according to occupations; Employment; Rates of Wages; Prices; Consumption of various dutiable articles and of Wheat; Proportionate Cost of various articles of Food; Pauperism; Foreign Trade; Shipping and Railway Traffic; Production and Consumption of certain raw materials and manufactures; Trade Disputes causing stoppage of work; Trade Unions; Workmen's Co-operative Societies; and Fatal Industrial Accidents.

The Statistics on which the Charts are based will be found for the most part in the annual and other Reports of the various Departments of the Board of Trade, supplemented by Reports issued by the Home Office, the Local Government Board, the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, and other Departments.

## I. & II.—OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

These two Charts relate to the estimated numbers of persons occupied in certain manual labour groups. In some cases the trade grouping differs from that adopted in the Census Reports, and for such re-grouping the Board of Trade are solely responsible.

of trades in the United Kingdom. The figures in both Charts have been compiled by the Board of Trade from materials contained in the Tables of Occupations published in the Census Reports of the United Kingdom.

The first Chart shows the estimated number of persons occupied in fourteen groups of trades at the time of the Census of 1901. The groups shown are Agriculture; Domestic Service; Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages; Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Trades; Clothing Trades; Textile Trades; Building Trades; Mining and Quarrying Industry; Food, Drink, and Tobacco Trades; Woodworking and Furnishing Trades; Printing, Bookbinding and Paper Trades; Brick, Pottery, Glass, and Chemical Trades; General Labour and other Undefined and Miscellaneous Trades. The total numbers occupied, distinguishing males and females, are shown in the first column of the Chart, the second column showing the numbers of persons of 20 years of age and above, and the third column the numbers under 20, in each of the fourteen groups of trades.

It will be seen that the leading industries for men are Agriculture, the Transport trades (conveyance of men, goods, etc.), the Metal trades, Building and Mining and Quarrying; and for women Domestic Service and the Clothing and Textile industries.

The second Chart shows, for seven principal groups of occupations, the fluctuations in the estimated numbers occupied in the different census years from 1801 to 1901. These seven groups are Agriculture; Female Domestic Service; Textile Trades; Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Trades; Building Trades; Mining and Quarrying; and Tailoring and Boot and Shoe Trades.

The decline in the numbers occupied in Agriculture is shown, as also the increase in the Building, Mining and Quarrying and Metal trades, in each of which the numbers occupied have advanced by about 100 per cent, in the period covered. It should be remembered, however, that the changes in the number of persons occupied in an industry do not in themselves necessarily form a correct index to the progress of that industry over a series of years. Thus, in considering the decrease in the numbers occupied in the textile trades, and the comparatively stationary position of the numbers occupied in the tailoring and boot and shoe trades, it should be borne in mind that the productive capacity of those industries has greatly increased in the period under review, owing to the great improvements which have been made in the methods of manufacture.

Some part of the decrease in the number of Female Domestic Servants (indoor) as between 1891 and 1901 is due to a change in classification in the Census Reports, but the extent of the difference cannot be estimated.

### III.—EMPLOYMENT.

This Chart is divided into two sections. The upper section shows the *cyclical* fluctuations in employment as indicated by the mean percentage of unemployed members of certain Trade Unions in each of the years 1860-1905.

During this period six distinct cycles of employment are shown to have occurred; the first, counting from one period of maximum employment to another being from 1860-1865; the second, 1865-1872; the third, 1872-1882; the fourth, 1882-1889; the fifth, 1889-1899; and the sixth, from 1899 to the present time, when employment after reaching its lowest point in recent years in 1904, is now moving upward. The years 1862, 1868, 1879, 1886, 1893, and 1904, were years of "minimum" employment (or maximum unemployment). The figures given are based on all the available returns from Trade Unions. It should be noted that these figures simply represent the average percentage of members of Trade Unions returned as being out of work through want of employment. They do not take into account overtime or short time, or the loss of time through sickness, holidays, strikes and unpunctuality.

In the lower section of the Chart the *seasonal* fluctuations in employment are shown.

The improvement in employment shown to take place in the summer months is largely due to the inclusion of the building and other outdoor trades in which employment is at its best in those months.

### IV., V. & VI.—RATES OF WAGES.

In these three Charts changes in rates of wages are shown according to the method of Index Numbers, the wages in 1900 being taken as 100, and the wages in other years shown as percentages of the rates in 1900.

The first of the Charts illustrates the changes in the general level of wages in each of the years 1874-1905; the second shows the changes since 1874 in five principal groups of trades; and the third the changes since 1850 in agricultural labourers' cash rates of wages in England and Wales.

The changes in wages dealt with in these Charts are changes in the standard time or piece rates of wages of the same classes of workpeople throughout. They do not show changes in earnings arising out of changes in

hours, variations in the extent of employment offered, or altered conditions of working.

The index numbers in the first Chart are the un weighted mean of the index numbers for each of the five groups of trades shown in the second, in which the index numbers are based, in the case of the building trades, on the hourly rates of wages of bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, and masons (74 different records being used); in the case of coal mining on the percentage changes on the "standard" rates of wages of hewers in the principal districts, weighted according to their relative importance; in the case of engineering, on the weekly rates of wages of fitters, turners, ironfounders, and patternmakers (36 different records being used); in the case of textiles, on the percentage changes in rates of wages of cotton spinners and weavers in Lancashire, and linen and jute operatives at Dundee, and in the case of ordinary agricultural labourers on the cash rates of wages paid on 115 farms.

It will be seen that in 1900 the general level of wages was higher than at any other period and although wages are now a little lower than at that date they are still above the level of any year prior to 1899. In the second Chart the great fluctuations shown in the wages of coal miners are noteworthy. In this industry wages are mainly regulated by the changes in the selling price of coal.

In the Chart dealing with agricultural wages since 1850 the records of 69 farms have been used.

## **VII. & VIII.—PRICES (WHOLESALE).**

In the first of these Charts the general level of wholesale prices in the period 1871-1905 is shown. This is based on the combined index numbers of 45 articles which constitute the Board of Trade Index Number for Prices. The relative weight given to each article is proportional to the extent to which it enters into the national consumption.

In the second Chart the 45 articles are arranged in four groups, viz., Coal and Metals; Raw Materials of Textiles; Articles of Food and Drink; and other Raw Materials, etc.; and the fluctuations in the prices for each group are shown separately.

The 45 articles are—Coal, Iron, Copper, Zinc, Tin, Lead; Cotton, Wool (British), Wool (Foreign), Jute, Flax, Silk; British Wheat, Barley and Oats, Foreign Wheat, Barley and Oats, Maize, Hops, Bice, Potatoes, Beef, Mutton, Bacon, Milk, Eggs, Herrings, Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, Foreign Spirits, Wine, Tobacco; Cottonseed, Linseed, Olive Oil, Palm Oil, Paraffin, Petroleum, Bricks, Timber, Caoutchouc, and Hides.

A general fall in prices is shown by the first of these Charts to have taken place since 1873, while in the second the fall is shown to have been common to the four groups of articles included, although not so marked in the case of coal and metals as in the other groups.

## **IX.—PRICES OF WHEAT AND BREAD.**

The upper section of this Chart shows for each year the market price per quarter (480 lbs.) of British Wheat in England and Wales for over 100 years (1800-1905), and the values of Foreign Wheat imported for the years 1854 to 1905. The lower section shows the retail price per 4 lbs. of Bread in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, the price in London being given for the whole period 1800-1905, that for Edinburgh from 1824-1905, and that for Dublin from 1864-1905.

The high prices in the first few years of the 19th Century are very noticeable. The highest average price for any year in the period covered was in 1812, but the highest actual price during this period was in March, 1801, when the price of a quartern loaf was as much as 1s. 10½d. Bad harvests and the wars of the period were the main causes of these high prices. The effect of the British harvest in other years is also noticeable. Thus in 1838, 1853, 1860, and 1867, to quote a few cases, harvests were bad and prices rose, while in 1842, 1849, 1858, and 1863, harvests were good and prices fell. In later years prices have been increasingly affected by causes having their origin in other countries, thus in 1891 the stoppage of the export of Wheat from Russia and the failure of the French harvest was followed by a sharp rise in price, while in 1898 the "Leiter" corner had a similar result.

## **X., XI. & XII.—RETAIL PRICES IN LONDON.**

The first Chart shows the percentage fluctuations in the general level of retail prices in 1877 1905 of nine of the principal articles of food consumed by the working classes in London. It is based on the prices of Beef, Mutton, Bacon, Bread, Flour, Potatoes, Tea, Sugar, and Butter.

In the two succeeding Charts are shown separately the percentage fluctuations in the prices of eight of the articles included in the foregoing Chart, the articles included in the first of the two Charts being Beef, Mutton, Bacon, and Butter, and in the second Tea, Sugar, Flour, and Bread. The period covered is from 1886 to 1905.

Between 1877 and 1896 a considerable fall is shown to have taken place in the retail price of the articles

included in the first Chart, but since 1896 the tendency on the whole has been upward.

In the case of those articles for which prices are given separately since 1886, the fluctuations shown to have taken place in the price of Bacon are noteworthy. The reasons for the high price of Flour in 1892 and 1898 have already been referred to.

### **XIII. & XIV.—CONSUMPTION OF FOOD, DRINK, AND TOBACCO.**

The first of these Charts shows the consumption per head of the population of certain dutiable articles. The number of pounds of Tea, Currants and Raisins, Coffee, Cocoa, Tobacco, and Sugar (raw and refined) consumed per head is shown for the period 1854-1905, and the consumption of British Beer in gallons for 1881-1905.

The rapid increase in the amount of Tea and Sugar consumed per head of population will be evident from this chart. The decline in the consumption of Coffee, and the increased use of Cocoa, especially of recent years, are also illustrated.

The amount of Sugar consumed has been taken to be the total quantity imported, less exports and re-exports. No allowance has been made for Sugar exported in jams, confectionery, etc.

The second Chart shows the total net consumption of Wheat (including flour) in the United Kingdom for the period 1854-1905, and also the amounts of British and Imported Wheat respectively.

The great change which has taken place during the last fifty years in the sources of the Wheat supply of the United Kingdom is brought out in this Chart, the home supply having declined very considerably, while at the same time the supply from foreign countries and the Colonies has rapidly increased.

In calculating the amount available for consumption in each year, one-third of the British harvest for that year, plus two-thirds of the harvest in the preceding year, plus imports of foreign Wheat in the year itself has been taken, less the allowances for export referred to below. It has been assumed that the amount actually consumed in each year is the mean of the amount available for consumption in the year itself, the preceding year and the succeeding year.

Wheat flour is expressed throughout in terms of Wheat on the assumption that 72 of flour = 100 of Wheat. Exported bread and biscuit is allowed for on the assumption that 75 per cent, is flour. The allowance for seed in the case of British Wheat is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  bushels per acre from 1853 to 1886, and 2 bushels per acre for subsequent years.

### **XV.—COST OF FOOD.**

This Chart shows the percentage cost of eight different groups of articles of Food consumed by (a) Urban workmen's families and (b) Agricultural labourers' families in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland respectively. The eight groups represented are: (1) Meat and Fish; (2) Butter, Cheese, and Eggs; (3) Bread, Flour, and Meal; (4) Potatoes; (5) Sugar, Jam, and Treacle; (6) Tea; (7) Milk, and (8) other items of Food.

Agricultural labourers in some cases receive certain articles of food as part of their remuneration, or they grow their own potatoes, etc. For the purpose of the Chart food so obtained and consumed by the labourer has been included, and has been valued at the retail prices charged at local shops for similar articles. In some cases, however, produce is sold by farm labourers, and this, of course, is not included. In Ireland, for example, they usually sell their pigs and buy cheap foreign bacon for their own consumption. In the case of urban workmen's families the figures represent the proportionate amount expended on the different groups of articles. In reading this Chart it should be remembered that the percentages given are percentages of the total cost, and that owing to the difference in wages the total expenditure of an agricultural labourer is necessarily much less than that of an urban workman.

### **XVI.—PAUPERISM.**

This Chart shows for the period 1855-1905 the number of paupers per 1,000 of population in (1) the United Kingdom; (2) England and Wales; (3) Scotland, and (4) Ireland.

The figures in each case relate to paupers of all classes (including insane paupers). The number of paupers given for England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, respectively, is the mean of the number of persons in receipt of relief on certain days, viz., *England and Wales* on 1st July and 1st January in the succeeding year; *Scotland* on 15th January, 14th or 15th May, and 15th September; *Ireland* on the last day in the first week of each month from April in one year to March in the succeeding year. The figures for the United Kingdom are based on the totals of these mean numbers.

It will be seen that having regard to the increase in population the proportion of paupers in the United Kingdom has fallen since 1855, a result which is also shown by the figures for England and Wales and

Scotland. In Ireland, however, where the population has declined very considerably during the period the number of paupers shows a large increase per 1,000 of population, although in more recent years the movement has been more or less parallel to that in England and Wales and Scotland.

## **XVII.—FOREIGN TRADE.**

This Chart is in two sections, the upper section shows the value of the total Imports and total Exports Exclusive of new ships exported.

respectively, together with the total value of the Imports for home consumption and the total value of Exports of British and Irish produce for 1854-1905. The lower section shows the value of Imports for home consumption and of Exports of British and Irish produce, per head of population.

## **XVIII.—SHIPPING AND RAILWAY TRAFFIC.**

In the upper section of this Chart the net tonnage of the vessels entered and cleared with cargoes in the foreign trade at ports in the United Kingdom is shown for the years 1854-1905, and in the lower section the receipts from Railway goods traffic are given for 1854-1905, the total receipts in each year and the amount of such receipts per head of population being separately distinguished.

## **XIX. & XX.—PRODUCTION AND HOME CONSUMPTION.**

In the first of these Charts the production and home consumption of Coal and Pig Iron are shown, the period being 1854-1905, except in the case of the home consumption of Coal, particulars of which are only available for the years 1873-1905.

The second Chart shows the home consumption of Raw Cotton and Raw Wool, and the net tonnage of all vessels built in the United Kingdom (excluding only war vessels built for the British Navy).

## **XXI. & XXII.—TRADE DISPUTES.**

These two Charts relate to Trade Disputes causing stoppage of work, *i.e.*, Strikes and Lock-outs. The first classifies the numbers *directly* affected, according to trade, cause and result. The second shows for each of the years 1894-1905 the number of workpeople directly and indirectly affected by the disputes, and the aggregate duration of the disputes in working days.

During the period covered the industry most affected by disputes has been Coal Mining. The disputes of greatest magnitude were the Scottish Coal Miners' dispute of 1894; the Engineers' dispute of 1897-8, and the South Wales Coal Miners' dispute of 1898. The principal causes of disputes have been questions relating to wages.

## **XXIII. & XXIV.—TRADE UNIONS.**

The first of these Charts shows the membership of all Trade Unions in 1892-1904, classified according to trade, the mean membership during the thirteen years being thus shown, as well as the membership in each year. In the second the expenditure of 100 principal Unions has been analysed, the expenditure on Trade Disputes and the chief classes of friendly benefit, and on working and other expenses being indicated for each of the thirteen years and for the mean of the period.

The fluctuations in the amounts spent on dispute pay and unemployed benefits, and the almost continuous increase in the amounts spent on sick and accident benefits and superannuation allowances are noteworthy features in the second Chart.

## **XXV. & XXVI.—WORKMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.**

The first of these Charts shows for 1904 (1) the Sales of Wholesale and Retail Distributive Societies; and (2) the value of goods produced by Productive Co-operative Societies, classified (*a*) according to class of society and (*b*) according to the class of articles produced.

In the second Chart the growth of Co-operation since 1862 is shown, the amount of the Sales, the Share and Loan Capital, and the Membership being represented for each year during the period 1862-1904.

The figures for sales relate to the value of the goods sold by the Wholesale Societies to Retail Societies, and by the Retail Societies to their customers. They also include the value of goods sold by Societies for Production (including Corn Milling Societies), but not the value of goods produced by the Productive

Departments of the Wholesale and Retail Distributive Societies and transferred to their Distributive Departments, the figures not being available for the entire period.

## **XXVII. & XXVIII.—FATAL INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.**

The last two Charts in the exhibit deal with Fatal Industrial Accidents. One shows the relative risk of death from accident in certain occupations, expressed as a death rate per 10,000 of the numbers employed. The occupations shown are:—seafaring, coal mining, quarrying, metal mining, railway service, and the various factory industries. The rates are based on the experience of the five years 1901-1905. The other shows the fluctuations from year to year in the total number of deaths by industrial accidents in the principal occupations covered by legislation, viz., those of seamen from 1885, coal miners, metal miners, railway servants, and factory operatives from 1880, quarry men, and the miscellaneous occupations from 1896.

It should be remembered that these figures relate to fatal accidents only. Accidents resulting in the total or partial disablement of a workman, or deaths resulting from diseases arising out of the nature of the occupation are not covered by these statistics. The figures for coal miners and metal miners relate to the number of fatal accidents at mines under the Coal Mines Regulation Acts and the Metalliferous Mines Acts respectively, and, as in some districts certain metal mines come under the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, the figures showing the actual number of deaths among coal miners are overstated, and among metal miners are understated on this account throughout the period.

The high death rate from accident amongst seamen is noticeable in this Chart. The least dangerous occupation is shown to be that of textile operatives, in which the death rate from accident per 10,000 employed is shown to be only 0.7 as compared with 58.1 per 10,000 in the case of seamen.

In connection with the decline in the number of deaths of seamen since 1894, in which year the maximum number during the period covered was recorded, it may be of interest to quote the death rates in trading vessels per 10,000 employed for sailing vessels and steam vessels respectively. The figures for 1894-5-6 and 1903-4-5 are as follows:—

The proportionate decline in the case of steam vessels is seen to have been much greater than in the case of sailing vessels, a fact to which, owing to the greater number of seamen employed on steam vessels, the decrease in the number of deaths in recent years is largely due.

LABOUR DEPARTMENT,  
BOARD OF TRADE.

*July, 1906.*

### **I. Occupations. Number of Persons Occupied in Certain Groups of Industries, 1901.**

Shaded portions = Females.

### **II. Occupations. Changes in the Numbers Occupied in Certain Groups of Industries. 1861-1901.**

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#### **Mean Percentage Unemployed in Each Year.**

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**V. Wages. Fluctuations in Wages, 1874-1905.**

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**Changes in the Level of General Prices.**

**VIII. Prices. Fluctuations in Wholesale Prices. 1871-1905.**

**Changes in the Level of Prices of Groups of Articles Included in Board of Trade Index Number.**

**IX. Prices Prices of Wheat & Bread, 1800-1905.**

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**British Wheat (England & Wales) Imported Wheat**

**Retail Price per 4 lbs. of Household Bread in London, Edinburgh & Dublin.**

**London—Edinburgh—Dublin—**

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**XI. Prices. Fluctuations in the Retail Prices of Beef Mutton, Bacon and Butter, in London, 1886-1905.**

**XII. Prices. Fluctuations in the Retail Prices of Tea Sugar, Flour & Bread, in London, 1886-1905.**

**XIII. Consumption. Consumption per Head of Population of Certain Dutiable Articles, 1854-1905.**

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**XV. Cost of Food. Proportionate Retail Cost of Various Kinds of Food Consumed by Workmens Families.**

**XVI. Pauperism. Rate Per 1,000 of Population, 1855-1905.**

**XVII. Foreign Trade. Imports and Exports, 1854-1905.**

**Total Imports and Exports**

**Imports & Exports Per Head of Population.**

*"Exclusive of New Ships Exported.*

**XVIII. Traffic. Shipping and Railway Traffic.**

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**Net Tonnage of Vessels Entered and Cleared.**

**With Cargoes Only. In The Foreign Trade.**

**Railway Goods - Traffic Receipts, 1854-1905:**

**XIX. Production and Consumption.**

**Production & Consumption of Coal & Pig Iron, 1854-1905.**

## **XX. Production and Consumption.**

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### XXVIII. Fatal Industrial Accidents.

## Number Killed Among Principal Classes of Workpeople, 1880-1905.

children were given a picnic. The school officials invited Mr. Carnegie to come, and he did, bringing with him his wife and his daughter Margaret.

"My girls would like to dance the Highland Fling me; for you. Mr. Carnegie," said one teacher. After the dance he applauded heartily.

"What nationality are they?" he asked suddenly.

"Italians, most of them," was the reply.

"They danced like Scotch children," he commented there by adding to the evidence that America is the melting pot of the nations.

Then he wrote a check for \$100 to be spent by the teacher for the children.

## HELEN GOULD

Had her picture taken unawares recently. Although her name is much before the public, she is personally so retiring that she will not pose before the camera. For that reason the photograph is the better likeness of her showing her with natural attitude and expression.

Miss Gould is a serious woman. She looks upon life as a responsibility—a responsibility for others as well as for herself.

She is deeply religious, and in a simple sense, for her Presbyterianism is of the kind that accepts the Bible literally. With this religion, Miss Gould is not gay, though she is kind.

A house party at Lyndhurst, her country place on the Hudson, is not a frivolous affair. There are often some visiting children, who learn verses from the Bible for prizes. The busy secretaries and young women, cousins of Miss Gould, who live with her, may be arranging for an entertainment at a church sewing circle. Miss Gould has sometimes two and three church affairs a week.

Miss Gould does not enjoy the so-called society function and she has a horror of "smart" society. Her house on Fifth Avenue in New York is closed much of the time, and when she is there she lives quietly, with only her intimate friends and her family visiting her. She prizes her father's wonderful pictures as she does everything that was his, but she has no enthusiasm for the collection and has never added to it.

She has a Crippled Children's Home at Tarrytown, near Lyndhurst, and pays it frequent visits during the summer.

She is an advocate of world peace, and has been a regular attendant at Peace Conferences. At the outbreak of the Spanish American war she gave the United States Government \$100,000 for hospital service.

The lot of an heiress to millions, charming as it may seem to the average girl, has its drawbacks. Miss Gould is overwhelmed with begging letters, and for many years she has had to reckon with a man who was obsessed with the idea that he should marry her.

## QUEEN VICTORIA OF SPAIN

Gives to the world many evidences of emulating the example of her grandmother and namesake, Queen Victoria of England. She is wife and mother before she is Queen, and at last she appears to have broken, through the barriers of the etiquette of the Spanish court, and won the respect which at first was refused her. The domestic ideal never had been set up in Bourbon Madrid before the arrival of the young English Queen.

The shyness of the new-comer, misinterpreted as British coldness, retarded the growth of her influence. She was in a strange land, and alone. But presently the Spanish people realized that the sober young Queen was faithful to her duties. King Alfonso never had been robust. The Queen devoted herself to being his cheerful comrade encouraging him to participate in the healthy out-of-door sports to which she herself had been trained as English girls are trained.

The country to-day thanks the Queen for the continued life of the King, whose health apparently is better than it has been for many years. That does not mean, however, that Alfonso is strong and rugged. His constitution is fragile by heritage and always will be, though he may live to a normal age. European report stages that he will spend the coming winter in the Swiss Mountains.

But the succession is provided for, and the certain peril that would have come to the Spanish government if the King had died without an heir is avoided. She is the mother of two sons, Alfonso, Prince of the Asturias, born May 10, 1907; and Prince Jaime, born July 22, 1908; and of a daughter, Princess Beatrice, born July 21, 1909.

## Queen Victoria of Spain and Her Children

*The Prince of the Asturias, at the right, holds his hand at salute, soldier fashion. Prince Jaime, the second son, is in the middle, and at the left is little Princess Beatrice, who is not yet two years old. The Queen takes her children for a daily walk*

## Checking Up New Zealand

*First Article: Some Unexpected Results of its Experiments in Radical Legislation*

BY CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

*EDITOR'S NOTE—This is the first of two articles by Mr. Russell on the po[unclear: litic] and industrial condition of New Zealand as he finds that experiment station of progress after an absence of five years. He has set forth his own conclusions with the sincerity of an investigator of the highest intelligence. The two articles make an important contribution to the knowledge of the world on a subject on which the world is seeking information.*

## PRIME MINISTER SIR JOSEPH G. WARD

*Whose gift of a Dreadnought to Great Britain "in behalf of New Zealand" made him a hero of the Coronation, but saddled the colony with a debt of \$10,000,000, or \$10 per capita*

In These Days of ours if once a Government begins to be radical it must diligently continue upon the radical path lest it be run over by the very engine it has created.

What was radical yesterday is conservative to day.

When a people once forms a taste for radicalism it cannot be daffed long by specious devices, half-hearted measures or palliatives.

Political democracy and industrial radicalism must keep even pace, otherwise one trips the other.

Representative Government as we have it to-day does not work well anywhere, even under the best conditions. What is called responsible Ministerial Government is already become a thing for the scrap pile. Room now appears for real instead of pretended democracy.

These seem to be the lessons of the present situation in New Zealand, which is generally regarded, I believe, as an outpost of advanced legislation.

It is a very good situation and worth watching.

For twenty years the country has been governed by one political combination having a strong initial impulse to do new and radical things.

Some of these things have been genuine; many have resulted in great advantages to the country; some have astonished the world because of the boldness of their innovations.

Meantime the world docs not stand still. The initial impulse of reform has greatly slackened in the governing coalition of New Zealand, while the rest of civilization has been steering up to the mark that New Zealand first set.

Consequently dissatisfaction takes root in the Modern Utopia, and daily grows. It begins to threaten the governing coalition after an almost unparalleled term of power. A population instructed to think about its affairs begins to suspect that some of the radicalism wherewith it has been entertained was chiefly nominal or simulated for purposes political. It begins to perceive a new range of radical progress upon which the Government, grown sleek and satiated with long power, is unwilling to venture. A new radical movement gets to its feet; the old radicals are slowly turning to conservatives; and the day of a new contest, far more instructive than the old, seems not far off.

You cannot in one generation or two change the racial instincts of an isolated people; you can when people have free intercourse with the world, as we have in America, but not when they are isolated. The next forward step in New Zealand will not be taken in haste. But its time is coming and when it arrives we must revise our

New Zealand text books while we gain a new glimpse of the governmental ideas that are to be.

I suppose present needs always obscure past achievements. There is some tendency, because the governing powers are growing lukewarm about progress, to underrate what really has been accomplished here. It is an unfair and a baseless imagining. Such of the radicalism as has been genuine has been no failure but an enduring success. I ought to make that clear to start with. But on this road you cannot sit down and go to sleep on the things you have done. You must scramble ahead and do new things, while you keep one eye on the advancing machine behind you.

I was once shipmate in the Far East, or the New West, as you prefer, with a man that (not without reason) professed himself able to discern at a glance the nationality of any other man he might happen to see. The basis of his judgment in respect to New Zealanders struck me as highly significant. He detected them, he said, because they were always so ruddy and wholesome of countenance, so obviously well-fed and well-to-do; and they possessed an air that spoke both confidence and self-content.

Similar impressions, I suppose, lay hold of every traveler in New Zealand, and have given rise to a common belief that it is a country without poverty. Certainly its aspect gives joy to one wearied and depressed with the hideous slums and hideous destitution in other countries, the increasing masses of ill-nourished and ill-housed people that confront us in London or New York for instance, and the terrifying decline in the standard of living that curses the greater part of civilization.

Nothing of this kind is imminent in New Zealand; it was a threat once but is not now. Life there is easy, comparatively safe and eminently comfortable. For its size and population it is one of the healthiest and happiest countries in the world; it has the lowest death rate, the smallest proportion of extreme poverty, as a rule the smallest percentage of unemployment. No one ever starves in New Zealand; few persons go hungry; the world can be searched for another industrial community that, all things considered, fares physically so well. Schools are abundant and excellent; the general intelligence is of a high order. Since the Government has closed some of the usual avenues of exploitation by taking over certain public utilities not many great fortunes are being accumulated and the masses are not being visibly impoverished.

For a part of this pleasing prospect you must allow something to the advantages of soil and climate, and something, I suppose, to good fortune; but plainly other forces have been at work. About twenty years ago with the same soil and climate, at least, New Zealand looked in respect to poverty like the rest of the world; now to a certain degree she looks like nothing but herself; and for the great and striking difference there is no other conceivable explanation except the difference in her Government.

New Zealand has had a Government generally operated (in spite of great structural and other defects) for the Common Good.

The political coalition that for the last twenty years has had the management of her affairs was composed nominally of the one time Liberal and Labor elements. In twenty years coalition becomes amalgamation. No one could well detect now the two wings of the political machine once put together with some difficulty; but through all the changes the original ideas of the union were (for a time) carried out with unusual fidelity.

In these twenty years the Government has I remade New Zealand.

## **The Reform Record of Twenty Years**

Here are some of the features of the reform policy, not all originating with the present regime, but all supported and furthered by it:

Woman suffrage.

A scientific land tax.

Supervision and rigid regulation of the conditions of employment.

Limited hours of work in many industries.

Extra pay at an increased rate for all overtime in these industries.

Discouragement of child labor.

Reduced hours of work for women.

A weekly half-holiday.

Compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

Legal recognition of the labor union and its elevation to a place in the Government.

The breaking up of great estates by purchase and by taxation.

State aid to settlers.

State aid to home builders.

Public ownership of some public utilities.

State coal mines to make coal cheap.

State life insurance.

State fire insurance.

A State employment bureau to deal with the problem of the unemployed.

Old age pensions.

The beginning of compensation for injured working men.

A railroad system conducted solely for the public benefit with progressive freight rate reduction.

Free transportation of school children where required.

Housing schemes for the working population.

A Public Trust for the administering of wills and bequests and for other public services.

Five years ago, when I was on my first visit to New Zealand, most of these things were more or less experimental, and the pessimists and reactionaries were good enough to assure me that the experiments would fail. What aspects of success they were due, said these gloomy prophets, not to the least merit in the legislation but to fertile soil and general prosperity. Let the innovations be touched but once with the icy breath of hard times or business depression and see how the dreamy structure would collapse

I am obliged to record that these predictions have generally come to naught. The long prophesied test came at last and the radical program emerged from it still triumphant. Severe business depression fell upon the country in the New Zealand winter of 1908, following the American panic of 1907. About two thousand unemployed men walked the streets of Wellington; every other community felt the strain. Ordinary channels of employment were inadequate; the Government was obliged to start relief work for the idle. But nothing collapsed; nobody suggested that any part of the advanced legislation should be abandoned; the emergency passed like a shadow, and, after a quick recovery, New Zealand seems more prosperous than ever.

The total trade of the country has increased from \$74,751,765 in 1895 to \$176,683,575 in 1909; the imports from \$30,000,645 in 1895 to \$78,373,595 in 1909; the exports from \$42,—751,110 in 1895 to \$98,309,980 in 1909; the revenues of the Government railroads from \$5,754,255 in 1895 to \$16,754,255 in 1910; the total number of manufacturing plants from 3,680 in 1901 to 4,186 in 1906.

The census of 1906 showed that the average annual wages of male workers in the factories had grown from \$409.25 in 1900 to \$442.50 in 1905 and the average annual wages of female workers in factories from \$156.50 in 1900 to \$209.25 in 1905.

Nevertheless we are confronted with the fact that the country does not grow. It ought to grow, in view of its exceptional advantages, but it does not, and as soon as you look beneath the puzzling fact you will probably discover things calculated to make you think. Observe this table of the population, showing the changes in the last fifty-two years:

I confess that I looked for a very much larger increase.

For fourteen years from 1890 (about the beginning of the present regime) the Government discontinued the assisting of immigrants. In 1904 the practice was resumed to a limited extent with the following results:

## **A TRIO OF THE "WISE AND GOOD" MINISTERS**

*Mr. Russell calls the political control of New Zealand a government by the "Wise and Good" and not by the people. In the group above J. G. Findlay, in the center, is Minister of Justice; David Buddo, to the right, is Minister of Internal Affairs; and James Carroll, to the left, has the title of Native Minister*

## **J. A. MILLAR, MINISTER OF RAILROADS, MARINE AND LABOR**

*Under his administration railroads have reduced their rates and not decreased their profits. Marine and labor problems have not been solved, however, so satisfactorily*

The Government restricts to British subjects its not very strenuous efforts to secure immigrants. None others need apply. The law does not say so but that is the substance of the situation. In 1907 severe educational tests were adopted for the purpose of keeping out Asiatics and other undesirables. The tests worked efficiently, being elastic and largely at the discretion of the immigration officers who, for reasons to be told later, are, or seem to be, inspired to discourage wholesale immigration.

Therefore, New Zealand, whatever its advantages for itself, is to the world of men no island of refuge. It lives within itself, carefully walled round by laws and customs, and this condition produces results that may suggest doubts about its future unless the present methods of society undergo a considerable change.

## **LABOR OPPOSES IMMIGRATION**

The policy of the Government has been (in general) to ameliorate the condition of the working class and restrict some of the operations of Organized Wealth without changing the foundation of things. It has accepted competition, war and dominant greed, but it has tried to save Labor from some of their usual results. This was a

hard task. The sure way to keep up wages was to protect Labor from competition, and if Labor was to be protected against competition how could the doors be opened to immigration?

I may show by one little incident how this attempt to do a double bareback riding feat has, worked in practice.

The week before I reached New Zealand, fifty assisted immigrant boys had arrived from England. All came indentured to farmers under the following conditions: Farmers that wanted apprentices were asked to apply to the State Labor Department. About three hundred responded. From these were chosen fifty after careful comparative investigation as to character, means and fitness to be guardians of such a charge. When the boys arrived they were distributed among the applicants thus selected. The wages were \$1.25 a week of which the Government took \$1 to repay the cost of transportation. Twenty-five of the boys were from the east end of London, and twenty-five from the teeming tenement region of Liverpool, and a glance at any of them showed that they had been rescued none too soon.

On the night of my own arrival in Wellington I attended a meeting of the Trades and Labor Council of the City, and the Council adopted a strong minute against the importation of these boys.

As I was privileged to listen to the debate upon this minute I am under no misapprehension as to the reason for it. The reason was that the boys, being apprenticed first to farmers would inevitably drift thence to either employment and become competitors in the labor field.

So here we come upon the heart of the first trouble. The farmers need help: the workingmen insist upon conditions under which the farmers cannot get the help they need.

Meantime, here is the next pregnant fact, that happy as New Zealand is, and prosperous, the birthrate shows a marked decline.

The promise of New Zealand, therefore, is to be a country of limited population and not to fulfill its manifest possibilities. With its almost incalculable resources, its rich volcanic soil, its variety and excellence of products, its mineral and other wealth, it could support thirty millions of people as easily as it now supports one. Its present rate of increase is about 20,000 a year, and so long as the existing policy is maintained that rate cannot be much greater.

It shuts out the immigration that might counterbalance its falling birthrate.

Likewise its wealth will not be developed, and while you can think of it as going on living within itself and content so to live, several questions arise as to that. For instance, take the pressure of increasing populations and increasing distress elsewhere. How long will this huge economic pressure allow a land of such richness to remain undeveloped and unutilized? Overcrowded China and overcrowded Japan are not far away. China is at this moment overrunning the is of the Pacific. The guns and fleets of Great Britain keep these peoples from the fat of New Zealand, but suppose these guns and [unclear: eets] to be otherwise engaged, suppose this shaken fabric of the British Empire to collapse. New Zealand has reared next to nothing for its own defense; no great European peoples have adopted it for a home. How does that work out? If the present system be maintained, I can see nothing but the eventual breaking down of these barriers at the cost of New Zealand's blood and tears, and the utilization of this vast fertility to feed the starving mouths of the world.

Some persons make haste to blame the workingmen for all this; to assert that their selfishness and blind prejudice cause all the trouble; and that they keep out the immigrants. I cannot see that. Under present conditions they can do nothing else, for under present conditions they hold to work and to sufficiency by slender threads and must so hold. If you admit other workingmen in considerable numbers, one of two things will happen: all wages will decline or the newcomers will starve—under present conditions. By hard work, agitation, organization, bitter strife and long, patient fighting, the New Zealand workers have won out for themselves something approximating decent conditions of living. They have not won emancipation nor industrial justice, but a slight betterment in the terms of their employment. They are asked for the sake of some indefinite glory and the British Flag to throw away all that they have won. I do not see why they should, and anyway you may be perfectly sure that they will not.

But as soon as we admit that under existing conditions they must look out for themselves and put bread and butter above sentiment, we go around the circle and again confront the fact that so long as they look out for themselves, New Zealand will be no more than a nice little club and never the nation she was intended to be; and the finish of that condition will be just one thing.

In other words a half-way radicalism is inadequate to cope with these conditions. You cannot uphold competition and at the same time restrict it. Indeed, similar conclusions apply to the whole situation. You cannot be democratic and have a place in the mad dance of imperialism. You cannot accept part of the humanitarian doctrine and trample on the rest; your Government cannot be half fifteenth, century and half twentieth. Coronation days and free institutions do not mix. One thing or the other. All feudalism or all republicanism: there is nothing feasible between.

In New Zealand political democracy has not kept pace with industrial reform and one is tripping the other.

But to return to the workingmen, instead of surrendering anything they have gained, they are steadily demanding more, and their demands and growing restlessness are shaking the ministry with recurring alarms.

## THE WEAK POINTS IN THE SYSTEM

This brings us to the weak points in the New Zealand system.

The English method of governing by a responsible Ministry has many disadvantages. What are esteemed to be its merits have long been heralded to an admiring world. For the moment take a look at the other side of the ledger, seldom noted but still the more informing.

New Zealand is governed by Wise and Good gentlemen whose function is to hand out Government ready made like so much pie. They are not selected by the people, but chosen by a [unclear: mothod mos] undemocratic, on the strength their superior gifts, goodness and wisdom. Yet while they are not chosen by the people, they are liable to lose their jobs by reason of a change the popular majority. As a rest of this [unclear: wkward] and lop-sided arrangement, the Ministers continue to hold office by reason of incessant skill in walking the slack wire. They do not know what the people want and have only an indirect and clumsy way of guessing at it; so they balance and juggle on the slack wire between a gust of alleged public opinion on this side and a gust on the other, until they fall off.

For instance (and here is a good story), come to the rather pathetic struggles of this Government with the always overshadowing land question,

In the beginning, or thereabouts, great areas of New Zealand's fertile lands were grabbed off by rich men, in or from England, who made up great estates with the intention of bequeathing them to their descendants forever intact, after the approved English fashion. This was fine for the descendants but tough on the country, the grand estates being devoted chiefly to virgin forest or game preserves without any game. To give settlement and progress a chance the progressive Government, when it came to the helm, adopted an extremely radical policy. It borrowed money, bought up some of the estates on a practically compulsory purchase, cut them into small farms and offered them to settlers on terms of unparalleled generosity. In no other region of the world, I think, could a penniless man fare so well, for the Government not only rented the land to the settler on nominal terms but it advanced money to him and did almost everything else except to plant his crops and comb his hair.

But while the leases were made for long terms and at wonderfully low rates, the nation still owned the land. Now so strong in man (under [unclear: present] conditions) is the impulse to gamble in land, that the tenants resented this arrangement. What they wanted was land that they could sell or mortgage or trade with or get unearned increment from. In a few years there arose from the tenants (or most of them) a clamor on this subject, followed by their wholesale movement into the ranks of the Opposition. When I was here before, I wrote the remarkable story of the great Cheviot estate of 84,755 acres which the Government wrested from its owners and cut into hundreds of small farms. Every tenant on that estate promptly joined the Opposition and demanded ownership of the farm with which he had been so easily endowed.

Here was a case where a Ministry that did not care for slack-wire walking or a Government that was really democratic would have had neither difficulty nor perplexity. The issue was plain. To yield to the tenants' demands would be a surrender of every good thing gained by the Government's radical policy. If a tenant could sell his land, a few years would see the return of the great estates and of the exact conditions that the Government at such heavy cost had destroyed. Besides all of which, the Government's policy was a step towards that nationalization of the land that is the only way out of the land problem; so that what the tenants demanded was a retrograde movement.

In a genuine democracy like Switzerland the question would have been submitted to the people, who would have settled it on the side of progress and the Government's policy. In the kind of abortive and thumb-handed democracy that obtains in the British Empire wherein government is not by the people but by the Wise and Good, the situation was very different. The Wise and Good Ministry was confronted with the clamor of the tenants which threatened to cost somebody his precious job. So the Wise and Good gentlemen, being rattled, began to shilly-shally with the question and have been shilly-shallying with it ever since.

They are afraid that the tenants' vote added to other disaffected votes may produce some day an adverse majority in Parliament. Whereupon out they will go without a particle of real reference to the merit of the land question; for this is the vice of responsible Ministerial Government and Government by the Wise and Good generally.

Meantime the Good Gentlemen Afraid of Their Jobs have made in another way a certain concession to the agitation for freehold or ownership. Among the broad benevolences of the progressive idea in New Zealand is a plan by which conjection of population is to be prevented in the towns and cities. If a workingman in New Zealand wishes a home he has but to deposit \$50 with the Government, which thereupon builds him a house on the land it owns adjacent to his city, or if such land be unavailable it may buy a lot specially for him. The

Government is so generous that he can even submit his own ideas, plans or preferences for his home, and so far as possible the Government will follow these. When the house is done the man gets it on extremely pleasant terms. Or if he does not care for this arrangement, he can rent at low rates one of the workingmen's houses that the Government has already built.

The rental or leasehold was the original device. Since the freehold has been agitated, the badly rattled Government has conceded to persons housed in this manner the right to purchase. This, of course, only increases the dissatisfaction of the farm tenants, and about their case the Government evidently does not know what to do. None of the Wise and Good Gentlemen that compose it seem to have any convictions on the subject, but about one thing they are unanimous. They want to hold their jobs, so that to disarm a part of the Opposition they are quite likely to make still further concessions backward.

## THE WORLD'S OUTPOST OF RADICAL LEGISLATIVE EXPERIMENT

*Wellington, New Zealand, is the capital of the colony that aimed to be the Modern Utopia. It is a city fair to the eye, possessing the commercial advantage of a good harbor*

### THE BUSY WHARVES OF WELLINGTON

*Wellington does a big shipping business, but Mr. Russell asserts it would be doing a bigger if the \$10,000,000 that went into a Dreadnought had been used to buy or build ships to be owned and operated by the Government*

I ought to add that in the cases of the workingmen's houses an attempt is made to guard against the abuse of landlordism by providing that the property can be sold only to a workingman with an income of no more than \$875 a year; and it seems fondly to be imagined that in some way this safeguard will avail. Hut New Zealand, of course, lacks as yet our long and lugubrious experience in trying to regulate things that cannot be regulated.

### THE COST OF A CORONATION HERO

The disadvantages of this form of Government are further illustrated by the story of the New Zealand Dreadnought. When the announcement was made two years ago that this small country was to strain its resources to present a battleship to England, Parliament was not in session and the explanation was furnished that, as the gift must be made at once or not at all, the Government had decided to assume the responsibility.

The necessary arrangements were entered upon and when Parliament met, it was confronted with a situation in which it must either allow the gift to be made or see the resignation of the entire ministry upon an issue appealing so strongly to sentiment. On this consideration the thing was allowed to go on. One might be tempted to say that it was an amazingly blithesome spirit in which to assume so grave a responsibility and a Government that could get away with such an exercise of irresponsible power could get away with anything.

The argument on behalf of the gift was that it would advertise New Zealand and prove her loyalty to the throne. I do not know how much it advertised New Zealand, but it certainly advertised her Prime Minister to the king's taste; also to his flattering attention. Before Prime Minister Ward had sailed for London he was easily the hero of the Coronation. I assume that there are persons in New Zealand that approve of the Dreadnought present; in fact, arguing on general principles, I am sure this must be so; but I have never met any of them, nor heard of them, and I am informed that if the electorate could have passed upon the question, or even if it could have been fairly submitted to Parliament it would have been negatived—a situation extremely difficult to reconcile with free institutions.

One good reason why it would not have been popular is the enormous disproportion between the value of the gift and the size of the 'population. The New Zealand Dreadnought is to cost \$10,000,000; population about 1,000,000; cost per capita, \$10. Total debt in 1910, \$374,453,225; net debt per capita of white population, \$363.25. In 1891 the total debt was \$194,151,750; per capita, \$297.75. In view of these facts to go out and buy \$10,000,000 worth of Dreadnought for the junk heap seems a curiously reckless performance, whatever the social honors it may confer upon an aspiring soul.

Of this opinion I think I have no monopoly. A few months ago this Government by the Wise and Good undertook to float a new loan of \$25,000,000 at 3½ Per cent. With difficulty it was disposed of, the nominal price being about 97 and the actual net price about 95, said to be the lowest in many years for an Australian loan. Social distinctions seem to come high.

No Government of human construction will be without its manifold flaws, but some of the flaws in this might be easily remedied. One is always moved to ask why a community so intelligent, so moral and so upright, should not be allowed to rule itself free from the lumbering interference of the Wise and Good—with or without social aspirations. Then take the persistence of that extraordinary anomaly, the appointive Upper

Chamber. How shall we account for that? It is called the Legislative Council, and was originally designed to duplicate the House of Lords. Its members are appointed nominally by the Crown, actually by the Prime Minister. Originally they held office for life; now they hold it for seven years.

If this piece of surviving feudalism should attempt to veto the measures of Government a very strange spectacle would be presented; for the Government would out of hand appoint enough members to secure a loyal majority. This has been known and may be known again. I do not see how any such condition can be adjusted to any conception of democracy. All about the world the Upper House is a foolish, useless, and inexcusable encumbrance; nowhere is it quite so foolish as in New Zealand.

These are obvious reflections about the political democracy of the country. As to the industrial democracy some of the facts upon close inspection suggest that the radicalism is more apparent than real and that there is a wide difference between the name of the thing and its substance. In fact, I do not know that it is quite honest; at least there is much suggestion of the grand stand, the lime-light, and the bill-board. For instance, take the State coal mining. This is supposed to be one of the triumphs of New Zealand's radical policy by which the oppressive coal combination is held in check and the people secure cheap coal. The State coal mines are there surely enough, two of them. And in 1909 of a total of 1,911,247 tons of coal mined in New Zealand these two mines had contributed 289,990 tons. This, on the face of it, would not look like very formidable competition. If observations among the trusts of America give any basis for judgment, the smaller product will not control the price of the larger until tails begin to wag dogs. Inadequate competition is largely a jest.

But even these figures give no true idea of the real situation, because of these 289,990 tons of State mined coal a great part was used to supply the State owned railroad, and at the amount really left for competition the coal combination must have laughed heartily. True enough, where State coal can be had, it has reduced the price from 50 cents to 37½ cents for a hundred pounds. But the number of places where State coal can be had is limited, and even in those places one might deem the Government competition to be halfhearted. At least it seems to make the purchase of its coal difficult instead of easy. Doubtless the explanation is that the Government does not wish to arouse antagonism from the powerful coal companies. This sounds familiar in American ears and indicates the same old game of caring well for the corporations. I don't see much difference.

I was told that the Government pays extortionate charges to the steamship monopoly for transporting the coal and that if it owned a few coal steamers it could put down coal at Wellington for 25 cents a hundred pounds.

"Why doesn't the Government own coal steamers?" I asked.

"It has no money; it can't afford to have them," was the reply.

For the price of the Dreadnought it could buy twenty coal ships and have something left. One fails to see the wisdom of this arrangement. Some visitors have remarked with ecstasy on the beautiful loyalty displayed in the Dreadnought gift. The beauty seems to fade rapidly in the face of these facts. In times gone by, I was wont to praise highly the wisdom of the men that govern New Zealand. I feel a little humiliated to find their wisdom gone daffy after Coronation Day eclat.

The coal deposits at the Government's mines are of enormous extent. If it wished, it could mine enough coal to crush the monopoly; it merely mines enough to trim slightly the monopoly's claws. This, I admit, is, so far as it goes, better than we do; but after all the difference is chiefly nominal and spectacular. Essentially in both countries the incorporated company is the overshadowing and fearsome thing before which aspiring politicians abase themselves to the national injury.

The next incident recorded in my note book has a still more home-like sound, and is, besides, replete with instruction for gentlemen that think we shall be regenerated by tinkering with the blessed old tariff.

## **A LITTLE JOKE BY THE OIL MONOPOLY**

All New Zealand cities and most towns are lighted with electricity and gas, but aside from these a large rural population depends for its artificial light upon the lamp and kerosene oil. Towards this population also the Government is tender and regardful; it has many votes. At the last session of Parliament the state of the rural oil business was considered, and to cheapen the price of oil to the consumer, the import duty (which had been sixpence a case) was removed amid loud acclaim. But the rural oil consumer is still looking for the sixpence. The oil burned in New Zealand is furnished by a monopoly and the monopoly merely reached out and grabbed the sixpence a case thus saved to it by a thoughtful and generous Government.

And what is the name of the monopoly made thus happy?

It appears to be the Standard Oil Company, operating under one of its aliases.

It is indeed sweet to find Mr. Rockefeller's well-trained hand picking up sixpences in New Zealand as skillfully as it gathers dollars in our own happy country.

Yet the very curious fact persists upon the observer that New Zealand possesses petroleum deposits and

that they are unworked. A small part of that Dreadnought's cost would open up an amazing amount of oil and shake the sixpences out of the Rockefeller hand. This is not a supposition but a conclusion based upon fact. I was in Burma at the time the Burmese Government blocked the Standard Oil's game and rapped Mr. Rockefeller's hand in a way that must have made it ache, and I know how easily the blow was given, and how in consequence thereof millions of dollars have been saved to the Burmese people.

Let us protect private enterprise and give it a fair chance," is one of the mottoes of the present Government. Mr. Rockefeller must smile as he contemplates it.

No one need overlook the facts that the Government's fire insurance has checked the rapacity of the fire insurance companies; the Government's excellent life insurance has conferred very great benefits upon the New Zealand policy holder; the admirable Government railroads have provided cheap and efficient transportation.

But the question is why, with the road thus plainly marked, the cautious Government fears to go on and do other things quite as obvious. For years the country has suffered from a monopoly of its chief water transportation; for years the Government has been urged to break that monopoly by building and operating its own steamships; for years it has declined this excellent advice. One learns then without much satisfaction that the chief company in the steamship monopoly is also an ardent supporter of the Government.

## THE GOVERNMENT OFFICES AT WELLINGTON

*This building is said to be the largest wooden structure in the world*

The exact situation in New Zealand may be summed up thus: that so far as the Government has proceeded to stop the exploitation of the people by taking over the public utilities it has achieved great things. The publicly owned telegraph and telephone systems provide excellent service at amazingly cheap rates. The railroad system is conducted solely for the benefit of the public and upon the principle of reducing the cost of transportation as fast as the traffic increases. In the last fifteen years it has saved to the New Zealand shippers \$10,000,000 in reduced freight rates. In the same space of time the American railroads, being privately owned, have increased their rates 18 per cent. Proportionately the New Zealand railroads have made in that time much the greater improvements and are now relatively in the better condition. Moreover they are the better managed. For one thing their percentage of expense to revenue has been reduced to 66, and their final net revenue, in spite of progressive rate reductions, is 3.80 per cent, on their total cost.

Similar observations might be made about the street car services and the electric light services, which have generally been municipalized and are now admirably conducted. Plainly the absence of so many public service corporations is the chief cause of the superior purity of New Zealand politics. There is very little legislative corruption, because there are few public service corporations to practise corruption. There are no railroad companies to bedevil politics, no traction companies to maintain rotten machines, no telephone monopolies to furnish "jack pots" and "slush funds."

Yet it is not to be denied that what is left of the exploiters, so far as they are able, exercise a pernicious influence upon New Zealand affairs, and that to corrupt with money is not the only means by which the power of accumulated wealth can gain its ends. For myself, I am unable to detect the moral difference, but the English seem to have determined that to influence with money is very bad and to influence with places and honors is quite good. Heaven forbid that I should dispute eminent authority in morals. But at least there is no doubt that wherever the progressive New Zealand policy has not put up such bars as I have described the trust grows and thrives at the expense of the people. A remarkable capacity for self-deception seems to be an Anglo-Saxon trait.

All Englishmen and most New Zealanders are fond of hearing about the enormity of the trusts in America. Yet the New Zealandish combination has destroyed thousands of [unclear: ons] of fish to keep up prices, and year in and year out makes the fish dear that should be very cheap. Under the sway of the New Zealand timber combination, lumber cut near Auckland is exported to Australia, 1,280 miles, returned to New Zealand and then sold for less than it originally could be purchased for in the region where it was cut. New Zealand butter sells in New Zealand for 27 to 29 cents a pound and is transported to England where it sells for 25 cents a pound. Finally the "chain" store is advancing steadily through the country and having its inevitable effect; the great Central Financial Interests are absorbing one business after another; and the cost of living steadily rises.

That is to say, the world-wide process of combination, consolidation and unification does not miss New Zealand. Wherever the nation has forestalled it by taking over public utilities and operating them for the Common Good, all is well. Wherever it has allowed the thing to run its course, the situation is very much as it is elsewhere, including the usual farce comedy of regulation.

## A NEW REGULATION NOSTRUM

This reminds me that American practitioners of the regulative school of political economy have still a

nostrum to learn of; at which I think there will be general surprise, most persons having assumed that we had experimented with every conceivable quack-salve. The new febrifuge is a remedy devised here for trusts—foreign born. Whenever it appears that a trust is operating to the detriment of a New Zealand industry, either employees or owners of such an industry may make complaint before a Board composed of a justice of the Supreme Court, an Under-Secretary of the Government and the Mayor of the town wherein the injured industry is situated. This Board is to consider the case. If it finds the trust to be guilty, it will apply to the Government for an adjustment of the tariff affecting the trust. For every dollar that the home producer will take from the price of his product, the tariff on that article will be increased two dollars.

Grand! You will perceive at once the improvement over our own celebrated specifics. Only in this case it is potential, not real. It has not yet been enacted, but it will be if the naughty trusts do not behave themselves. I am told that it is designed particularly against the Harvester Trust and the Agricultural Machinery Trust of America, and that the mere knowledge that it hangs over them keeps these trusts in order. To what extent I am unable to determine, but most of the harvesters used in New Zealand are furnished by the American Harvester Trust, nevertheless. It is a thousand pities that the remedy cannot be applied to the colossal steamship monopoly; then one could tell how far it would work.

So far as the progressive Government has dealt with the labor problem it has done many good and laudable things. I have no disposition to belittle these achievements, although in another article I shall tell the full story of labor arbitration in New Zealand and the wholly unexpected disaster into which it has fallen. At this time I merely call attention to these facts:

- While the progressive Government has endeavored to do more for labor than for any other part of the community, it is from labor that it is likeliest to be overthrown.
- While by heroic and unprecedented means this Government has tried to increase the wages and improve the condition of the toilers, even here in prosperous New Zealand the increase in the cost of living has outrun the increase in wages.

Partly because of these changes, partly for other causes, the great reform coalition that has ruled the country for so many years seems to be coming to the end of its marvelous career. General elections are held at least every three years in New Zealand. At the last general election the Government or Ministry suffered the loss of about a dozen seats. In the general election of this year it will probably lose several more. In the next general election, so say the prophets, it will probably be defeated and go out of office, after ruling the country for nearly a quarter of a century.

It will not be defeated for what it has done in radical measures but for what it has failed to do, and for lagging behind in the march of progress.

Meanwhile the signs of dissatisfaction increase. One of them is a new Labor movement that will probably mean in the end a new Government and a new era of progress. At the Dominion conference of the Trades and Labor Council held at Auckland, July 20, 1910, a platform was adopted upon which Labor is now determined to stand. This notable declaration insists that all the progressive legislation now upon the statute books must be maintained and sympathetically administered, and in addition demands these reforms:

The gradual public ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Immediate nationalization of all monopolies.

A State ferry service, State coal ships and State factories.

Leaseholds for State tenants.

An increment tax on all land sales.

An increased graduated land tax.

Retention by the State of enough land to meet the demand of the national food supply.

No more borrowing by the Government, and

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

With such a platform the new movement seems likely to afford much occasion for thought to the cautious gentlemen that now sit in the seats of the mighty.

It appears therefore that the result of the advanced legislation of New Zealand, so far beyond any other nation, is to create a demand for still more advanced legislation; and how great may be that lesson to mankind!

It appears that one measure of justice is only a foundation stone for another measure of justice; the more of justice, enlightenment, decency, and equality we secure the more we are likely to demand. It appears that as soon as a community is well started towards a cooperative condition the way is opened for new ideals and broader conceptions; and how memorable may be the result of such a revelation!

New Zealand is still the experiment station of progress. The world for a long time is not likely to lose sight of her, because we may feel sure of this at least, that having tried so many social innovations and found them good, the masses of her people will not be content to rest where they are—whatever the Ministries may do or be afraid to do.

*The second and final article setting forth the result of MR. RUSSELL'S test in CHECKING UP NEW ZEALAND will be published in THE NATIONAL POST of JULY 1. Its subject will be THE WAR ON STRIKES AND THE EFFECT*